







**THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF  
THE BENGALI LANGUAGE**



# THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE

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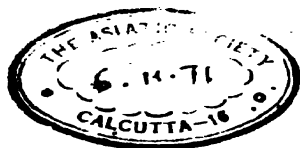
WITH A FOREWORD BY  
SIR GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON  
K.C.I.E.

IN TWO PARTS  
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# MORPHOLOGY





# MORPHOLOGY

## CHAPTER I: FORMATIVE AFFIXES

394. Hoernle's discussion of the NIA. suffixes in his 'Gaudian Grammar' remains the most thorough study of the scope and origin of these, although some of his derivations are more or less speculative. The Bengali formative affixes have been discussed in some detail by Rai Bahadur Yōgesh Chandra Vidyānidhi in his Bengali grammar (published by the VSPd., pp. 147-191), but the arrangement is capable of improvement, and some of the etymologies can be questioned. There is no doubt as to the source of most NIA. affixes, but there are a few which have not been satisfactorily explained.

The OIA. affixes, primary or secondary, became disguised, or simply dropped off in NIA., through either assimilation or phonetic decay. But a number of OIA. affixes have been preserved, and occur in NIA. as living forms, although in their present shape they are widely removed from their OIA. originals (*e.g.*, «-pan» < «-tvana-» ; «-ab, -ib, -iv» < «-tavya-» ; «-I» < «-ika, -ikā» ; etc.). The NIA. speeches preserve only the relics of some OIA. affixes, which as a result of phonetic decay now form integral and indivisible parts of the words, and have, so far as the speech-feeling of the NIA. speaker is concerned, no separate existence, and are not recognisable or analysable any more as an affix. Thus, for example, the OIA. primary affixes «-ā, -ā, -as», in noun and adjective formations, are no longer living ones in Bengali, as they are lost in all inherited words ; but the affix «-ana», to form verbal nouns, continues to be in full force as অন, ওন «-ānṣ, -ōnṣ» ; and in words like চা, কা «cāmṣ, kāmṣ», the -ṣ «-mṣ» is only partially representative of the original OIA. affix «-man» ; but it is no longer possible to analyse the Bengali words as being made up of a root *plus* an affix, and neither can -ṣ

«-mṣ̄» be distinguished from the -ṣ̄ « mṣ̄ » in words like জাম্বু « jāmbṣ̄ » (jambu) and আম্র « āmṣ̄ » (āmra). The words in Bengali have become to all intents and purposes root-words, or primitive words, the sense of their being composed forms being long lost, from the beginning of MIA. So in words like রাতী « rāti » (rātri), পাতি « pāti » (pañkti), সৌতা « sōtā » (MIA. sōnta-, OIA. srōtas), কাজ « kājṣ̄ » (kārya), the OIA. affixes «-tri, -ti, -tas, -ya» are present, but they are no longer alive. These relics or fragments of dead forms are not necessary to consider, unless the subject of study were the history of the OIA. suffixes down to NIA. through MIA.

Below are given in a rough alphabetical order all the living affixes, primary as well as secondary, which are found in Bengali, Old, Middle and New, with indications of their origin.

#### [A] SUFFIXES

##### [1] TADBHAVA SUFFIXES

(1) অ «-ṣ̄, ṣ̄»: masculine, feminine and neuter noun affix.

395. Representing the primary affixes of OIA., masculine «-ṣ̄h̄», feminine «-ṣ̄», neuter «-am», also «-as», with or without «guṇa» of the root-vowel, this affix may be said to have existed in Old Bengali and Early Middle Bengali, but was lost from Late Middle Bengali times with the loss or assimilation of the final vowel: *e.g.*, চার «cāra» (cāra), সান «sāna» (sambjñā), মণ «maṇa» (manas), সাঙ্কম «sāṅkama» (saṅkrama) *bridge*; but cf. Late MB. দে «dē» (dēha), মন «mānṣ̄» (manas), বাত «bātṣ̄» (vārtā), বোল «bōlṣ̄» *speech* (MIA. \*bōlla), চাল «cālṣ̄» *way, style* (cāla), etc.

(2) অ «-ḥ̄», also written ও «-ō».

396. This is the pleonastic suffix, found in a number of nouns and adjectives—*e.g.*, ভাল, ভালো «bhālā, bhālō» *good*; কাল, কালো «kālā, kālō» *black*; ধল «dhālā» *white*; etc. It comes from the pleonastic or pejorative «-kā» of OIA., added to nouns in «-ṣ̄» = «-ṣ̄-kā» > MIA. «-ṣ̄ḥ̄» > «ḥ̄ḥ̄»: see *ante*, pp. 302, 346, 347, 348. The affix is thus of secondary origin. The employment of the pleonastic «-ka», giving, with the

preceding «-a» of the word, the MIA. forms «-aga, \*-aga, -aṅ/ya», is quite a note-worthy thing from the Second MIA. stage; and in Skt. as written in that period, as well as in later times, this vernacular habit is fully reflected: in the Skt. of inscriptions, this is very much in evidence. (Cf. Damodarpur Copper Plates of the Gupta Period, Ep. Ind., XV, pp. 130, 138.) The combination of «-āḥ» > «āwāḥ» seems to have begun to be altered to an «ā» (long [a:]) sound in the OB. period; and it was accomplished by the 14th century. (See pp. 260, 302, 346.) In MB., it is frequently found in personal names, where it is commonly written as ও «-ō»: e.g., শিবো «Śibō» (OB. \*Śibawa = ts. Śiva + ka), রুদো «Rudō» (\*Rūḍawa < Rudra + ka), বিভো «Bibhō» (\*Bibhawa < \*Vibha = Vibhu + ka), সিধো «Sidhō» (\*Sīdhawa < Siddha [= Siddhēśvara] + ka), etc. These common contractions of personal names in MB. are thus on the basis of a form in «ā-», shortened from the full names (e.g., জনো «Jānō» < «Janārdana», পিথো «Pithō» < «Pṛthivīdhara», etc.), with the pleonastic «-kā» added. Forms like the above are very common in MB. genealogical works (kula-grantha, kulajī = kulāpañjikā): which shows that they were much in use.

There is another affix, also (occasionally) written -অ «-ā», indicating the sense of *about to do something*: e.g., কাঁদ-কাঁদ «kāḍā-kāḍā», beside কাঁদো-কাঁদো «kāḍō-kāḍō» *ready to burst into tears*. This is a primary affix forming verbal adjectives and is derived from ও «-ō» < উ «-u», which see, *infra*.

(3) Affixes derived from the OIA. Active Present Participle «-ānt-»: অন্ত «-āntā»; অৎ > অতা, অতী (অতি) «-ātā > -ātā, -āti (-āti)», অত «-ātā». (Cf. also আইত, ইত «-āit, -it-», and আস্ত «-āntā».)

397. অন্ত «-āntā»: this is a stereotyped form, which occurs only in a few adjectives used attributively: e.g., জীৱন্ত «jīāntā» > জ্যাস্ত «jyāntā» [jīānto] *living* (jivant-); চলন্ত «cālāntā» *moving* (calant-); বাড়ন্ত «bāḥāntā» *prospering* < বাঢ়ন্ত «bāḥāntā» (√vr̥dh > \*vardhant-); ঘুমন্ত «ghumāntā» *sleeping* (ঘুম√ghum); ভাসন্ত *floating* (ভাস√bhās float); etc. It occurs in a feminine form অন্তী «-āntī» = «-ant- + -ikā» used with sentient feminine nouns: নাচুন্তী < নাচন্তী «nācūntī < nācāntī» (nṛtyant- + -ikā); দেখুন্তি < দেখন্তি «dēkhūnti < dēkhānti» *seeing, seer* (MIA. dēkkhanti), etc. অন্ত «-āntā»

is not the regular development in Bengali of the OIA. affix « -ant- », but it became established in some forms, which were set apart in MB., because of their adjectival force, from the regular MB. and NB. change which made ইত « -it » out of MIA. « -anta, -enta » < OIA. « -ant- » (see p. 335).

অৎ « -ātṣ », found commonly in its extended form অতা « -āt-ā », feminine অতী, অতি « -āt-I, -āt-i ». This affix seems to be borrowed from the Bihārī dialects, and Hindōstānī : « -anta » -at ». The feminine force is lost to Bengali. Examples : ফেরত ডাক « phērātṣ ḍākṣ » *return post*, also ফিরতী ডাক « phirṣṭī ḍākṣ » (ফির √phir); চলতী ভাষা « cālṣṭī bhāṣā » *current speech, colloquial* (√cal), cf. Hindi « calṭī cakṭī » *the moving wheel* (quern-stone = the world); বহত জল « bahṣṭā jālṣ » *running water* (বহ √bāh < √vah flow); উঠতি বয়স « uṭḥṣṭī bāyāṣṣ » *growing age, youth* (উঠ √uṭḥ < ut+sthā); সব-জান্তা « sabbṣ-jāntā » *all-knowing*; বিলাত-ফেরত, or ফেরতা « bilātṣ-phērātṣ, -phērṣṭā » *returned from Europe*; দেখতা « dēkhṣṭā » *seeing*, as in the idiom আমার দেখতা « āmārṣ dēkhṣṭā » (for আমি দেখতা « āmi dēkhṣṭā »?) *with me looking on*; ঝড়তি পড়তি « jhṛṣṭī pṛṣṭī » *things that are scattered and fallen, remainder*; etc.

Another form of this affix is অতৎ « -ātṭā », which seems to be a blend of অৎ « -āt » + অন্তৎ « -āntā » : e.g., জানতৎ « jānātṭā », পারতৎ « pārātṭā », করতৎ « kārātṭā », etc. Forms with this affix, however, are rather rare, and they have a special employ. জানতৎ « jānātṭā » is used as an absolutive with the subject in the genitive, e.g., আমার জানতৎ « āmārṣ jānātṭā » *me knowing, with my knowledge* (cf. আমার দেখতা « āmārṣ dēkhṣṭā » above); and it is frequently confused with the *ts.* passive part. adjective in তৎ « -tā », and used as an adjective : e.g., আমার জানত লোক « āmārṣ jānātṭā lōkṣ » *a man known to me* beside আমার জানিত লোক « āmārṣ jānitṭā lōkṣ » (where « jānitṭā » = জান √jān + *ts.* affix « -ita »). পারতৎ « pārātṭā », also « pārātṣ » is commonly used in the phrase পারত-পক্ষে « pārāt(ṭā)-pākṣē » *on condition of being able*, which is frequently altered to a Skt. পারগ-পক্ষে « pārāgṣ-pākṣē ». করতৎ « kārātṭā » *doing*, is used as a conjunctive participle = *having done*, and sometimes a Sanskrit colour is given to this form by adding a « visarga », which helps to preserve the final « -ṭ » in the word : করতঃ [korotḥ] *having done, after doing*.

In onomatopoeic formations in বাং «-āt» like পটাৎ «pātāt» with a cracking noise, ঝপাৎ «jhāpāt» with a dashing or splashing sound, কপাৎ, গপাৎ «kāpāt, gāpāt» with a gulp, ছলাৎ «chālāt» with a splash, which are used with the conjunctive করিয়া, করে «kāriyā, kōrē», we have also possibly this «-anta» affix of MIA. and OIA.

(4) অতী, তী ( অতি, তি ) «-āti, -ṭī (-āti, -ṭī)».

398. This forms abstract nouns of action or manner: e.g., পড়তি «pārṭi» fall; উঠতি «uṭṭi» rise; চুকতি «cukṭi» settlement, fixing up; বাড়তি «bārṭi < bārḥāti» rise, increase; বাঢ়তি «ghāṭṭi» decrease; by analogy, the hybrid কমতি «kām-ti» decrease, from Persian, «kam»; খাঁকতি «khākṭi» greed (cf. onomatopoeic খাঁখাঁ «khākḥā» the sense of emptiness and hunger); গুনতি «gunṭi» counting; ভরতি «bhārṭi» filling-up, etc.

Hoernle explains this affix (‘Gaudian Grammar,’ § 325) as being a Sanskrit (or OIA.) «\*-āptikā», from the causative affix «-āp-» + «-ti» + pleonastic «-kā»: e.g., বিনতি «bināti» (vijñāptikā = vijñāptikā > viññattia), বাড়তি «bārṭi» (\*vardhāptikā > \*vaḍḍhattia); etc. But this derivation is rather problematical. Cases like ডাকাইত «ḍākā(i)tṭ» robber (ডাক «√ḍāk» shout: cf. under আইত «-āit» below), ডাকা(ই)তী «ḍākā(i)tī» robbery, ঢাঙ্গা(ই)ত > ঢাঙ্গা(ই)তী «ḍhāṅ(g)ā(i)tṭ > ḍhāṅgā(i)tī» rowdy > rowdiness (ḍhaṅga), etc., with the ঙ্গ (ই) «-ī (-i)» affix of abstraction (for which see *infra*), show that in examples like উঠতি «uṭṭi», ভরতি «bhārṭi» etc. above, we have an extension of the অৎ «-āt» affix (< present participle «-anta») by addition of the abstract ঙ্গ, ই «-ī, -i»: উঠতি «uṭṭi» = «uṭṭā(n)t(ā) + -ī» the state of rising = a rise.

The change of «-anta» to «-āt-», and not to «-it-», would show that this affix is not native to Bengali, but borrowed, with cognate loan-words, from its western neighbours.

It seems also that in the formation of this affix, there was the influence of the Skt. nominal affix «-ti» as well, through the presence of a large number *ts.* as well as *sts.* forms in «-ti», like «yukti (jugati), bhakti (bhakati), mati, gati, praṇati» etc. In post MB. times,

the Perso-Arabic loan-words in « -at », with the Indian or Persian « -ī » added, re-inforced this affix: e.g., « wakālat » > ওকালতী « ōkālāt-ī » a *pleader's profession*; and by analogy, it was extended to other foreign words, e.g., জজ « jāj » = English *judge* > জজিয়ৎ, জজিয়তী « jājīyāt, jājīyāt-ī » *the work of a judge*.

(5) অন ( অন, এন ) « -ānṣ.(-ōnṣ, -ēnṣ).

399. This is a living suffix in Bengali, forming abstract verbal nouns, some of which have acquired a concrete sense. It is the OIA. « -ana ». Examples: কঁাদন « kāḍānṣ » (krandana); কুঁদন « kūḍānṣ » (kūrdana); খাঁদন, খাঁওন « khāḍānṣ, khāōnṣ » (khādana); গায়ন, গায়েন « gāyānṣ, -yēnṣ » *singer* (gāyana: \*gāthayana? cf. Khaskurā « gāhinō » *singer* < « gāhiniyā »); ঘুরন « ghurānṣ » *turning round and round* (ঘুর √ghur < ghūr-); চাহন, চাঁওন « cāhānṣ, cāōnṣ » *gaze, look* (চাহ √cāh); ছাড়ন « chārānṣ » *leaving* (ছাড় √chār); ছাঁদন « chāḍānṣ » *binding* (chandana); জ্বলন « jwālānṣ » [জ্বালন] (jvalana); বাঁড়ন « bhārānṣ » *dusting, a duster*, বোঁটন « bhōṭānṣ » *crest, top-knot* (see p. 479); ঝুলন « jhulānṣ » *swing* (see p. 479); ঢাকন « ḍhākānṣ » *covering* > a *cover* (ঢাক √ḍhāk); থাকন « thākānṣ » *staying* (থাক √thāk); দেখন « dēkhānṣ » *sight*; ধরণ « dhārānṣ » *manner* (« ṇ » through Skt. influence) (dharāṇa); নাচন « nācānṣ » *dance* (নাচ √nāc); পড়ন « paṛānṣ » *fall* (paḍana < \*paṭana < patana); পাঁওন « pāōnṣ, pāōnṣ » (prāpaṇa); পাঁড়ন « pāṛānṣ » (pātana); পোড়ন « pōṛānṣ » *burning* (পুড় √puṛ < √puṭ); ফোড়ন « phōṛānṣ » *spices, chatter* (√sphuṭ); বাঁধন « bāḍhānṣ » (bandhana); বাঁজন « bājānṣ » *music* (বাজ √bāj < vādyā); বাঁড়ন « bārānṣ » *broom* (vardhana); বেঁধন, বিঁধন « bēḍhānṣ, bidhānṣ » *piercing* (viddha < √vyadh); মরণ « marānṣ » (maraṇa); শুনন « śunānṣ » *hearing* (শুন √śun < śr-ṇō-ti); হাঁওন, হাঁওন « hā(w)ānṣ, hāōnṣ » *being* (\*ahana = as-ana + bhav-ana); etc., etc.

This affix is now becoming a little archaic in the Standard Colloquial, which prefers the other verbal noun in আ « -ā »: but it is a very living form in the East Bengali dialects.

The affix « -ānṣ » has two extensions :

(5a) অনা > -না < -ānā > -ঞā : this is simply অন < -ān > extended with the আ < -ā > affix. The < -ā > in this affix drops when inter-consonantal; when after a vowel, it becomes < e > or < o > and forms a diphthong. The original force of this < -ā > was to denote simply a coarser or bigger aspect of the action, or to indicate a connected object, but this has been to a considerable amount modified, so that অনা, না < -ānā, -ঞā > in many cases is not different from অন. < ān >. Examples: কান্না < kānnā < kādānā, kāndānā > (see p. 360), beside কান্না < kādānā > (krandana-); কুটনা < kuṭānā > *slicing* > *sliced vegetables* (কুট √kuṭ); কাটনা < kāṭānā > *spindle* (কাট √kāṭ spin); খেলনা < khēlānā > *playing* > *toy* beside খেলন < khēlān > *playing* (খেল √khēl); গহনা, গয়না < gāhānā, gāynā > *jewels* (grahaṇa-); গাহনা > গাওনা < \*gāhānā > gāonā > *singing* (গাহ √gāh < √gāthaya-); ছাঁকনা < chāṅkānā > *strainer* (ছাঁক √chāṅk); বরনা < jhārānā > *water-fall* (বর √jhār: see p. 478); ঢাকনা < ḍhāṅkānā > *largish lid* (ঢাক √ḍhāṅk); দোলনা < dōlānā > *swing* (দোল √dul); দেনা < dēnā > *giving* > *debt*, beside দেন < dēn > *giving* (দে √dē give = √dā); so লেনা < lēnā > beside লেন < lēn > *taking* (লে √lē take < √lah = labh + √ni); পাওনা < pāonā > *receiving*, dues (prāpaṇa-); পিটনা < piṭānā > *mallet to beat with* (পিট √piṭ); বাজন < bājānā > *musical instrument*, see বাজন < bājān > above; বাটনা < bāṭānā > *paste of pounded spices* (বাট √bāṭ pound, mash); মাগনা, মাজনা < māgānā, māṅ(g)ānā > *asking* > *gratis* (mārgaṇa-); রান্না < rānnā < rādānā > *cooking* (randhana-); শুথনা < śukhānā > *dry, dry-land* (শুথ √sukh < śuṣka); etc. There are some formations from nouns as well: ছানা < chānā > *youngling (of animals)* (beside ছা < chā >, = < śāba- >); পাখনা < pākānā > *wings* (beside পাখ pāk < pakṣa).

(5b) অনী > নী, উনী (নি, উনি) < -ānī > -ঞনী, -উনী (-ঞনী, -উনী) >. Originally feminine in form (-ānī + I), indicating a diminutive or petty aspect of the action or object. All grammatical connexion with the feminine form is now lost, except where the word indicates a woman. The change to < -unī > is by Vowel Harmony (see p. 398). কাঁদনী < kāṅṅnī < kāṅṅānī > *weeping, petty fit of weeping, supplication*; ŚKK. নাচনী < nācunī < nācānī > *dansense*; ছেনী < chēnī > < \*chēānī > *a cutting instrument* (chēdana, chēdanikā); ছাউনী < chāunī < chāānī > *awning, camp* (chādanikā);



ছাঁকনী < chhāḱḱnī > *small strainer* (ছাঁক √chhāḱ); MB. পোড়নী < pōṛānī > *burning* (পুড় √puṛ); কুরনী > কুরনী < kurānī > kurunī > *scraper* (কুর √kur scrape); মউনী < māunī > < \*mā(h)ānī > *churning stick* (\*mathanikā); etc., etc. The word রাধুনী < rādhunī < rādhānī > *cook* is now both masculine and feminine, but originally it seems to have been only feminine (< randhanikā >: or a masc. = < \*randhanikā > ?); when it means a kind of flavouring spice, it is the feminine form undoubtedly. So MB. বেচনী < bēcānī > *a seller* (বেচ √bēc).

Causative forms of this affix, in আন্ < -ānḱ >, আন, আনা < ānā, -ānā > আনী, উনী < -ānī, -unī > also occur: see *infra*.

In the word দাঁতন < dāntānḱ > *twig used as tooth-brush* we do not have the < -ānḱ > affix (unlike in formations from nouns like পাখনা < pākhānā >, বাজন < bājānā >, etc.): the Maithili < datamani >, Bhōjpuriyā < datuan >, and Hindōstānī < datwan, dataun, datūn > show that the word is a compound of < danta > + < vana > (?).

(6) আ < -ā > (i): Definitive, Pejorative, Connective, Agentive, Pleonastic.

**400.** This affix is a very characteristic one of Bengali. It indicates definiteness (this definitive force is now considerably weakened); it implies coarseness or biggishness in the object; it means reference or connection; it forms agentive adjectives; and frequently it is also pleonastic. In all its various forces, the < -ā > affix of Bengali can be compared with the pleonastic affixes giving rise to the strong, long and redundant forms of the Bihārī dialects (see p. 96). The source of Bengali < -ā >, as an OIA. < \*-āka >, has been indicated at pp. 302, 348-349. Cf. Sanskritised forms like < Nāgāka, Dhamāka, Visiāka, Bhaluāka, Pappāka (beside Pappā), Rudāka, Chitarāka >, all representing vernacular names in < -ā >, in the Siyadoni Inscription (10th century: Lalitpur District, U.P.; Kielhorn, Ep. Ind., I, pp. 162 ff.) Where no special force of the < -ā > is present, as in a noun like ঘোড়া < ghōṛā > (beside ঘোড়- < ghōṛḱ > in compounds), that is, where it is merely a pleonastic extension, it is not unlikely that the < -ā > represents only the termination of an oblique case (see p. 349). Examples: OB. (Caryā 41) हथा (hasta-); (Caryā 49)

পউষা < pāūś = paūśā > (\*paduma-, padma-); (Caryā 8) মাগা < māgā > (mārga-); (Carya 2) পিটা < piṭā > *pail*; (Caryā 3, 20) পসারা < pasārā >, নিসারা < nisārā > (prasārā-, nihsārā-); (Caryā 4) বীরা < bīrā > (vīrā-); (Caryā 6) হরিণা < hariṇā > (hariṇa-); MB. নেহা < nēhā > (snēha-); MB., NB. নেতা < nētā > *rag* (nētra > nētā = *fine stuff*); কাঁসা < kāśā > (kāśya-); ŚKK. কনয়া < kāñyā > (kanaka-); পাতা < pātā > (patra-); কুয়া, কুয়া < kūā > (kūpa-); গোরা < gōrā > (gāura-); উঁচা < ūcā > (ucca-); চোরা < cōrā > (cāura-); বাঘা < bāghā > (vyāghrā) *big tiger > tiger-like, ferocious, strong* (e.g., বাঘা *a common name for a dog*, বাঘা তেঁতুল < bāghā tētul > *kind of tamarind with strong acid taste*); খাঁড়া < khārā > *sacrificial sword* (khaṇḍa-); বকরা < bākārā > *goat* (barkara-); কুকুড়া > কুকড়া, কুকড়ো < kūkurā > kūkārā, kūkārō > (kukkūṭa-); রামা < Rāmā > contemptuous for < Rām >; চাঁদা < cāḍā > *big round moon*, beside চাঁদ < cāḍ > *moon* (candra-): cf. চাঁদা মাছ < cāḍ-ā māch > *a kind of roundish fish, pomfret*; থালা < thālā > *plate* beside থাল < thāl > (sthāla); ধূঁয়া, ধূঁয়া < dhūā > (dhūma-); রাঙ্গা, রাঙা < rāṅ(ḡ)-ā > *red in colour* (raṅga-); তেলা < tēl-ā > *oily* (tāila-); লোনা < lōnā > *salty* (lavaṇa-); হাতা < hātā > *handle* (hasta-); তাওয়া < tāwā > *pot for heating or dry cooking* (tāpa-); বামনা < bāmānā > *a low Brāhman* (brāhmaṇa-); sts. পশ্চিমা < paścimā > *western* (paścima-); দক্ষিণা, by Vowel Harmony দ'খনে (see pp. 400-401) < dākḥhiṇā > > [dokhne] *southern* (dakṣiṇa- > dākḥhiṇ-); একা < ēkā > [æka], একলা < ēkālā > *alone* (ēka-, \*ēkāka; ēka-la-); মুহা < muh-ā > *with a face* (mukha-); ভয়সা < bhāyśā > *belonging to a buffalo* (bhaīś < mahiśa + -ā); খেয়া < khēyā > *ferry* (kṣēpa-); etc.

In compounds with active meaning: ছেল-ধরা < chēl-dhār-ā > *child-stealing* = *kidnapper*; চা'ল-ধোয়া < cāl-dhōā > *rice-washing*; কাপড়-কাটা < kāpār-d-kāc-ā > *cloth-washing*; কলম-কাটা ছুরী < kālām-d-kāṭ-ā churi > *pen-(cutting)-knife*; ভাত-রাঁধা হাঁড়ী < bhāt-d-rādh-ā hārī > *pot that boils rice*, etc.

This affix is added to both *tatsama* and foreign words: রোগা < rōg-ā > *sick, sickly, lean and thin* (rōga-); সফেদা < śaphēd-ā > *rice-powder* (Pers. safēd *white*);

Other affixes of Bengali, like < -āṭa, -uṭa, -I(-i) -ū(-u), -āla, -āra > etc., are extended by addition of this < -ā >: for which see below.

## (7) आ « -ā » (ii) : Passive Participle and Verbal Noun Affix.

401. This suffix is derived from the OIA. affix « -ta, -ita » > MIA. « -a, -ia » plus the preceding pleonastic affix आ « ā ». The following examples illustrate the line of development : « yāta » > jāa + -ā > OB. \*jāā, NB. बाँझा \*jāwā » gone > a going ; « kṛta » \*karita (a non-Māgadhī formation : cf. p. 375) > karia + ā > OB. kariā > করা kārā » done > doing, as in New Bengali. So রাখা « rākhā » kept > keeping (rakṣita + ā) ; খাওয়া, খাওয়া « khāwā » (khādita + ā), etc. We have the loss of the « -i- » already in OB. : e.g., Caryā 20 « sanghārā » struck ; but it is the « -i- » forms, with or without the pleonastic « -ā », that are common in the Caryās (when without « -ā », the final « -a » is found to have assimilated with the preceding « i », as follows : « -ita » > -ia > -I, -i ») : e.g., in Caryā 19 « uchaliā » (ucchalita + ā), « caliā » (calita + ā) ; Caryā 13 « muniā » (=jñāta-) ; Caryā 17 « suniā » (=śruta-), « miliā » (milita + ā), guniā (=gaṇita + ā) ; beside « pahāri » (prahārita), « ahāri » (āhārita-), etc. ; and cases are found with the Western Apabhraṅśa modification of the « -itaḥ » to « -iu » (« -itaḥ » > -idō > -iō > -iu » : cf. p. 115 *supra*). The affix seems to have come into prominence only after the Early MB. period : in the ŚKK. it is non-existent. The « -i- » as in « -iā » of OB. probably first became « -ē- » and then was dropped, following the forms in simple « -ā » like « yāta + -ā » बाँझा jāwā », « \*dita + ā » দেওয়া dēwā » etc. ; and possibly also through an attempt to distinguish this passive participle affix from the conjunctive participle in « -I(-I), -iā » (e.g. রাখী, রাখি, রাখিয়া « rākhī, rākhi, rākhiā » having kept, with or without « -ā » < MIA. « rakkhia » < OIA. « -rakṣ-ya »). The OB. forms of the passive participle in « -iā » show that « -ita + -ā » is the source of this passive participle affix of MB. and NB. In Panjābī, in the Old Western Hindī dialects and in Modern Hindōstānī we find a parallel development with loss of « -i- » : e.g., « calita-, calitaka » > MIA. (Śaurasenī) « cali(d)a-, cali(d)aa- », nominative « cali(d)ō, cali(d)aō » > Śaur. Apabhraṅśa « caliu, caliaü », whence Brajbhākhā « calyu, calyau », Early Hindī or Hindōstānī « calyā » (beside Panjābī « caliā, calēā »), but Modern Hindōstānī « calā », Bundēlī and Kanaujī « calō ». Ōṛiyā has this affix also : e.g., « jāñ-ā » known, « kār-ā » done, « dēkh-ā » seen, etc.

It has been attempted to connect this « -ā » affix in its nominal employ with the verbal noun affix *इव, इवा* « -ibā, -ibā » < « itavya + ā »; but that is hardly tenable.

In OB. and MB., there was a feminine form of this affix, with the *ऊ* « -ī » (< -ikā); e.g., ŚKK. (p. 381) *जड़ी* « jāṛī » *jewelled* qualifying *चूड़ी* « curī » *bracelet* (jaḍita + -ikā).

(8) *আই* « -āi » (i): Verbal and Abstract Nouns.

402. This is a Late MIA. formation, being a feminine verbal noun from the causative stem of the root: an OIA. « -āp-ikā » (as in Skt. « jū-āp-ikā » *information*, which would be the basis of a possible NIA. « \*jāṇāi ») would give « -āviā, -āviā, -āwī, āi » *আই* « āi ». The causative in « -āpa » « -āva » became established in MIA., and on the model of the nouns in « -āpana- » « -āvaṇa- » (see *infra*, § xxx, under *আন* « -ānā »), formation of abstract and verbal nouns in « -ikā » from the « -āpa- » « -āva- » base would be a matter of course. Examples: *যাচাই* « jācāi » *enquiry* (যাচ √yāc : OIA. \*yācāpikā); *বাছাই* « bācāi » *selection* (বাছ √bāc); *লড়াই* « lārāi » *fight* (লড় √lār); *খোদাই* « khōdāi », also *খোঁদাই* « khōdāi » *engraving* (খোদ, খোঁদ √khōd, khōd); *দোলাই* « dōlāi » *a hood or shawl fastened round the neck and covering the ears and head, and hanging on the back* (দুল, দোল « √dul, dōl »: possibly influenced by « dukūlikā » > *তুলী* « dūlī » [see p. 352], also meaning the same thing); *ঝালাই* « jhālāi » *soldering* (ঝাল √jhāl); *বাঁধাই* « bādhāi » *binding (of a book)* (বাঁধ √bādh); *ঢালাই* « ḍhālāi » *foundry (in metal)* (ঢাল √dhāl pour); etc.

This affix is not found with all roots, and is but restricted in use. Abstract nouns from noun and adjective bases are also formed, the nouns and adjectives being treated like denominative verbs: e.g., *চোরাই* « cōrāi » *theft* > *stolen property* (< cōra); *ব্রাহ্মণাই* « bāmṣṇāi » *the way of a Brāhman, the pride of a Brāhman* (< bāmāṇṣ < brāhmaṇa); MB. *রাজাই* « rājāi » *kingship, reign* (rājā); *মিঠাই* « miṭhāi » *sweetness* > *sweetmeat* (< miṭhā < miṣṭha-); *পালটাই* « pālṭāi » *exchange, returning* (pālṭā = paryasta); *ভলাই* « bhālāi » *well-being* (< bhālā = bhadra-); *সঁচাই* « sācāi » *honesty* (sācā = satya-); *বড়াই* « bārāi » *pride, boasting* (বড় bārā great);

খোলতাই < khōlātāi > *dazzle, beauty* (< khōlā *open, clear, \*khōlāt- opening*); পোষ্টাই < pōṣṭāi > *nourishing* (*sts.* < puṣṭi); and even with foreign words, e.g., সাফাই < sāphāi > *clear* (Pers. < sāf > *pure*), MB. সাজাই < sājāi > *punishment* (Pers. sazā).

There are a few borrowings from Hindōstānī also, showing this affix : e.g., চড়াই < cārāi > *ascent*; উতরাই < utrāi > *descent*; সেলাই < sēlāi > *sewing*; ধোলাই < dhōlāi > *washing, washing charges*; and চোলাই < cōlāi > *distilling, preparing liquor* (< √cū > = < cyav > : may be native Bengali).

In one or two words, through dialectal influence (see *supra*, p. 407), < -āi > occurs as ই < -i > in the Standard Colloquial : e.g., বানী < bānī > for বানাই < bānāi > *making, charges for making jewellery* (probably from Hindōstānī < banāi >). It would be seen that there is semantic alteration in this affix, making its force that of *cost or wages* for the work indicated by it.

Hoernle's derivation of this suffix from the OIA. affix < -tā > *plus* pleonastic < -ka > (< -tikā > in the feminine) is not convincing (see 'Gaudian Grammar,' § 223).

(9) আই < -āi > (ii) : Diminutive.

403. Affectionate diminutives like কানাই < Kānāi > (< Kāna, Kaṇha, Kṛṣṇa), বলাই < Bālāi > (< Bala-rāma), সোমাই < Sōmāi > (Sōma-), দনাই < Dānāi > (Janārdana; Danuja-?), রামাই < Rāmāi > (Rāma), জগাই < Jāgāi > (Jagat-), মধাই < Mādhāi > (Mādhava), ছিরাই < Chirāi > (Śrīpati), etc., which are very common in MB. and fairly frequent in NB., are formed with this affix. It is of pleonastic origin, coming from an OB. < -\*āi > from Late MIA. < -āia, -āiā > = OIK. < -ākika, -akika (i.e. -āka, -āka + -ika) > : < Kānāi < \*Kān(h)āi < \*Kanhāia, \*Kanhāia < \*Kṛṣṇākika, \*Kṛṣṇākika >. This affix is found in various forms in Hindōstānī and in Eastern Hindi and Bihārī. (Cf. Hoernle, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101.) The suffixes ইয়া < -iā >, উয়া < -uā > (as well as ঐ, ই < -ī, -i > and উ, উ < -ū, -u >) are connected : see *infra*.

It is likely that in Bengali the আই < -āi > affix as an affectionate diminutive was influenced by the MB. word আই < āi > *long life* < āyus >.

(10) আইত, আত < -āitṣ, -ātṣ >, with extensions.

404. Causative and denominative present participle base: OIA. < -āp-ant-, -āy-ant > MIA. < -āv-ant-, -āant- > OB. < -āy/wanta > MB. আইত < -āitṣ >: ডাকাইত, ডাকাত < ḍākāitṣ, ḍākātṣ > *robber* < *shouter* (ডাক √ḍāk *yell*); MB. বাইতি < bāiti > *player on a musical instrument* (vādayant- + -ika). This is a rare affix in Bengali. There are a few instances of this affix with nouns: সান্নাৎ, সান্নাৎ < sāṅ(g)ātṣ > ([jāṅat, jṣṅat]; for [ṣ], see p. 322) *companion, bosom friend* (saṅga); সেবাইত < sēbāitṣ > *temple-priest* (sēvā); পোআতী, পোয়াতী, পোহাতী < pō(h)ātī > *pregnant woman, a recent mother* (< pōta >: for intrusive < h >, see p. 341: this form has the feminine affix ঙ্গ < -ī > < -ikā). Cf. Oriyā খণ্ডাইত < khāṅḍāitṣ > *a military caste* (in Orissa and S. W. Bengal) (khaṅḍa sword); Hindōstāni < ḍhalait > *shield-bearer* (ḍhāl), etc.

Abstract nouns are formed from this affix by adding ঙ্গ, ই < -ī, -i > (see p. 655, *supra*): ডাকা(ই)তী < ḍākā(i)tī > *robbery*; MB. চান্দাতী < ḍhāṅ- (g)ātī > *rowdiness* (ḍhaṅga).

(11) \*আউ > আও < \*-āū > āo >: Verbal Noun Affix.

405. This affix is now confined to a limited number of words; and in those cases where it is found, it seems there is reinforcement from similar Hindōstāni forms. It is connected with আই < -āi > (i) above. The source is apparently a verbal noun from the causative base: < -āpa >, with an extension < \*-āp-uk-ā (-āpa + -u-ka + -ā) >, corresponding to < \*-āpikā > the source of আই < -āi >. The affix, as < -āw, -āō, -āū > is a common one in Hindōstāni. Hoernle traces it (*op. cit.*, §227) to OIA. < -tva >: < -tva > -tta > -a >, a derivation which is inadmissible. Examples: চড়াও < cārāo > *aggression, attacking* (চড় √cār >: also used as an adjective, through influence of a form like উধাও < udhāo > *running out of one's sight* = < uddhāvuka >: cf. also ওয়া < -ōā > in next paragraph); ঢালাও < ḍhālāo > *abundance, 'galore'* (ঢাল √ḍhāl *pour*); পাকড়াও < pākḍrāo > *arrest, seizure* (পাকড়া < √pākḍrā > *to seize*); দাবড়াও < ghābḍrāo > *fright* (দাবড়া < √ghābḍrā > *to be checked, to fear*); ছাড়াও < chārāo > *separation, release*;

ফালাও « phālāo » *spreading, abundance*, from Hind. « phailāw »; বনাও in বনি-বনাও, beside বনি-বনা « bāni-bānāo, -bānā » *amity, harmony*, cf. Hind. « banāw » *preparation, concord*.

(11a) আউআ, (আওআ) > ওয়া « -āuā > -ōā »: Adjectival as well as Abstract.

406. This affix is an extension of the preceding one with the adjectival or pleonastic আ « -ā » (see *ante*, § 400) = *e.g.*, বরোয়া « ghārōā » *homely, domestic* [ghīroa] = « ghārāo, \*ghārāu + -ā » (this word shows extension of the affix to a noun); জড়োয়া « jārōā » *jewelled, adorned with precious stones* = « jārāo, \*jārāu + -ā »; বাচোয়া « bācōā » *safety, safe state* = « bācāo, \*bācāu + -ā »; চড়োয়া « cārōā » *aggressive* = « cārāo, \*cārāu + -ā ».

(12) আট, আটী (আটি), « -ātṣ, -āṭī, (-aṭi) ».

407. This is not so much an affix as an independent word, phonetically decayed, and forming part of a disguised compound. It is from কাঠ, কাঠি « kāṭṣ, kāṭhi » = « kāṣṭha, \*kāṣṭhikā », *wood, beam, stick*. গাবরাট « gābṣrāt » *lintel* (garbhāgarākāṣṭha); পাকাটী « pākāṭī », see p. 492; MB. ধরাট « dhārāṭṣ » *a nautical term = special deck in a boat*; OB. চামাটি « cāmāṭhi » *whip* as in Sarvānanda, is explained by that scholar as meaning « carma-yāṣṭi », but it may be equally from « carma + kāṣṭhikā », which is also found in Sanskrit.

(13) আন, আন (আনো) « -ānṣ, -ānā (& -ānō) » (i).

408. The affix, forming verbal nouns from causative and denominative bases, is from OB. « -āna, -ānaṣa, -āwāna, āwānaṣa » (OIA. « -āp-ana, -āp-ana-ka »). The forms without the final « -a » in New Bengali have in most cases obtained a concrete or definite sense. Examples: আঁচান « ācānā » *washing mouth after meals* (\*ācamāpana = ācamana); জানান, জানান « jānānā, jānānā » *making to know, information, intimation* (\*jānāpana = jānāpana-); চালান « cālānā » *invoice, send-up*, চালান « cālānā » *sending forward* (\*cālāpana = cālāna); মানান « mānānā » *harmony, agreement, beauty* (\*mānāpana < mānaya-); উজান « ujānā » *flow-tide, up-stream* (\*udyāpana-); উড়(ত)ন « urānā, urānā » *উড়ান, উড়ন « urānā, urānā » causing to fly away, extravagance,*

wasteful expenditure (\*uddāpana-); † ছোড়ান্ < chōṛānḥ > *separating, freeing, disclosing* > a key (ছোড় √chōṛ=ছাড় √chār); শোনান < śōnānā > *causing to hear* (MIA. \*sunāvāna=śrāvāna); গড়ান্ < gārānḥ > *slope*, গড়ান < gārānā > *a rolling, to roll* (MIA. \*gadd); etc. There are old and recent formations from nouns also: জুতান, জুতানো < jutānā, jutānō >, also in Calcutta জুতানো, জুতুনো < jutōnō, jutunō > *shoe-beating* (জুতা < jutā > *shoe*); sts. যোগান্ < jōgānḥ > *aiding with materials*, যোগান < jōgānā > *act of supplying* (yōga); লাথানো < lāthānō > *kicking* (< লাথ lāthḥ, লাথি lāthi *kick*); হাতানো < hātānō > *obtaining, filching* (হাত < hātḥ > *hand*); পেঁচানো < pēcānō > *twisting, moving to and fro* (পেঁচ < pēc > *twist* from the Persian); কমান < kā mānā > *lessening* (Pers. < kam > *less*); জমান < jā mānā > *gathering* (Pers. jam<sup>o</sup>); etc.

The affix has a feminine form, from OIA. < -āpana + -ikā > = OB., eMB. < -āwāni, -āni >, which gives in NB.

(13a) আনী (আনি) < -āni (-āni) >, উনী (উনি) < -uni (-uni) >.

This affix possesses only a vague diminutive force. OB. < \*-āwāni > would normally be contracted to MB. and NB. < -āni > (see p. 349), and this < -āni > by Vowel Harmony becomes < -āni > and < -uni > (p. 398). But in the transformation of the affix from < \*-āwāni > to < -āni, -uni >, it seems that there was some influence of the glide < -w- > in bringing about the < -ā-, -u- >; dialectally at least, the < w > was pronounced in MB.: the word ভয়ানী < bhāyāni > *frightful* (\*bhāyāwāni = \*bhāyāpanikā), beside the other regular forms in < -āni >, would indicate that. Examples: শুনানী < śunāni > *hearing (of a case)*; পারানী < pārāni > *ferrying* > *fare paid in crossing* (\*pārāpanikā); ঝাঁকানী < jhākāni >, beside ঝাঁকনী, ঝাঁকান্ < jhākāni, jhākuni > *a shaking*; দেখানী < dēkhāni > *sight* > *money paid for a sight* (= darsāni); তোলানী as in শেজ-তোলা'ন < śējḥ-tōlāni > *money paid for making or clearing the bed* (তুল √tul *raise*); নিকানী < nikāni > beside নিকূনি < nikuni > *wiping, mopping the floor* (নিক √nik < √nij, nikta); নিড়ানী < niṛāni > *hoeing (in agriculture)* (? ni + dru, drāv); উড়ানী, উড়ুনী < uṛāni, uṛuni > *sheet, light shawl* may be a blend of < \*uddāpanikā > *that which flies or flaps* + ওড়নী < oṛhāni > = < ava-vēṣṭānikā > (see p. 398); জলুনী < j(w)āluni, j(w)ālāni > from \*জলানী < \*j(w)ālāni > *burning*, beside জালানী < j(w)ālāni >



causing a burning = firewood (see p. 408); ŚKK. মাতানী < mātānī > *churn-stick* (\*manthāpanikā); etc., etc.

(14) আন (আনে) < -ānā (-ānō) > (ii).

**409.** The passive participle affix for causative and denominative roots = OIA. < -māna-ka, -y-āna-ka >. (See *infra*, under Verb: 'Causatives.')

Examples: করান < kārānā > *done, caused to be done* (< \*kārāwānā > for < \*kārāpana-ka, \*kāra-yāna-ka >); দেখান < dēkhānā > *shown*; ঠেগান < ṭhēṅ-gānā > (*caused to be*) *beaten with a stick* (ঠেগা ṭhēṅgā); etc., etc. It is sometimes difficult to determine whether the form with < -ānā > is the verbal noun (p. 664), or the passive participle: e.g., শোনান হইয়াছে < śōnānā hāiyāchē > *it has been reported*, which may be either (a) *a-causing-to-be-heard has-taken-place*, or (b) *caused-to-be-heard it-has-been*.

(15) আনী (আনি) < -ānī (-āni) >.

**410.** This is a Bengali formation, from an earlier পানী < pānī > *water* (= pānīya) in compounds: < -pānī > becomes < -wānī > and then there is dropping of < w̄ >. Examples: ঐষানী (see p. 349); চৌষানী < cōānī > *water that leaks out* (চৌ, চৌ √cō, cō = cyav); চৌষানী < cōbānī > *sousing water, a sousing* (চৌষ √cōb *to cause to dash into water, to plunge, duck into water*); চৌষানী < cōkhānī > *water from the eye, tear* (চৌষ cōkh < চউষ cāukhṣ < cākṣuh); ধৌষানী < dhōānī > *washings* (ধৌ √dhō = dhāv); নৌকানী < nōkānī > *water stirred by the finger-nails (and so not fit for drinking)* (nākha + pānīya-); নাকানী < nākānī > *rheum or water from the nose, water reaching to the nose* (নাক < nākṣ > *nose*); ছিটকানী < chitṣkānī > *water scattered about* (ছিটকা < chitṣkā > *scatter*; there is another ছিটকানী meaning *bolt to a door*, which shows the < -ānī > affix under [13a] *supra*).

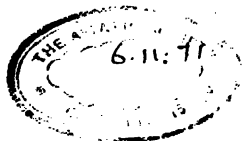
(16) আম, আম, য়, ম, আমী (আমি), অমি, ওমি, উমি, মি < -āmṣ, -āmā, -mṣ, -mā, -āmi (-āmi), -āmi, -ōmi, -umi -mi >.

**411.** A common affix to form abstract nouns, or nouns indicative of a characteristic or profession. It has been confused or connected wrongly

with the *ls.* affix « -iman » > ইম, ইমা « -imā, -imā », which is found in Bengali, as in other NIA. The source of this affix is an OB. কাম « kāmā » work (karma), with extensions : « karma » -kamma > -kāmā > -āmā > আম -āmā; karma-ka > -kamma-a > \*kāmāwa > -āmā > আম -āmā; karmika, karmikā > -kammia > \*kāmi > -āmi > আমি -āmi ». The strong initial stress, as well as MB. mutation, has brought about the loss of the « -ā » in IMB. and NB., and reduced the form to ম্, ম, মি « -mā, -mā, -mi » etc. In MB., the word কামিনা, কামিনী = কামিনী « kāmīnā, -inī » < -inīyā » occurs, meaning a labourer, and a form আমিনী, আমিনি « āminī, āminī » also is found (as in the 'Sūnya-Purāṇa') : the latter word, explained as meaning a female devotee of Dharma, may be connected with কাম « kāmā » work, service. Examples : ঠকাম « ṭhākāmā » cheating, roguery (ঠক « ṭhākā » cheat, 'thug') ; পাকাম, পাকামি « pākāmā, -mi » behaving like a ripe (i.e. aged) person, precocity (পাকা « pākā » ripe) ; so জেঠাম « jēṭhāmā » behaving like a respected elder uncle = impertinence on the part of a boy or youth (জেঠা « jēṭhā » father's elder brother) ; নেকাম, -মি « nekāmā, -mi » playing a fool (নেকা « nekā » idiot, fool) ; ছেলেম, -মি « chēlēmā, -mi » childishness (ছেলে = ছালিয়া « chēlē, chālīā » child) ; বড়াং < বড়াম্ « bārāṅ < bārāmā » playing a big man, boasting (বড় « bārā » big) ; বুড়াম, বুড়ম, বুড়ামি « burāmā, burāmā, burāmi » behaving like an old man ; গিন্নাম, গিন্নম « ginnāmā, ginnāmā » matronly talk and ways (গিনি « ginni » = গৃহিণী « gṛhiṇī » mistress of the house) ; ঢেঁটাম, -মি « ḍhēṭāmā, -mi » perversity (ঢেঁটা « ḍhēṭā » < « ḍhrṣṭa ») ; বাঁদরাম, -মি « bāḍārāmā, -mi » trickishness (used of children) (বাঁদর = বানর « bāḍārā = bānārā » = « vānara ») ; ফচকেমি, ফচকাম « phācākēmi, phācākāmā » (ফচকিয়া « phācākiyā » chatterbox, over-smart fellow) ; ফিচলাম ফিচলম, ফিচলামি, ফিচলিম « phicāḷāmā, -lāmā, -lāmi, -limi » acuteness, trickery (ফিচাল « phicāḷā » an acute one) ; পেজোম, পেজোমি « pējōmā, pējōmi » viciousness (পাজী « pāji » mischievous character > পাজুরা + আমি « pājurā + -āmi ») ; গৌয়ারতামি, -তমি « gōārātāmi, -tāmi » churlishness, rashness, brusqueness (\*গৌয়ারত « gōārātā » one behaving like a churl [see p. 668], with « -ātā » affix, see §397, + « -āmi ») ; ছোটলোকমি « chōṭā-lōkā-mi » meanness ; etc., etc.

The word ঘরামী « ghārāmi » house-builder, maker of a hut (= ঘর + কাম > আম + জে « ghārā + (k)āmā + i ») comes under this.

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(17) আর, আরী (আরি) < -ārṣ, -ārī (-āri) >, অরি, ইরি, উরি < -āri, -iri, -uri >, রী < -rā > (i).

412. From < -kāra, -kārin (-kārika) >, forming agent nouns : দোহার, দোহার < dō(h)ārṣ > < \*dhuāra > member of a chorus (dhruva-kāra); পূজারী < pūjārī > worshipper (pūjā-kāri-); কাঁসারী < kāsārī > brass or bell-metal worker (kānsya-kārika); কুমার < kumārṣ > potter, by Vowel Harmony কুমোর < kumōrṣ > (kumbha-kāra); চামার < cāmārṣ > (carma-kāra); শাঁধারী < śākhārī > (śaṅkha-kāri-); ভিখারী, ভিখরি < bhikhārī > bhik(h)iri > beggar (bhikṣā-kāri-); জুয়ারী < juārī > (dyūta-kāri-), beside জুাড়ী < jūārī > (dyūta- + √vr̥t); MB. বাণিজ্যার < bāñijārā > (vāñijya-kāra); কুশারী < kuśārī > a class of Brāhman̄s (kuśa-kāri-); MB. চূণারী < cūñārī > lime-worker (cūrṇa-kāri-); MB. বেগারী < khōyārī > ferryman (kṣēpa-kāri-); ডুবরী < ḍubārī >, by Vowel Harmony ডুবুরী < ḍuburi > diver (ডুব √ḍub = MIA. buḍḍa); ধুনরী < dhunārī >, beside ধুনুরি < dhunuri > cotton-carder (ধুন √dhun shake); পিরার < piyārṣ >, fem. পিরারী < piyārī > beloved (priya-kāra, -kārikā); ছুতার < chutārṣ > carpenter seems to be a blend of < sūtra-dhāra > and < \*sūtra-kāra >; সেকরী < sēkārā > goldsmith, see pp. 194-195; উয়ারী < uārī >, বার-উয়ারী < bār-uārī >, see p. 325; গৌয়ার < \*gāḍāyar > gōārṣ < gāḍāra > boor (grāma + kāra); etc.

The word কারার < kāmārṣ > black-smith, in Pali < kammāra >, represents the Vedic < karmāra > (which is probably connected with the Dravidian [Tamil] < karumā > smith, smelter: cf. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, 'Life in Ancient India, etc.' Madras, 1912, p. 15); and the Skt. কার্মকার < karma-kāra > is an artificial formation, which is now used by members of the black-smith caste as a surname.

(18) আর, আরী (আরি) < -ārṣ, -ārī (-āri) > (ii).

413. From < -ākāra >, slightly modifying or altering the sense of the word. It occurs only in a very few words. পায়ার < pāyārṣ > a metre (< padākāra >, see pp. 285, 288); বিয়ারী < jhiyārī > daughter (ঝী < jhi > < dhītā, duhitā >: the affix has only a pleonastic force here: probably through analogy of বছারী bāhuārī > = বোহারী < bauhārī > [for which see p. 345], which is wrongly connected with বছ < bāhu > = < vadhū >, after the

metathesis of the < h > took place); মাঝার < mājhārṣ > *middle*, মাঝারী < mājhārī > *middling-sized* (< madhyākāra >, pleonastic; < \*madhyākarika >).

(19) আর, আরী (আরি) < -ārṣ, -ārī (-āri) > (iii).

414. From < -āgāra, -āgārin (-āgārika, -ikā) >: ভাঁড়ার < bhāṅrārṣ > *store* (bhāṅḍāgāra); MB. কাঁড়ার, beside কাণ্ডার < kāṅrārṣ, kāṅḍārṣ > *keel of boat* (kāṅḍāgāra); সাতার < sābhārṣ > *place-name* (? sabhvāgāra); মেহার mēhārṣ > *place-name* (? mahāgāra); ভাঁড়ারী < bhāṅrārī > *store-keeper* (bhāṅḍāgārika); কাণ্ডারী < kāṅḍārī > *helmsman* (kāṅḍāgārika); মেহারী mēhārī > *palace* (? mahāgārikā); etc.

(20) আর < -āru >.

415. Found in a few MB. words, seems to be from < -āra > (i), with addition of < -u > (i.e. < -ū < -uka >): দিশার < diśāru > *pilot* beside দিশারী < diśārī > (diśa = dik- + kāra-); ডুবার < ḍubarū > *diver* beside ডুবারী < ḍubarī >; sts. বন্দার < bandāru > *bard, panegyrist* (< √vand); sts. বাগার < bāgāru > *talkative person* (vāg = vāc).

(21) আল, আল < -ālṣ, -ālā > (i), modified to অল, ওল < -ālā, -ōlā >.

416. The OIA. source of this is < -ā-l-a >, also probably < -ā-l-u >, both of which are found in Sanskrit, the sense being 'possessing,' 'pertaining to.' It has the < -l-a > affix (for which see *infra*) as its base. Examples: বাকাল, বাঙাল < bāṅ(g)ālṣ > *man of East Bengal* (vaṅga + -ālṣ); পাকাল < pākālṣ > *belonging to mud > a fish* (paṅkāla); ধারাল < dhārāl(ā) > *sharp-edged* (dhāra edge); দুধাল < dudhāl(ā) > *yielding milk* (dugdha + -āla); মাথাল < māthālṣ > *with a head, prominent, chief* (mastaka + -āla); আড়াল āṛālṣ > *obstruction* (আড় < āṛṣ > *slanting*); তেজাল < tējālṣ > *spirited* (tējas); পেঁচাল < pēcālṣ > *with twists* (পেঁচ < pēcṣ > < Pers. < pēc >); ভাটীয়াল < bhāṭīyālṣ > *belonging to the down-country > a folk-melody* (< ভাটী < bhāṭī > *flow of water = South Bengal*); বাচাল < bācālṣ > (vācāla); দাঁতাল < dāntāl(ā) > *with (big) teeth* (danta + -āla); ছিনাল < chinālṣ > *characterless woman* (MIA. phinuāla-); MB. পাকাল < pākālā > *heroism* (< pākṣ > *soldier*, see p. 383).

This affix has the usual extensions: আল > লা < -āl-ā > -lā >: e.g., বাকাল, বাঙাল, বাংলা < bāṅ(ḍ)ālā > *Bengali (speech, land)* (vaṅgāla + -ā); আলী

«-āl-ī», feminine and masculine (-ī < -ikā, -ikā), as well as abstract : e.g., বাঙ্গালী, বাঙালী «bāṅ(g)āli» (Old Bengali = feminine = a woman of East Bengal; NB. = masculine = a man of Bengal, belonging to Bengal); নগরালী «nāḡār-āl-ī» city manners; নাগরালী «nāḡār-āl-ī» gallantry, refined ways (nāḡara gallant); ঠাকুরালী «ṭhākūrāli» ways of a god, divinity; চতুরালী «cātūrāli» smartness; মেয়েলী «mēyēli < \*māiāli» belonging to women; ছিনালী «chināli» coquetry; রূপালী, রূপোলী, রূপুলি «rupāli > rūpōli > rupuli» silvery; সোনালী «sōnāli» golden; নিদালী, নিন্দালী «ni(n)dāli» sleepiness; সূতালী «sutāli» thin as a thread; etc.

(22) আল «ālḡ» (ii).

417. This affix, like the preceding one, denotes connexion. It is also used to form words indicative of trade or profession. It comes from OIA. «pāla» keeper, guardian by the dropping of «-p-> -w-»: «-pāla>-wāla>-ālḡ». Examples: রাখাল «rākḡālḡ», MB. রাখোআল «rākḡōālā» herdsman, (rakṣā-pāla); কেশল < কালীয়াল «Kūśēlḡ < Kūśīyālḡ» low class Brāhmaṇ from Benares (Kāśī-pāla); কোটাল «kōṭālḡ», Hind «kōṭwāl» head of the police, holder of a fort (koṭṭa-pāla); বাটীয়াল «ghāṭīyālḡ» holder of a pass or passage (< ghāṭī); †বাটীল, বাটোআল «ghāṭīālḡ, ghāṭōālā» man in charge of a 'ghāt' (ghaṭṭa-pāla); কুঠিয়াল «kuṭḡiyālḡ» belonging to an office > a clerk (kuṭḡi kōṭḡi < kōṣṭhikā); বড়ীয়াল «ghāṛīyālḡ» man in charge of a clock > বড়েল «ghōṛēlḡ» acute one (ghaṭṭikā); etc.

There is an extension to আল «-āl-ā»: গয়াল, †গয়ল «gōālā > gāyā» (gōpāla-); বাড়ীআল «bāṛīālā» landlord, owner of a house; কাপড়আল «kāpār-āl-ā» cloth seller; চুড়ীআল «cūrīālā» bangle seller; পাহারাল «pāhār-ālā» watchman (prahara). Also to আলী «-āl-ī», masculine and feminine (= -ikā, -ikā): গয়ালী «gāyāli» Brāhmaṇ from Gayā (Gayā-pāl-ikā); পেটেলী «pēṭēli» < পাটিয়ালী «pāṭīyāli» maid-servant (pāṭa, pāṭī order, arrangement, domestic work); বাড়ীআলী «bāṛīālī» land-lady; etc. Abstracts are formed from «-ālḡ» by adding the «-ī» of abstraction, e.g., রাখালী «rākḡāli» the work of a herdsman; কেঁড়েলী «kēṛēli» impertinence, roughness < \*কাঁড়িয়াল «kāṛīyālḡ» rough < soldier, archer (? kāṇḡa arrow); etc.

The « -ālā, -āl-ā » of Bengali has within recent times been influenced by the cognate form in Hindōstāni, which is « -wālā »: the latter is substituted in many Bengali words in « -ālā », and ordinarily « -wālā » is reduced to ওলা « -ōlā »: e.g., কাপড়ওয়ালা, কাপড়ওয়ালা « kṛpāṛ-ōlā (-wālā), -ōlā »; so গাড়ীওয়ালা « ḡāṛī-ōlā » *cubby*, পাহারওয়ালা « pāhār-ōlā » *constable*, etc. The feminine of « -wālā » is « -wālī », which, by Vowel Harmony, is reduced to উলী « -ulī » in Bengali: e.g., বাড়ীউলী « bārī-ulī » = native Bengali বাড়ীআলী « bārī-ālī ».

Through Bihārī or Hindī influence, we have also ওয়ারী « -ōārī = -wālā » in মাতোয়ারী « mātōārī (mātwārī) » *wild, mad, elated, pleased* (e.g., with perfume) = « mātwarī »: the Bengali forms are মাতাল, মাতল, মাতলা « mātālā, mātālā, mātālā » *drunk* = Hind. « mātwal ». The name বনওয়ারী « bānwārī » (see p. 521), from the Hindōstāni, can be equally from « vana-mālī » *gurlanded with wild flowers* or « \*vana-pālika » *dweller in woods*.

(23) ই < ঐ « -i < -ī » (i).

418. A secondary affix, forming nouns and adjectives. Three separate affixes of OIA. seem to converge into this single NIA. form: (i) « -ī < -in »: « mālin > NIA. mālī » *gardener*: but the force of the nominative form seems to have been only of secondary importance in the evolution of the NIA. affix; (ii) « -īya »: « dēśīya > NIA. dēśī » *native*; and (iii) « -ika »: « grāmika » > গাঁই গ্রামী » *village name, clan name*: the feminine form of this « -ikā » is also ঐ, ই « -ī, -i », which is the most popular feminine affix of NIA., for which see below. Later in NIA. this affix was strengthened by the « -ī » of Persian.

Examples: « -ī > -i » with the sense of 'possessing, having': ভারী « bhārī » *heavy*; *sts.* রাগী « rāḡī » *full of passion > choleric*; দামী « dāmī » *costly* (dramma < Gk. drakhmē); দাগী « dāḡī » *stained* (Pers. dāḡ); গুণী « ḡuṇī » *man of parts, artist* (cf. Skt. ḡuṇin); ঢাকী « ḡhākī » *drummer* (ḡhakkā); বেগুনী « bēḡunī » *purple* (= bāḡḡāṇī < vāṅḡaṇa-); OB. নৌবাহী « nau-bāhī » *boat-man*; গাঁঠী জাল « ḡāṭhī-jālā » *net with knots* (granthi-); গোলাপী « ḡolāpī » *rose-coloured* (Pers. ḡul-āb = ḡul); হিসাবী « hisābī » *careful, attentive to details* (Perso-Arabic « hisāb »); *sts.* মরমী « marāmī »

with a heart (*sts.* mārāṃṣ < marman); *ts.* আলাপী < ālāp-I > *courteous talker, acquaintance* (cf. Skt. ālāpin); দরদী < darād-I > *sympathetic* (Pers. dard);

With the sense of 'pertaining to, coming from': দেশী > দিশি < dēśī > diśi > *belonging to the country, country-born or made, native* (cf. Skt. dēśīya); রাঢ়ী < Rāṛhī > *belonging to Rāḍha*; MB. কানড়ী, কানাড়ী < kānāṛī, -nāṛī > (Karnāṛīya); মারহাট্টী < Mārāḥāṭṭī >, মারহী, -টী < Mārāṭ(h)ī > (Mahārāṣṭrīya); গুজরাটী < Gujṛāṭī > as if from < \*Gūrja-rāṣṭrīya > (গুজরাট < Gujṛ-rāṣṭṛ >, for গুজরাত < Gujṛrāṣṭṛ > < < Gūrjara-trā >, through influence of < rāṣṭra >); কটকী < Kaṭṭkī > *of Cuttuck* (Kaṭakīya); বনারসী, বেনারসী < Bānārāsī, Bēnārāsī > (Vārānāsīya); বৃন্দাবনী < Bṛndābānī > *of Brindāban*; ঢাকাই < Dhākāi > *of Dacca*; ক'লকাতাই < Kālṭkātāi > *of Calcutta*; etc.;

With the sense of 'connected with,' generally forming names of professions: হাড়ী < hāṛī > *a low caste* (haḷḍīka); কেরানী < \*kērānī < \*kārānī > *clerk* (karaṇika + kīraka); MB. গাড়ুরী < gārūrī > *snake-charmer* (gārūḍīka); বেহাই < bēhāi > *son's or daughter's father-in-law* (vāivāhika), an inherited word, affix and all; শুঁড়ী < śūrī > *wine-dealer* (śuṇḍīka, śūṇḍīka); রাঁধুনি, রাঁধুনি < rāḍhānī, -dhunī > *cook* (see ante, p. 658); *sts.* নখকুণি < nakhḥ-kuṇī > *cut or sore in the nails* (nakha-kōṇa + ī); etc.

It occurs also as অই < -āi > > উই < -ui >: বাড়ই, বাড়ুই < bārāi > bārui > *carpenter* (cf. Skt. vardhakin); বারই > বারুই < bārāi > bārui >, OB. বারয়ী < bārāyī >, (see p. 188) *grower of the betel vine* (cf. Skt. < vāru-jivin >: \*বার < bārā- >, \*বারু < bāru > *betel*, an Austric word: cf. J. Przyluski in the BSLP, XXIV, p. 257). It is pleonastic in ভারুই < bhārui < \*bhārāi > *a bird* (bharata: \*bhāratika); চড়ুই < cārui < cārāi > *sparrow* (caṭaka, \*caṭakika), beside চড়া, চড়াই < cārā, cārāi > (\*caṭaka, \*caṭākika); etc.

(24) ই < ঙ্গ < -i- < -ī- > (ii): Feminine, Diminutive, Abstract.

419. Presents an < -ikā > of OIA., and is the most common feminine affix of NIA. Examples: রাই < Rāi >, MB. রাহী < Rāhī > *a name* (Rādhikā); বুড়ি < \*বোড়ী < ghurī < \*ghōṛī > *mare* (\*ghōṛīkā); মামী < māmī > *maternal uncle's wife* (māmā + ī); কাকী < kākī > *father's younger brother's wife* (kākā + ī); খুদী < khudī > *a tiny girl* > *name for girls* (kṣudrikā); বুড়ী < burī > *old woman* (\*vṛddhikā = vṛddhā); পাগলী < pāgālī >

*mad woman* (pāgāḷā + -I); বামনী < bāmṣṇī > (\*brāhmanīkā = brāhmanī); *sts.* বটেশী, বটেশী < bāṣṭāmī, -umī > (\*vāṣṭānavīkā = vāṣṭānavī).

A number of *sts.* forms show this < -I > of Bengali, e.g., সুবচনী < subācānī > a form of *Durgā*; অঙ্গুরী < āṅsūrī > (*apsaras*); দিগম্বরী < digāmbārī > a name of *Kālī*; সুনয়নী < sunāyānī > with beautiful eyes, etc., with are solecisms from point of view of Skt.

The Skt. feminine affixes < -inī, -ānī > had an influence in restricting the Bengali ঙ্গ, ঙ্গ < -I, -I > < -ikā >: see *infra*, under < -nī >.

With names of inanimate objects, the original feminine force is lost in Bengali. In Western Hindī, Panjābī, Rājasthānī etc., the grammatical gender, however, is preserved in the < -I < -ikā > forms. The feminine < -ikā > also expressed a diminutive or petty aspect of an action or an object. The diminutive has become obscure in many words in Bengali, so that < -I < -ikā > has been reduced to a mere pleonastic affix. Examples: বুলী < bulī > *talk* (bōllā + -I); রুটী < ruṭī > *bread* (cf. rōṭīkā); চুসী < cuṣī > *baby-soother* (cuṣā + -I); মাটি < māṭī > (mṛṭṭīkā); গলুই < \*গলুই < gāluī < \*gāḷāhī > *prow of a boat* (gāla-vahīkā); ছুরী, ছুরি < churī, -ri > *knife*, beside ছোরী < chōrī > *dagger* (churīkā); রাই < rāī > *mustard* (rājīkā); পাই < pāī > *a fourth, piece* (pādīkā); পুথী < puṭhī >, পুঁথি < pūṭhi > *Indian MS., book* (puṣṭīkā), beside MB. পোথী < pōṭhī > (puṣṭāka-); বাতী < bātī > *candle, light* (vartīkā); লাঠি < lāṭhī > (\*yaṣṭīkā = yaṣṭī); কাঠি < kāṭhī > *a thin stick* (kāṣṭhīkā); ছাতী < chāṭī > *umbrella* (\*chāṭṭīkā), beside ছাত < chāṭ > *roof*, ছাতা < chātā > *umbrella* (chāṭṭā-); ধুতী < dhutī > *'dhōṭī'* (\*dhōṭīkā = dhōṭā); ষাতি < jāṭī > *small double knife to cut betel-nuts* (yanṭīkā), beside ষাতা < jāṭā > *mill, quern* (yanṭā-); বড়মাম্বরী, বড়মানবী < bāṛā-mānu(u)ṣ-ī > *living like a rich man, high style* (-mānuṣa + -I); রাখালী < rākhāl-ī > *work of a herdsman* (rakṣāpāla + -ikā); ডাকা(ই)তী < ḍākā(i)t-ī > *robbery* (see *supra*, p. 655); কৈড়েলী < kāṭṭī < kāṭṭī < kāṭṭī > *imperlinancy, rowdiness* (< kāṭṭī > *archer*? [*< kāṇḍa-*] > *soldier, rough* + -I); পণ্ডিতী < paṇḍit-ī > *belonging to a Pundit* > *a Pundit's character or ways, scholasticism*; etc. Cf. Hindī < lāl-ī > *redness*, < hariyāl-ī > *green colour, greenness*, < rakhwāl-ī > *work of a herdsman*, etc. In Late NIA., the Persian < -I > affix of abstraction or connexion greatly reinforced this suffix.



In some stereotyped words, « -I » represents the OIA. « -ī » : e.g., রানী, রানী « rānī » (« rājñī » : or « rañña < \*rājñikā » ?).

(25) ই « -i » : Verbal Noun.

420. This affix, occurring in OIA., is practically lost to NB. It is found only in some epenthetic forms in dialectal Bengali, and it has practically become a dead suffix ; only some Skt. words in « -i » help to perpetuate it. Examples : গাঁট, গাঁইট « gā(i)t » (granthi) ; মার, মাইর « mā(i)r » a *beating* < মারি « māri » (\*mār-i) ; সারি > সা(ই)র « sari » sār(i)r » *row* (sār-i) ; MB. হাস « hāsā » (« hās-i », which occurs as a *ts.* in NB.) ; গাল, গাইল « gā(i)l » *abuse* (\*garh-i ? cf. Skt. garh-ā) ; শা(ই)ল « śā(i)l » a *kind of paddy* (śāli), also occurs in the *ts.* form in « -i » ; etc. Cf. also the OIA. suffix « -ti » in ষা(ই)ট « śā(i)t », MB. ষাঠি « śāṭhi » (śaṣ-ṭi), সত্তর « sattār » (sapta-ti), পাঁত, পাইত beside the full form পাঁতি « pā(i)t, pāti » *row* (pañk-ti), etc.

(26) ইয়া, ইয়া, এ « -iā (-iyā) » > -ē ».

421. This is a compound affix, being from the OIA. « -ikā » > MIA. « -ia » + the affix « -ā », as in § 400. It is used in forming adjectives with the sense of 'pertaining to' or 'possessing' ; and frequently it is used with a slightly disparaging sense ; as well as pleonastically. In NB., it is contracted to এ « -ē », with accompanying modification through the « -i », of connected vowels. Examples : কালিয়া, কেলে « kālīā » kēlē » *the black one* (contemptuous) (kāla black) ; হলদিয়া, হলদিয়া > হ'ল্দে হ'ল্দে « hālādīā, hāludīā » hōlude, hōldē » *yellow* (হলুদ « hālud » turmeric) ; বাইগনিয়া > বেগুনে « bāigāniyā » bēgunē » *purple, of egg-fruit* (vātingana) colour ; জালিয়া > জেলে « jāliā » jēlē » *fisherman* (jāla net) ; হালিয়া, হেলে « hāliyā » hēlē » *farmer* (hāla = hala plough) ; নগরিয়া > নগুরে « nāgariyā » nāgurē » *man of the city* ; বানিয়া > বেনে « bāniā » bēnē » *merchant* (\*vānika- = vaṇik) ; মাটিয়া > মেটে « māṭiā » mēṭē » *earthen* (māṭi < mṛttikā + -ika + -āka) ; (in the word মেটে as in মেটে ফিরিঙ্গী « mēṭē phiringī » a *Eurasian, a half-caste*, we have, however, the French word « métis », approximated to the Bengali word by folk-etymology) ; উত্তরিয়া > উত্তরে

« uttāriyā > utturē » *northern*; দক্ষিণিয়া > দক্ষিণে, দ’ধনে « dākhiniyā > dōkhiṇē, dōkhnē » *southern*; পূর্বিয়া < পূবে « pūbiyā > pūbē » *eastern*; পশ্চিমিয়া > পশ্চিমে « pāścimiyā > pōścimē » *western*; MB. আভাগিয়া « ābhāgiyā » > NB. আবাগে « ābāgē » *luckless*; পাড়াগাইয়া > পাড়াগেয়ে « pāṛāgāiyā < -gēyē » *rural* (pāṛāka + grāma + -ika + -āka); কাঁদনিয়া > কাঁদনে « kāḍḍaniyā > kāḍḍunē » *ready to weep*; MB. \*নেয়ার-আঁকড়িয়া « \*nēyār-āṅkṛiyā » > NB. নেই-আঁকড়ে « nēi-āṅkṛē » *one who clings to argument (nyāya) > obstinate*; নাগপুরিয়া > নাগপুরে « Nāgṣpuriyā > Nāgṣpurē » *of Nāgpur*; ওড়িয়া > উড়িয়া, উড়ে « Ōṛiyā > Uṛiyā > Urē » *Oṛiyā, of the Odra country*; MB. (ŠKK.) নাতিয়া « nātiyā » = নাতী « nāṭī » *grandson (napṭṛ-)*; কহনিয়া > কহনে, কউনে « kāhāniyā > kō(h)unē » *talker*; জাগনিয়া > জাগানে « jāgāniyā > jāgānē » *one who wakens*; দেহনিয়া, দিয়নিয়া > দিউনে « dēhaniyā, diyāniyā > diunē » *a giver*; etc.

Although one of the most common affixes in Bengali, it is frequently disguised in the Standard Colloquial by contraction and by mutation of vowels.

(27) ইএ, ইয়ে « -ie, -iyē ».

**422.** This NB. affix denotes ‘one who is accustomed to do a thing, a habitué.’ Typical words are খাইয়ে « khāiē » *a (good) eater*, গাইয়ে « gāiē » *a good singer, a professional singer*, বাজিয়ে « bājīē » *a clever musician*, নাচিয়ে « nāciē » *a good dancer*, খেলিয়ে « kheliē » *a clever player*, করিয়ে « kariē » *an adept*, বলিয়ে « baliē » *a conversationalist*, কহিয়ে > কইয়ে « kā(h)iē » *a good talker*. Forms like the above are used as adjectives or predicatives, and in some cases they have become nouns. They recall Western Hindi forms like « khawaiyā, gawaiyā, kabaiyā » etc. Earlier Bengali forms, not attested, would be « \*khāiāyā, \*gā(h)aiyā, \*bājaiyā, \*nācaiāyā, \*khalaiyā, \*kāraiāyā, \*bōlaiyā, \*kāhāiyā » etc. The Hindi affix « -aiyā, -awaiyā », and the source of the NB. « -iē » are apparently identical; and it is not unlikely that the affix in NB., which is found mainly in the colloquial, is a recent borrowing from Hindi, with the usual West Bengali contraction. There is no corresponding affix in Oṛiyā and in Assamese. Maithili has the pleonastic « -aiyā », which, however, is different in meaning.

Hoernle takes this suffix to be «-awaiyā» and thinks that «-aiyā» is a contracted form of it; and «-awaiyā» he derives from an «-āw» from MIA. «-avva» (< OIA. «-tavva») + a pleonastic «-aiyā» (< -aka + -ika + -ka) (Gaudian Grammar, §314). But it would be more reasonable to regard the suffix to be «-aiyā», and the «-w-» only as a euphonic insertion (cf. J. T. Platts, 'Grammar of the Hindūstāni or Urdū Language,' London, 1873, p. 208). The OIA. basis of it apparently is an agentive in «-aka» (khādaka > khāaa, khāwaa, gāyaka > gāaa, gāwaa [\*gāthayaka > \*gāhaaa, \*gāheaa], \*vādyā-ka [=vādaka] > \*vajjaa > \*bājaa, etc.), to which the «-ika» > -ia» and then the «-āka» > -āa, -ā» affixes were added, pleonastically, in the Early NIA. stage: «\*kathaka + -ika + -āka» > «\*kahāiāa» > «\*kāhāiyā» (Hindōstāni «kahaiyā») > कहिये «kāhiē» > कहिये «kāiyē» [koie].

(28) ইত «-it-».

423. The affix ইত «-it-» is derived from the OIA. present participle base «-ant-» (see *supra*, pp. 653-4). In Bengali, it forms the present participle in an adverbial or conditional sense, with the locative affix «-ē»: e.g., মেঘ চাইতে জল «mēghṣ cāitē (< \*cāhantahi) jāṣṣ» (on one) asking for the cloud, (there is) rain; or করিতে করিতে «kāritē kāritē (< \*karantahi) while doing; and it gives the base for the past habitual or past conditional (and in some East Bengal dialects, for the future) tense.

See also *supra* p. 663, under আইত, আত «-āitṣ, -ātṣ».

(29) ইব «-ibā».

424. Base for the future, and for a verbal noun, with an extended form ইব «-ih-ā». From OIA. «-itavya-» > MIA. «-iabba-» > «\*-ṣbba, -ibba». See *infra*, under 'Verb.'

(30) ইল «-ilṣ» (i).

425. In MIA. «-illa», from OIA. pleonastic and adjectival affix «-i-la» (cf. Pāṇini, V, iii, 79), forming nouns and adjectives in Bengali, from nouns. It is not a living affix in NB., but is fairly common in MB. Cf. Hindi «chail» handsome, accomplished (chāilla, chavila).

Examples: পাতিল < pātīlṣ > an earthen-pot for cooking (patta, pātra); কুঁচিল < kūcilṣ > crooked (কুঁচ √kūc < √kuñc); *s.s.* †আঙিল < āṅḍilṣ > strong one, chief (aṅḍa + -illa); *M.B. s.s.* আরতিল < ārāti-lā > filled with a great desire (ārati + -ila); পাকিল < pākīlā > ripe (pakva + -ila); etc. Cf. *ts.* কুঁতিল < kuṭīlṣ > crooked. The *ts.* word < śarīra > is vulgarly pronounced as শরীল, শরিল [ʃoril], as if it had the < -ilṣ > affix.

(31) ইল < -ilā > (ii).

426. Past base, also (specially in OB. and MB.) passive participle adjective. From OIA. < -(i)ta > + pleonastic affix < -i-la- > whence Late MIA. < \*-iailla- > \*-illa- >, in Eastern Magadhan. (OIA. < -(i)ta + -alla > probably gave < \*-alla- > -alṣ >, in Central and Western Magadhan). See below, under 'Verb.' This < -ilā > occurs also in a few nouns and adjectives in Bengali, although the adjectival and nominal use of < -ilā > forms from verb roots is almost obsolete in the language. Examples: *M.B.* ভূখিল < bhukhīlā > hungry (bubhuksita + -ila); সূতিল < sutīlā > sleeping (supta + -ila); ভাঙ্গিল < bhāṅḡilā > broken (\*bhāṅḡita + -ila); *OB.* (Caryā 33) দুহিল দুধ < duhila dudhu > milk that has been milked off (\*duhita + -ila); *NB.* গেল < gēlā > last < gone (gata + -ila); etc.

The affix ইলে < -il-ē > forming the conjunctive, is the old locative form of it: চলিলে < calilē > on having walked (\*calillahi).

(32) উ < উ < -u < -ū > (i).

427. From an OIA. < -u > (adjectival and nominal) + < -ka >. It implies a pettiness and loveliness of the object indicated, and is found in familiar and affectionate forms, specially of names: *c.g., s.s.* দুষ্ট < duṣṭu > the little naughty one (duṣṭa-); *s.s.* ধুতু < dhuttu > the little sly one (dhūrta); বল < Bālu > affectionate for < Balarāma >; খুকু < khuku > tiny little baby, darling of a child (< খোক < khōkā > baby); পাঁচু < Pācu > (Pañcānana a name); so নরু < Nāru > (Narēndra), হরু < Hāru > (Harēndra, Hara-nātha, etc.), রাদু < Rādhu > (Rādha-kānta, etc.), কানু < Kānu > (Kṛṣṇa-); বড়ু < Bāru > title for a Brāhmaṇ (vaṭuka = ?vṛta + -u + -ka); etc., etc. It occurs also (peonastically in some cases) in the formation of nouns

and adjectives, like গাড়ু « gāru » *water-jar with spout* (\*gadḍuka); লাড়ু, নাড়ু « lāru, nāru » *sweetmeal* (laḍḍuka); নৌচু « nīcu » *down, in a low position* (nica); উঁচু « ūcu » *high* (ucca-), etc. The « -u » affix of Śaurasēni Apabhraṅśa, from OIA. « -aḥ », seems to have influenced this affix in the formative period of Bengali (see *supra*, p. 311).

(33) \*উ, উ > ও > অ « \*-ū > -u > -ō > -ā » (ii).

428. This is a primary affix, and the forms with it are generally repeated in NB. the meaning is 'about to do something,' 'on the point of doing.' *E.g.*, ডুবু-ডুবু « ḍubu-ḍubu » *about to sink*; উড়ু-উড়ু « uṛu-uṛu » *about to fly away, filled with a longing*; নিবু-নিবু > নিবো-নিবো « nibu-nibu > nibō-nibō » *on the point being extinguished* (also নিভ-নিভ « nibhā-nibhā »); কাঁদো-কাঁদো, কাঁদ-কাঁদ « kādō-kādō, kādā-kādā » *about to burst into tears*; পাকো-পাকো « pākō-pākō » *nearly ripe*; দাউ-দাউ করে জ্বালা « dāu-dāu kōre jwālā » *to burn fiercely*, etc. The form হবু « hābu » [fiobu] *about-to-be, future* (e.g., হবু-জামাই « hābu jāmāi » *the son-in-law to be*, হবু-রাজা « hābu-rājā » *the future king*) seems to be for \*হো-উ « \*hō-u », with euphonic insertion of « b »: similarly খাউ-খাউ > খাবো-খাবো করা « khāu-khāu > khābō-khābō kārā » *to be eager to eat*, etc. (Cf. আদোবে « ādōbē », p. 511).

In Hindōstāni, there is an affix « -ū » which appears to be the same as the Bengali one: « bēc-ū » *seller*, « kīn-ū » *buyer*, « ḍāk-ū » *robber*, « jāg-ū » *watcher*, « uṛā-ū » *causer to fly > spendthrift*, « bigār-ū » *spoiler*, « jhagṛ-ū » *quarrelsome person*, etc. Hoernle connects it with the Skt. « -tṛ » + pleonastic « -ka » (*op. cit.*, § 333). But a likelier derivation would be from an OIA. « -u-ka » (cf. J. T. Platts, *Hindustani Grammar*, p. 209). This affix is found in Skt., in words like « ghāt-uka, kām-uka, bhāv-uka » etc., 'having the meaning and construction of a present participle' (see Whitney, *Skt. Grammar*, § 1180). There was also an « -ūka » rather rare, in OIA.: cf. Skt. « jāgar-ūka ».

Oṛiyā has the present participle affix « -u » (« kār-u, khā-u, jā-u » etc.), which seems to be the same affix as the Bengali and Hindōstāni ones (Hoernle derives the Oṛiya « -u », however, from the present participle « -anta », *op. cit.*, § 301: this is precluded phonologically).

(34) উআ > উও, ও < -uā > -uō, -ō >.

429. This is an extension of the preceding with the « -ā », used, like « -iyā » (p. 674), to indicate relation or connexion. It is also added to proper names, to indicate contempt. When affixed to an ordinary noun, it turns the latter to an adjective. There is the usual mutation of the vowels, and this fact often disguises this affix in the NB. Standard Colloquial. Examples: জলুয়া > জ'লো « jāl-uā > jōlō » *watery*; বকুয়া > বোরো « ghār-uā > ghōrō » *domestic*; হাটুয়া > হেটো « hāt-uā > hētō » *of the market*; জরুয়া > জ'রো « j(w)ār-uā > jōrō » *suffering from fever*; MB. শরুয়া > সারুয়া « śār-uā » *like a reed* > *slender* (NB. সর, শর « śaru, śāru » *lean and thin* < « śārṣ + -ū »); ধামুয়া > ধেনো « dhān-uā > dhēnō » (i) *(land) growing rice*, (ii) *rice-beer*; কাঠুয়া > কেঠো « kāṭh-uā > kēṭhō » *made of wood*; দামুয়া > দেনো « dān-uā > dēnō » *given as a gift*; \*দীঅরাথুআ > দেয়থো « \*dīā-rākh-uā > dērkhō » *a wooden or earthen lamp-stand*; \*কাঠকুআ > কেটকো « \*kāṭhāk-uā > kēṭkō » *a wooden vessel*; টাকুয়া > টেকো « ṭāk-uā > ṭēkō » *bull-pate*; so মেছো « mēchō » *fishmonger*; বাটুয়া > বেটো « bāt-uā > bētō » *belonging to the road* (bāṭa < vartman) > *a hack*; পামুয়া > পেনো « Pānuā > Pēnō » *contemptuous or familiar form of a name* (= Prāṇa-nātha, Pānnā-lālṣ, etc.), কালুয়া > কেলো « Kālūā > Kēlō » (Kāla-), রেমো, শেমো « Rēmō, Śēmō » (Rāma, Śyāma); বদুয়া > ব'দো « Jāduā > Jōdō » (Yadu), etc., etc.; \*মাউসুয়া > মেসো « \*māus-uā > mēsō » *mother's sister's husband* (« māusi = māṭṣvasṣ- »: cf. \*পিউসিয়া > পিসে « \*piusiā > pisē » *father's sister's husband*); etc., etc.

(35) ক, অক < -kā (-kṣ), -ṣkṣ >, ইক < -ikṣ >, উক < -ukṣ > (i).

430. This affix is quite a common one in Bengali, and is employed primarily to form nouns (abstract, concrete, or onomatopoeic), generally from verb roots: e.g., মোড়ক « mōṛ-ṣkṣ » *packet* (মুড়/√mur fold); টনক « ṭān-ṣkṣ » *jerk, blow, striking* > *remembrance* (টন ṭanṣ sense of tightness, টান √ṭān pull); চড়ক « cār-ṣkṣ » *a rising aloft* > *swinging by hooks from a high post, the hook-swinging festival* (চড় √cār ride); ছলক « chāl-ṣkṣ » *splash, spill of water* (ছল chāl onomatopoeic for splashing of water); so ঢলক « cāl-ṣkṣ » *spilling of water*; মড়ক « māṛ-ṣkṣ » *pestilence* (< maṛa = mṛta); সড়ক « śār-ṣkṣ » *road, highway* (\*sāṛa = sṛta); ক(ট)ক « phāt-ṣkṣ, phāt-ṣkṣ »

gate (cf. ফাট  $\sqrt{\text{phāṭ}}$  *split*); আটক  $\leftarrow \text{āt-ākṣ}$   $\leftarrow$  *confinement* (cf. আড়  $\text{āṛṣ}$  *obstruction*); বালক  $\leftarrow \text{jhāl-ākṣ}$  *flame* (বাল  $\sqrt{\text{jhāl}}$ , p. 479); চটক  $\leftarrow \text{cāt-ākṣ}$   $\leftarrow$  *brilliance*; জমক  $\leftarrow \text{jām-ākṣ}$   $\leftarrow$  *pomp*; ঠেঠক  $\leftarrow \text{bāiṭh-ākṣ}$   $\leftarrow$  *a stand* ( $\text{bāiṭṭha} < \text{upavi-ṭa}$ ); ফুক, ফুক  $\leftarrow \text{phukṣ}$ ,  $\text{phūkṣ}$   $\leftarrow$  *puffing, blowing* (cf.  $\text{phutkāra}$ ); ঝিলিক  $\leftarrow \text{jhil-ikṣ}$   $\leftarrow$  *sparkle*; ছিলিক  $\leftarrow \text{chil-ikṣ}$   $\leftarrow$  *spilling or scattering of water*; চুক  $\leftarrow \text{cukṣ}$   $\leftarrow$  *mistake*; সূড়ুক  $\leftarrow \text{sur-ukṣ}$   $\leftarrow$  *sound of quick motion*; etc.

The MIA. forms of the affix would be  $\leftarrow \text{-akka}$   $\leftarrow$  :  $\leftarrow *mōḍakka$ ,  $\leftarrow *ṭanakka$ ,  $\leftarrow *maḍakka$ ,  $\leftarrow *jhalakka$ ,  $\leftarrow *uvaṭṭhakka$   $\leftarrow$ , etc. In Śaurasēni Apabhraṅśa, as a matter of fact, we find such forms as  $\leftarrow \text{sāsānala-jhalakkaiaū}$   $\leftarrow$  (=  $\text{śvāsānala-jhalat-kṛta}$ ),  $\leftarrow \text{khuḍukkaī}$   $\leftarrow$  (=  $\text{salyāyatē}$ ),  $\leftarrow \text{ghuḍukkaī}$   $\leftarrow$  (=  $\text{garjati}$ ),  $\leftarrow \text{cavēḍa-caḍakka}$   $\leftarrow$  (=  $\text{capēṭa-caṭat-kṛta}$ ),  $\leftarrow \text{phukkij-janta}$   $\leftarrow$  (=  $\text{phut-kriyamāṇa}$ ) (in the Apabhraṅśa verses in Hēma-candra: cf. Pischel, 'Materialen zur Kenntniss des Apabhraṅśa,' Berlin, 1902). Following the indication of the Prakrit grammarians, the NIA.  $\leftarrow \text{-akṣ}$  and the MIA.  $\leftarrow \text{-akka}$  can be well affiliated to an OIA. compounding of a root or its participle base in  $\leftarrow \text{-a(n)t-}$  with  $\leftarrow \text{kṛta}$ ,  $\sqrt{\text{kṛ}}$   $\leftarrow$  : চক  $\leftarrow \text{cāmākṣ}$  (also চৌক  $\leftarrow \text{cāūkṣ}$ , চক  $\leftarrow \text{cāwākṣ}$  in MB., the proper *ibh.* forms)  $\leftarrow$  MIA.  $\leftarrow \text{camakka}$ ,  $\leftarrow *camakkaa$ ,  $\leftarrow \text{camakkia}$   $\leftarrow$  OIA.  $\leftarrow \text{camat-kṛta}$   $\leftarrow$ ; so চুক  $\leftarrow \text{cukṣ}$   $\leftarrow$  ( $\text{cyut-kṛta}$ ); থক, থাক  $\leftarrow \text{thākṣ}$ ,  $\text{thākṣ}$   $\leftarrow$  *remain, be arrested* ( $\text{stabh-kṛta}$ ), beside থমক  $\leftarrow \text{thāmākṣ}$   $\leftarrow$  *sudden stop* ( $\leftarrow *thambhakk[i]a < \text{stambha} + \text{kṛta}$   $\leftarrow$  : here apparently we have a generalised  $\leftarrow \text{-akka}$   $\leftarrow$  added to a noun form in MIA.). A connexion with OIA.  $\leftarrow \text{-a-ka}$   $\leftarrow$ , apparently introduced as a *ts.* in Second and Late MIA. (the phonetics of which changed it to  $\leftarrow \text{-akka}$   $\leftarrow$ ) can also well be inferred: e.g., MIA. ( $\text{Māgadhī}$ )  $\leftarrow \text{haḍakka} = *hṛd-a-ka$ ;  $\text{haggē} = *ahakkē = \text{ahakam} < \text{aham}$ ;  $\text{lēḍ(h)ukka} = \text{lēṣṭuka}$ ;  $\text{nāakka} = \text{nāyaka}$   $\leftarrow$ , etc. (See  $\leftarrow \text{-ka}$   $\leftarrow$  [ii] below. Cf. Pischel, § 194; Hoernle, Gaudian Grammar, § 338; JASB., 1880, I, p. 37, 'Hindī Roots'; also cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 94). It has also been suggested, by Bloch, that the affix in part goes back to the OIA. adjectival and pleonastic  $\leftarrow \text{-kya}$   $\leftarrow$ , as in  $\leftarrow \text{pārakya} < \text{para}$   $\leftarrow$  (cf. also  $\leftarrow \text{māṇikya} < \text{maṇi}$   $\leftarrow$ ). Further, Bloch draws our attention to the  $\leftarrow \text{-kk-}$   $\leftarrow$  (also  $\leftarrow \text{-k-}$ ,  $\leftarrow \text{-g-}$   $\leftarrow$ ) affix which is such a common one in the Dravidian languages, in which, apart from other functions, it is used in forming verbal nouns from

roots: e.g., « √naḍ » *to walk* > « naḍ-akk-ai, naḍ-akk-al, naḍ-akk-udal » *walking*; « √iru » *to be* > « iru-kk-ai » *being*; « √śōy » *to do* > « śōy-gai » *doing*, etc., as in Tamil, and « √uṇṇu » *to eat* > « uṇṇike » *eating*, as in Kannada (Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 105; Caldwell, 'Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages', 1916, pp. 542-543).

In its origin, it would thus seem that this affix is derived from « kṛta » and other forms of « √kṛ ». There seems also to have been present the influence of the Skt. affix « -a-ka », which was Prakritised into « -akka ». And it is not improbable that in MIA. times a « -kk-, -g-, -k- » affix existed in North Indian Dravidian dialects (now superseded by IA.), and this affix of Dravidian was not without its influence in the establishment of « -akka » in MIA. of the Second and Third stages.

The ইক, উক « -ikḥ, -ukḥ » forms seem to be due to Vowel Harmony, the « -ă- » changing to « -i-, -u- » when the root or base form had these vowels, by attraction.

Extensions of ক, অক « -kḥ, -ăkḥ » in Bengali :

(অ)ক « -ăkā », i.e. « -ăkḥ + -ā »: adjectival and pleonastic, with an implication of biggishness or coarseness: পটকা « pāṭăkā » *cracker, squib*, beside পটক « pāṭăkḥ » *a throwing down with cracking noise*; চলকা « caḷăkā » *a dash and a fall of liquid through overflowing*; ফটকা « phāṭăkā » *dry, making a crackling noise when broken*; হোঁৎকা « hōṭăkā » *grunting, ugly, rude person*; হুড়কা « huṛăkā » *a bar, a bolt*; etc.

অকৌ, (অ)কি « -ăki, -ăki »: with adjectival « -i »: বৈঠকৌ « bāiṭăki » *polite, of good society* < *belonging to the drawing room*.

(অ)কৌ, (অ)কি « -ăki, -ki < -ăki »: feminine > diminutive > pleonastic in NB., generally names of concrete objects: সড়কৌ « sārăki » *javelin* (*that which moves quickly and strikes*: < sṛta < √sṛ); হেঁচকি « hēcăki »  *jerk > yawn, hiccup* (cf. হেঁচড়ান « hēc-ḥ-rā-nā » *pull*); কুঁচকি « kūcăki » *groin* (cf. কুঁচকান « kūcăkānā » *to be curled up*); ছিটকি « chităki », beside ছিটকিনী « chităkini » *bolt, latch*; etc.

The affix অক্ « -ă-kḥ », in forms like তড়াক « tāṛăkḥ » *with a sudden bound* (< ṭṛta), পড়াক « pāṛăkḥ » *with a crack*, সড়াক « sārăkḥ » *with a quick glide*, কড়াক « kāṛăkḥ » *with a crackling sound*, etc., which are mostly



used with the indeclinable conjunctive করিয়া, করে « kārīyā, kōrē » *having done* (see *supra*, p. 655, for a similar formation in বাং « -āṭṭṭ »), to indicate quick and abrupt movement or sound, is undoubtedly connected with the « -ākṣ » affix, the base apparently being a strong form in « -ā ».

Bases in « -ākṣ, -ṣkā » (the latter preferably in NB.) are used for the denominative in Bengali: e.g., MB. চমকে, চতকে « cāmākē, cāṭṭākē », NB. চমকায় « cāmṣkāy » *is startled*; ছিটকায় « chitṣkāy » *sprinkles*; etc.

(96) ক « -ṣkā » (ii) > কা « -ṣkā », কী « -ṣkī », কিয়া « -kiyā », কুয়া « -kuā ».

431. This is an adjectival affix, also used pleonastically: it is also found in the strong form in কা « -kā », with its feminine কী, কি « -kī, -kī », and also in its extensions formed by superposing other affixes, ইয়া « -iyā », উয়া « uā » etc. Examples: ধনুক « dhānuṣkā » *bow* (dhanuṣka, dhanuṣka); ঢোলক « ḍhōlākṣ » (*small*) *drum* (MIA. dholla-); শামুক « śāmuṣkā » (\*sambukka = sambu-ka); দোফরকা « dō-phārṣkā » *with two blades* (phala-); dialectal Bengali আমকা, তোমকা « āmṣkā, tōmṣkā » *of us, of you = our, your*; গদকা « gādṣkā » *Indian club, cudgel* (< *is. gadā*); দমকা « dāmṣkā » *a rush of wind, a strong puff of wind*, beside দমক « dāmākṣ » *puff, jerk* (Pers. « dam » *breath*); বড়কী « bārṣkī » *eldest daughter-in-law (= wife of the eldest one)*; so মেজকী « mējṣkī » < « mājhuā + kī », ছোটকী « chōṭṣkī », etc.; কেটকো < \*কাঠকুয়া « kōṭṣkō < \*kāṭh-āk-uā » *a wooden vessel*; পুটকে « pūṭṣkē < \*pūṭ-āk-iyā » *a tiny one* (cf. পুটি « pūṭī » *a tiny girl, a small fish*); মুনকে « munṣkē » < মণকিয়া « māṇ-āk-iyā » *a maund in weight, one who can eat food-stuffs weighing a maund*; so সেরকে « sērṣkē < \*sēr-āk-iyā » *weighing a seer*; শটকে « śāṭṣkē » < \*সটকিয়া « śāṭṣk-iyā » *plain numeration table upto 100* (from \*সটক, সড়ক « \*śāṭṣṣṣ, śāḍṣṣ » *plain movement?* seems wrongly to be connected with শত « śātā » *hundred*, and turned into শতকিয়া « śātā-k-iyā » as a « sādhu-bhāṣā » equivalent); কড়াকিয়া « kāṛā-k-iyā » *numeration table by fours and quarters* (কড়া kāṛā) *upto 100*; গণ্ডাকিয়া « gāṇḍā-k-iyā » *numeration table by fours* (গণ্ডা gāṇḍā) *and eighties, upto 400*; so বুড়কে < বুড়কিয়া « burṣkē < burī-k-iyā » *numeration table by twenties* (buri বুড়ি) *upto 2000*; পণকে < পণকিয়া « paṇṣkē < paṇā-k-iyā » *numeration table by eighties* (পণ paṇṣ) *upto 8,000*; etc.

This affix would seem to be the Skt. pleonastic and adjectival «-ka» (see Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1222), introduced into Second and Late MIA. as a *ts.* form, and normally becoming «-kka». In Magadhan, it seems to have been used for the genitive, as, *e.g.*, in Maithili «ghōrā-k» *horse's*, in Oṛiyā «puruṣāṅ-kā» *men's*, and in early and dialectal Bengali as well. In the other NIA. languages, like Western Hindi, however, the genitive affix «-kā, kaṅ» etc. seems to have come from «kaa < kṛta» ; but it is not unlikely that there was some influence of this very common and resuscitated OIA. affix. An adjective-genitive use of «-kka» is found also in Śaurasēni Apabhraṅśa as in Hēma-candra: *e.g.*, «bappi-ki bhūmbaḍi» (= pāitṛki bhūmiḥ). In the Avahaṭṭha of the 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala,' the «-ka» for the adjective genitive figures largely.

There is a pleonastic use of this «-kḥ», mainly after verbs, in Bengali and in other Magadhan languages (see *infra*, Verb: 'Pleonastic Affixes'): *e.g.*, হইবেক «hāibē-kḥ» *it will be*; করক «kār-u-kḥ» *let him do*; খালেক «khālē-kḥ» *he ate*; নাহিক «nāhi-kḥ», MB. নাহিকর «nāhi-k-āy» *is not*, beside Early Assamese নাহিকর «nāhi-k-āntā» *they are not*; and Magahi «√hi-k», Maithili «chi-k» *to be*. These last instances would show that «-kḥ», like the «-ṛ-» affix (iii) below, was added to the root: probably here was some confusion with «-kḥ» (i) (<√kṛ), as in ঠা «thā» (<√sthā) beside থক, থাক «√thāk, thāk», Maithil «√thik» (<√stabh+√kṛ). But «-ka» was used after other words also: *e.g.*, কিন্তুক «kintu-kḥ» *but (kintu)*; etc.

See *infra*, under 'Tatsama Suffixes: «-ka»'.

(37) কর «-kārḥ».

432. Found in দোকর, তেकर «dō-kārḥ, tē-kārḥ» *two-fold, three-fold*, is the Skt. noun «kara», which is also partly the source of the genitive, and of one of the dative affixes of Bengali, as well as of the common plural affix «-rā».

(38) গোছ, গোচ «-gōc(h)ḥ» < গোছের «gōch-ērḥ».

433. This is compounded with adjectives and nouns, and is used, like the English *-ish*, to mean 'like, resembling, of the group of.' The

word is the Skt. « guccha » *bundle*; and গোছ(ী) « gōchṣ (gōchā) » occurs as a numerative in Bengali. The use of the genitive form is apparently the older one: লম্বাগোছের মানুষ « lambā-gōchēṣ mānuṣṣ » lit. *a man of the 'tall-group' = a tallish man*, which was shortened to লম্বাগোছ মানুষ « lambā-gōchṣ mānuṣṣ »; so মাঝারী-গোছের > -গোছ « mājhārī-gōchēṣ, -gōchṣ » *about middling-sized*; ছোড়া-গোছের > -গোছ « chōṛā-gōchēṣ » > -gōchṣ » *rather like a lad, youngish*.

(39) চ, আচ « -eṣ, -ācṣ ».

434. In a few words like কানচ « kānācṣ » *belonging to the edge, edge*, কোণচ « kōṅācṣ » *belonging to a corner, askant*, ঘামাচী « ghāmācī » *prickly heat*,—the « -c- », or « -āc- » affix seems to be from the OIA. « -tya » forming adjectives (= karṇa-, kōṇa-, gharma- + -tya).

(40) জা « -jā ».

435. From « jāta », found in some familiar forms of surnames: = 'son of.' E.g., ঘোষজা « Ghōṣṣ-jā » *of the Ghosh family*; বোসজা < \*বসুজাত « Bōṣṣ-jā < Bāsu-jāta » *of the Bose or Basu (Vasu) family*; মিত্তিরজা « Mittirṣ-jā » *of the Mitter (Mitra) family*.

(41) ট « -(ṭ)ṭṣ- » (i), and its extensions.

436. This affix, found in other NIA. speeches, forms quite an important group with its extensions, and indicates either some resemblance, connexion or modification in a general way, or trade or habit. In some cases it has become merely pleonastic, like the « -ḍ- > -ṛ- » suffixes (see below, §§449, 450), which seem to have influenced it in its pleonastic use. It represents a MIA. « \*vaṭṭ- », from the OIA. formations « varta, vartika, vartikā; vṛtta, vṛttika, vṛttikā » from « √vṛt ». This affix occurs in Hindōstāni as « -āwaṭ, -āhaṭ », and in other forms of NIA. also.

ট « -ṭṭṣ- » < « vartta »: abstract or concrete nouns: দাপট « dāpāṭṭṣ » *power, puissance, rule, high-handedness* (darpa-varta); সাপট « sāpāṭṭṣ » *being in a fury, indulging in heroic gestures, seizing boldly* (sarpa-varta); ঝাপট, জাপট « j(h)āpāṭṭṣ » *gripping, splashing, struggling, dashing as with wings*

(\*jhampa-varta); আকট, আঙট < āṅ(g)āṭṭ > entire, not torn (as of a plantain leaf) (< āṅga-varta > : আকটা < āṅ(g)āṭṭā > ring of a vessel, আঙটা < āṅṭī > finger ring represent < āṅguṣṭha >); ঝাখট < māṭhāṭṭ > capital levy (\*masta[ka]-varta), etc.; and other words like উচট, হৌচট < ucāṭṭ, hōcāṭṭ > stumble (? avā-tya + varta) also seem to have this affix. Cf. কেঙট, কাঙট < kēōṭṭ > [kəōṭ] (kēvaṭṭa < kāivarta).

ট < -ṭṭ > from < vṛtta >, forming adjectives and nouns: ঘোঁষাট < dhōṣāṭṭ > smoky, mass of smoke (dhūma- > dhūā, dhōā + ṭṭ < vṛtta); ঘোলাট < ghōlāṭṭ > muddy, muddiness (< ghōlā > muddy, turbid < ghūrṇa + vṛtta); ভরাট < bhārāṭṭ > filled-up, well-filled, a filling-up (bhara- + vṛtta); জমাট < jāṃāṭṭ > congealed, frozen, compact (< jāṃā > < Perso-Arab. < jam > + < vṛtta >); etc.

টা < -ṭā > (= < -āṭṭ > above + < ā >): forms adjectives and nouns, and denominative bases from forms with < < -ṭ- >: চেপটা < \*cēpṭā > < \*cipāṭā > flat (< √cip > press, flatten + < vṛtta >: cf. MIA. < cividāa >. Skt. < cipīṭaka > = চিড়া, চিড়া < cipā, cipā > flattened rice, with the affix < -ḍ- > -ṛ-, see p. 689); ঝাপটা < jhāpṭā > spray of water, an ornament for the head with tassel of pearls (cf. < jhāpāṭṭ > above); নেঙটা by Vowel Harmony নেঙটো < nēōṭā > > [nəōṭo] affectionate, attached (\*nēhāṭ-ā < nēha-vaṭṭa-, snēha-vṛtta-); ঘষটা < ghāṣṭā > getting rubbed, or rubbing continuously, as opposed to ঘষ < √ghāṣ > to rub (gharṣa-varta-); শুটকা < \*śūṭkā < \*śūkhāṭā > lean and thin, dried up, shrivelled (śuṣka + vṛtta); উকটা < ukṭā > rummage, eagerly search (\*utka-varta-); কসটা, কচটা < kāsṭā, kācṭā > rinse (karṣa-varta-); খেমটা < khēmṭā > a kind of style in dancing and singing (? + varta); নেঙটা < nēṅṭā >, †নেংটো [nəṅṭo], লেঙ্গটা < lēṅṅṭā > naked (\*nāṅṅa-vaṭṭa-, nāṅṅa-vaṭṭa-, nagna-vṛtta-); পাঁশুটা < pāṣuṭā > ashen or grey in colour (pāṣu-vṛtta-); চিম্টা < cimṭā > tongs, pincers (MIA. ? \*cimma + vṛtta); etc.

টী, টি < -ṭī, -ṭi >, generally = the feminine form of the < -ṭ- > affix (< -vaṭṭīa = vartikā, vṛttikā). In MB. and NB., the feminine force is absent, and < -ṭī, -ṭi > has become either merely pleonastic, or vaguely diminutive: e.g., ঝাপটী, ঘুপটি < ghāpṭī, ghupṭi > lying in wait to waylay (? MIA. \*ghappa, \*ghuppa = ghōppa- + vṛttikā; cf. dialectal Bengali

‡ঘোপ(১) < ghōp(ā) > *corner, nook*; চিম্‌টা < cimṣṭi > (MIA. \*cimma + vṛttikā);  
 গুম্‌টা < gumṣṭi > *bastion, sentry-box, tower* (gulma + vartikā); \*শূণ্‌টা >  
 শুঁট্‌কা < \*śūkhāṭi > śūṭṣṭkī > *dried fish* (? śuṣka-vṛttikā); ছিপ্‌টা < chipṣṭi >  
*whip* (kṣipra-); similarly we have this affix in words like খুন্‌সুটা < khunṣ-  
 suṭi > *bickering, picking up a quarrel*; etc.

টা < -ṭā > and টা, টি < -ṭi, -ti > have given the so-called post-fixed  
 'Definite Articles,' or 'Enclitic Definitives' of Bengali,—< -ṭā >, the original  
 strong masculine base, implying biggishness or crudeness of the object,  
 and < -ṭi, -ti >, originally feminine, implying smallness or daintiness.  
 Thus, we have একটা < ēkṣṭā > *one piece, a big or ungainly article*, একটা  
 < ēkṣṭi > *one piece, a small and nice one* (= \*ēkka-vaṭṭa-, \*ēkka-vaṭṭia <  
 ēka-vṛtta-, -vṛttikā): so হ্‌(ই)টা > হ্‌টো, হ্‌(ই)টা > < du(i)-ṭā > duṭō, -ṭi >;  
 তিনটা > তিনটে, তিনটা < tinṭā > tinṭē, -ṭi >, etc. The affix has gradually  
 become a distinct definitive in Bengali, being added to names of persons  
 and things and to adjectives: e.g., গাছটা < gāchṣṭā > *that tree, that big tree*,  
 but গাছটা < gāchṣṭi > *that tree, that nice little tree*; রামটা < Rāmṣṭā > *that*  
*ungainly, awkward, or bad fellow of a Rāma*, but রামটা < Rāmṣṭi > *our good*  
*fellow Rāma*; so ভালটা, ভালটা < bhālā-ṭā, bhālā-ṭi >; etc. টা, টা also occur  
 dialectally as ডা, ডী < -ḍā, -ḍi >. The source of this টা, টা < -ṭā, -ṭi > has  
 been suggested as being গোটা, গুটা < gōṭā, guṭi > *piece*: but the latter is a  
 different word. See *infra*: under 'Numeratives or Enclitic Definitives.'

টিরা > টে < -ṭiyā > -ṭē > (-ṭ- + -i- + -ā < -vṛtta + -ika- + -āka),  
 indicating 'habit' or 'nature,' or 'resemblance': e.g., আঁষটে < আঁষটির  
 < āṣṭē < \*ā(is)ṣṭiyā > *smelling of rank fish and flesh* (āmiṣa-vṛttika +  
 āka); বোলাটে < ghōlāṭē > *muddy-like* (see বোলাট < ghōlāṭṣ >, p. 685); ভাড়াটে  
 < bhārāṭē < bhārāṭiyā > *tenant, (cab) plying for hire* (bhāṭaka-  
 vṛtta + -ika + -āka); ধোঁয়াটে < dhōyāṭē > *smoking-like* (see ধোঁয়াট < dhōyāṭṣ >,  
 p. 685); তামাটে < tā māṭē > *copper-red in colour* (tāmā < tāmra-); রান্‌গটে  
 < rāṅ(g)ṭē > *reddish* (রান্‌গ rāṅgā red); পাঁশটে < pāṣṭē > *greyish* (see  
 পাঁশটা < pāṣṭā >, p. 685); রোগটে < rōgāṭē > *sickly, lean and thin like*  
 (< রোগ < rōg-ā > *sick*, see p. 659); ঝগড়াটে < jhāḡṣṭāṭē > *quarrelsome*  
 (< jhāḡṣṭā); হিঁসকুটে < \*hiṅṣṭkṭi > হিঁসকুটির  
 < hiṅṣṭkṭi < ts. \*hiṅsuka + -ṭiyā >, beside হিংসুটে < hiṅṣuṭē > *envious and spiteful*; etc., etc.

Connected with this «-t-» affix is ড «-d-» > -r-» (i) below.

(42) ট «-t-» (ii).

437. In a few words, which may be called disguised compounds : from Skt. or OIA. «paṭṭa». Examples : লেঙ্গট, লাকট «lāṅgātṭ, lāṅgātṭ» (\*lāṅga-paṭṭa, liṅga-paṭṭa), see p. 347 ; মলাট «mālātṭ» cover of a book, literally dust-board (মলা «mālā» + পাট «pāṭa» < «paṭṭa») ; a feminine > diminutive-pleonastic extension as in কষটা «kaṣṭāṭi, kaṣṭāṭi < kaṣṭāṭi» assaying stone (karṣa-paṭṭikā, Hind. kasauṭi) ; etc.

(43) ট «-t-» (iii) > আট «-āṭṭ», also আটি «-āṭi», উটি «-uṭi», ইটি «-iṭi», টি «-ṭi».

438. Like some of the other suffixes noted above, this is really a decayed word figuring in a number of disguised compounds. The source of it is «\*mṛtta, mṛttikā» earth, Beng. মাট, মাটি «māṭṭ, māṭi». Examples : ধোলাট «dhōlātṭ» soil washed down by rains ; ধরাটা «dhārāṭi» earth heaped up for an embankment (dhārā+māṭi < mṛttikā) ; পেটোটি, পেটুটি «pētōṭi, pētūṭi» earth and bits of jute mixed, for plastering mud huts (pāṭṭ+māṭi > \*pāṭṭāṭi, \*pāṭuāṭi) ; তুষাটি, তুযুটি «tuṣāṭi, tuṣuṭi» chaff and earth mixed (tuṣa+mṛttikā) ; খড়্টি «khāṭi» chalk and earth (khaṭikā chalk).

(44) ড «-r-» (i) > -ড়া «-rā», ড়ী «-rī», ড়িয়া > ড়ে «-riyā» > -rē».

439. The «-r-» affix in a number of words indicates habit or profession, or some sort of connexion : e.g., বাসাড়ে < বাসাড়িয়া «bāsārē > bāsāriyā» dweller in a lodging house or hired apartments (< bāsā lodging house, < vāsa-) ; যোগাড় «jōgārṭ» arrangement, supply (< ts. yōga) ; যোগাড়ের < যোগাড়িয়া «jōgārē < -riyā» an organiser, a man clever at arranging things ; তুখড় < \*তুখড় «tukhārṭ < \*tikhārā» sharp one, clever one (< tikka=tikṣṇa) ; বাকুড়া Bākura» name of a person in MB. «bāṅka, vaṅka, vakra» : when the place name, = Bankurah, the affix would seem to be of different origin : see under «-r-» [ii] below ; আগড় «āgarṭ» basket-work door of hut (agra-) ; ফাঁসড়িয়া > ফাঁসড়ে «phāsāriyā > phāsūrē» one who strangles and robs

*travellers* (phāsṣṣ *halter-rope with loop*); বাসিয়াড়া > বেসেড়া < ghāsīārā > ghēsērā > *grass-cutter* (ghāsṣṣ, \*ghāsī *grass*); †নাউড়ে < nāurē < \*nāwārīā > a *boat-man*; MB. ধাউড়, ধাউড়িয়া < dhāurṣṣ, dhāuriyā > a *runner*; খেলোয়াড় < khēlōārṣṣ > a *player, an expert* > a *smart and sharp person* (slang); জুয়াড়ী < juārī > *gamesler*, see p. 668; \*সাপড়িয়া < সাপুড়ে < \*sāpāriyā > sāpurē > *snake-charmer*; লুঠেরা < \*লুঠিয়াড়া < luṭhērā < \*luṭhiārā > < √/luṭh > *plunder*, cf. Hindi < luṭērā > *robber*; ভাগড় < bhāṅ(g)ārṣṣ > *one who indulges in 'bhāṅ'*; কেওড়া < kēōṛā > a *low caste* (\*kēvaṭa-), beside কেওট < kēōṭṣṣ > (< kēvaṭṭa, kāivarta); etc.

The source of this < -r- > would seem to be the OIA. < √/vr̥t >, in a form like < vr̥tā > = *work, labour, movement*, found in the Rig-Vēda, which would give a MIA. < \*vaṭā > \*vaḍā > \*vaḍḍā > By extension with < -ā, -iyā, -ī < -ika > etc., we get the ডা, ডিয়া, ডী etc.

(45) ড < -r- >, ডা < -rā >, ডী < -rī > (ii).

440. This occurs in some place-names, and it comes from a Late OIA. and Early MIA. < vāṭa > *enclosure* which is found in Sanskrit as a < guṇa > formation from < vaṭa < vr̥-ta >, < √/vr̥ > *to cover, to enclose*. ডা, ডি < -rī, -ri > as an affix in Bengali would therefore represent < vāṭikā > compounded with words. Examples: আখড়া < ākhṣṣārā >, Hind. < akhārā > *enclosed ground for physical exercise, club* (akṣa-vāṭa-); ভাগড় < bhāṅgārṣṣ > *place outside village where dead cattle are cast away* (? < bhagna + vāṭa > : connexion with হাড় < hārṣṣ > *bones* is popularly suggested); গোয়াড়ী < gōārī > *place-name = Gowari near Krishnagar in Nadiya* (gōpa-vāṭikā); খোয়াড় < khōārṣṣ > *pig-sty* (? Persian < xug > *swine* > Bengali < \*khōṅḡ, \*khō, khō > + < vāṭa >). The Sanskritised < nāu-vāṭa > a *fleet of boats or ships, a dock*, met with in old Bengal inscriptions, represents an Old Bengali < \*nāwa-wāḍa >, which was Persianised into < nawwārah > by the Mohammedans: < \*nāwa-wāḍa > may be connected with the dialectal word নাউড়ে above (§449).

The word < vāṭa > may equally be the source of ডা < -rā > in place names, although a non-Aryan origin, Kōl or Dravidian, for that affix is not unlikely (see *supra*, p. 66).

The word बाटोराड़ « bāṭōārāḍ » *high-way robber* (bāṭa < vartman) has nothing to do with « r », (i) or (ii), although « -r- » (i) might have been confused with it: it comes from MB. बाटपाड़ « bātā-pārā », in which form it still occurs in NB. (< causative root « pāṭaya- »).

(46) ड « -r- », ढ « -rā », ङ « -rī » (iii).

441. Pleonastic affix, derived from « -ḍa- », which was widely used in Late MIA.: *e.g.*, « vaccha-ḍa (vatsa), diaha-ḍa (divasa), gōra-ḍ-I (gāurī), nēha-ḍ-ā (snēha), hiya-ḍ-ā (hṛdaya), dōsa-ḍ-ā (dōṣa), pārakka-ḍ-ā (parakīyā), bhumha-ḍ-I (bhūmi), tēva-ḍ-u (tadvat), bh(r)anta-ḍ-I (bhrānti), nidda-ḍ-I (nidrā), dēsa-ḍa (dōṣa), sandēsa-ḍā (sandēśa) », as in the Apabhraṅśa fragments in Hēma-candra; « dukkha-ḍ-ā (duḥkha) », as in the 'Saṃjama-mañjarī'; etc. The « -ḍa- » affix seems to have come into special prominence in the *spoken dialects* of Northern India in the closing centuries of the 1st millennium A. C. It is also very likely that it was largely used in the spoken language in the earlier stages of MIA., but the remains of First, Transitional and Second MIA. do not use it lavishly; and in Third MIA. literary remains, where the style is exclusively artificial and is modelled on the Prakrit *kāvyaś* (as in the Jaina works like the 'Bhavisatta-Kaha'), it is not so common either. The Ap. verses in Hēma-candra's grammar form specimens of genuine popular poetry, and hence the « -ḍ- » words are so much in evidence there. All NIA. speeches show numerous forms with « -ḍa- » > « -r- »; and some kinds of NIA., *e.g.*, the Rājasthāni dialects, employ it more lavishly than the rest, affixing it to passive participles quite freely.

The Second and Third MIA. « -ḍa » rests on a First MIA. « -ṭa- », which would normally represent an OIA. « -ṭa- » (or a dental « -ta- », with or without a « r » or « ṛ » to cerebralise it). (Cf. Pischel, §599.) In Skt., we have a number of words with a « -ṭa » affix, words which are mostly late, but a few like « marka-ṭa » undoubtedly go back to pre-Buddhic times: *e.g.*, « marka-ṭa (regarded as being Dravidian in origin: cf. Tamil « maram » *tree*); kaṅka-ṭa, karka-ṭa (see p. 368); karpa-ṭa *rag* (< \*√[s]karp); parka-ṭī; karva-ṭa; kukku-ṭa; lak-u-ṭa > lag-u-ḍa;



muk-u-ṭa (?); cip-i-ṭa *flattened rice*; vadhū-ṭi; kula-ṭā (explained as being from « kula + √aṭ »); barba-ṭa »; etc. This «-ṭa » is not found in Vedic. There is nothing in the non-Aryan languages, Dravidian and Kōl, to warrant any influence from that side. And such a characteristic IA. suffix, so persistent in all the forms of NIA., can reasonably be expected to have an OIA. source. It seems quite possible that this «-ṭa < -ḍa < -ṭa » is only a form of a «-ta », undoubtedly the same as the passive participle affix, which was used as a secondary affix in some noun and adjective formations in Vedic (cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1176, § 1245; Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, § 209): e.g., «eka-tā, dvi-tā, tri-tā; muhūr-tā; ava-tā *well*; raja-tā; pārva-ta ». Some sense of connexion with or modification of the original idea is implied by this «-ta », which also is not absent in the NIA. «-ṭa ». By spontaneous cerebralisation (see *supra*, pp. 487-488), «-ta- » can very well give «-ṭa » in dialectal OIA. and in Early MIA. Thus we have OIA. « vibhi-ta-ka (beside « vibhidaka »: < « √bhid » ?) > \*vibhi-ṭa-ka » > MIA. « bahḍā- » > NIA. « bahḍā »; OIA. « āmr-ā-ta-ka » > \*āmrā-ṭa-ka » > MIA. « ambḍā- » > NIA. अमृदा « āmrḍā »; and OIA. « śṛṅg-ā-ta-ka, śṛṅg-ā-ṭa-ka » > NIA. « śiḡṛā ». Throughout the whole history of IA., «-ta- > -ṭa > -ḍa > -ṭa » would seem to have been fairly common in the *spoken* language; and after phonetic decay had put an end to most of the characteristic OIA. affixes in the Second NIA. stage, the «-ḍa » affix, with its strong cerebral sound, seems to have become quite a prominent and a popular one. The large number of names in «-ḍa », Sanskritised to «-ṭa » during the Second and Third MIA. periods (see *ante*, p. 89), would also indicate its popularity in the Indo-Aryan speech from the early centuries of the first millennium A.C.

Hoernle's derivation of this affix from a Skt. «-dṛṣa » (Gaudian Grammar, § 218) is phonologically inadmissible; there is also the fact that the earlier form of «-ṭa < -ḍa » was «-ṭa ».

Examples of «-ṭa- » from Bengali: OB. (Caryā 38) « nāva-ṭ-i » (nāva, nāu); (Caryā 10, 20) « bāp-u-ṭ-ā » a *Kāpālika* (cf. Śaurasēni Ap. vappuḍā); (Caryā 10) « pākḥ-u-ṭ-i » *petal* (pakṣa = parva); MB. (ŚKK.) मृदा « mudāṭ » beside मृदि « mudi » *ring* (mudrā); MB. विदा

«diyārī» *lamp* (< dīpa); মাকড় «mākārṣ» (*markata*); কাপড় «kāpārṣ» (*karpata*); রাজড়া «rājṣārṣ» *king, rich men* as in রাজা-রাজড়া «rājā-rājṣārṣ» *kings and swells*; so গাছ-গাছড়া «gāchṣ-gāchṣārṣ» *plants and herbs* (*gaccha*), কাঠ-কাঠড়া «kāṭhṣ-kāṭhṣārṣ» *wood and timber* (*kāṣṭha*); পাতড়া «pātṣārṣ» *leaves and sticks* (< patra); আঁকড়ী «āṅkārī» *loopin writing* (*aṅka*); পাতড়ী < \*শাশড়ী «śāśurī < \*śāśārī» *mother-in-law, beside* শাশ «śāśṣ» in compounds (*śvaśrū*); চামড়া «cāmṣārṣ» *hide, skin* (*carma*); পাখড়া «pākṣārṣ» *scapular-bone* (*pakṣa*); বাগড়া «bāgṣārṣ» *reed, marsh plant with sharp edge* (*khadga*); বাগড়া «bāgṣārṣ» *obstruction* (*sts.* < vyāghāta + -rā); বগড়া «bāgṣārṣ» *quarrel* (see p. 478); আঁতড়ী, আঁতড়ী «āṭ(u)rī» *entrails* (*antra*); বহড়ী «bā(h)urī» (*vadhūṭī, vadhūṭī, vadhūṭīkā*); ঝড়ী < \*ঝিড়ী «jhiurī < \*jhiārī» (< duhitṣ); মোহড়া < মুহড়া «mōhārṣ < muhārṣ» *vanguard* (*mukha*); কেওড়া «kēṭṣārṣ» (*kētaka-*); চিড়া, চিড়া «cīrṣ, cīrṣ» *flattened rice* (*cipiṭa*); চুমকুড়ী «cumkurī» *making the sound of kissing > assuring* (as a horse) (*cumba-*); ফুলকুড়ি «phuskurī» *a small boil* beside ফোন্কা «phōskā» *a large boil or sore*; মামড়া «māmṣārī» *crust on the surface, as on a healing sore* (*marman sensitive or exposed part*); চূপড়ী, চূপড়ী «cūpṣārī, cūpṣārī» *basket* (from a *dēśī* root meaning *to cover*? cf. চূপ «cūpṣ» *quiet, hidden*; চাপ «√cāp» *press*); চাণড়া «cāṅ(g)ṣārṣ» *large basket*; হিজড়া «hijṣārṣ» *hermaphrodite* (< Pers. «hiz»); etc.

The «-r» affix also figures in verb-roots: দৌড় «√dāu-r» *run* (*davaḍa, drava-* < *dru*); see *infra*, under 'Verb: Roots.'

In some cases, «-r» figures as র «-r» apparently through originally dialectal pronunciation: e.g., কাঠরা «kāṭhārṣ», see *supra*; গাঁঠরী beside গাঁঠড়ী «gāṭhārī, -rī» *baggage* (*granthi*); টুকরা «ṭukārṣ» *a piece*, beside Hindōstānī «ṭukrā» (see p. 489); ছোকরা «chōkārṣ» *a boy* (conn. with «śāba» > ছা «chā»?); চাণরী «cāṅ(g)ārī» *little basket*, beside চাণড়া «cāṅ(g)ṣārṣ» *above*; পেঁটার «pēṭārṣ» *box* (\*pēṭa = pēṭṭa = pēṭa-); বাঁশরী «bāśārī» *bamboo flute* (*vaṅśa*); †ছায়রা «chāyārṣ» *shade* (see p. 342); ভায়রা «bhāyārṣ < bhāi» *wife's sister's husband*; etc.

(47) ত «-tṣ», ভী «-tī» (i).

442. Found in a few words, in the abstract sense. From MIA.

« -tta » < OIA. « -tva » : e.g., MB. আইহত > আয়ত > NB. এক « āihātā » > ঐয়ত > ঐত > (avidhavatva), also with তী « -ti » with « -i < -ikā » ; s.s. † « raizot » (= rājya + tva) in the 'Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed.' This affix was later reinforced by the Perso-Arabic affix noted at p. 656.

(48) ত « -tā », ভ « -tā », তী « -ti » (ii).

443. From « patra- » as well as « pātra- », a decayed word figuring in some disguised compounds in which it has acquired the force of an affix : e.g., নামতা « nāmātā » *multiplication table* (nāma-patra-); রঞ্জতা « rāṅ(g)ātā » *linsel, copper-foil* (raṅga-patra-); চাকতি « cākṣti » *some flat or mashed object cut into a ring* (cakra-patra + -ikā); চূনতি « cūnāti » *lime-box (for betel)* (cūrṇa-pātra + -ikā); MB. চামতি « cāmāti » *thong* (carma-patra + -ikā) : cf. also করাতি « kārātā » *saw* (kara-patra).

(49) ত « -tā », ত « -tā », তী « -ti », উতি « -uti » (iii).

444. From « -putra, -putrika, -putrikā » : a decayed word in disguised compounds : e.g., জেহুত, খুড়ুত, মাসুত, পিসুত « jēḥut(ā), khurūt(ā), māsut(ā), pisut(ā) » respectively, = *son of father's elder brother, father's younger brother, mother's sister, father's sister*, also with ভ « -tā » (see p. 503); MB. (SKK) একুইতি « ēkūiti » (ēka-putrikā); বালতি « bālṣti » as in « রাঁই বাল্টি » *widow, and having small children only* (bāla-putrikā); চাটুতি « cāṭuti » *a surname = Chatterji* (« caṭṭa-putra- » : see p. 409).

(50) নী, নি « -ni, -ni », ন « -nā » ; ইনি « -i-ni » ; আনী, অনি, উনি « -āni, -āni, -uni ».

445. In OIA. « -ni » and « -āni » are two feminine suffixes which occur with a number of forms, e.g., « pat-ni » (< pat-i); « paraṅ-ṅi » (paraṅ); « rōhi-ṅi (fem. of « rōhi-ta » : may be from « \*rōh-in ») ; asi-k-ni, har-i-k-ni » ; and « indr-āni, varuṅ-āni, rudr-ā-ṅi, bhav-āni, upādhyāy-āni, mātul-āni », etc. (Cf. Whitney, § 1176 d, § 1223 b, c.) Here « -i » is the proper feminine-indicating affix, and the « -n-, -ān- » apparently belonged to the base of the noun. Practically no form in NIA. has come down with

this « -ni, -āni » of OIA. (cf. the word सन्, सता | « sātā, sātā », Hind. « saut » < MIA. « savātti » < OIA. « sa-patni »).

The OIA. feminine affix « -ā » was lost (see *supra*, pp. 305 ff.), and « -i » also has generally not come down to NIA.,—it was weakened to « -ī » in Late MIA., and when not after a vowel, it has dropped off in Bengali (see *supra*, pp. 307 ff.). OIA. « -ikā » gave, through Late MIA. « -iā », the most common, it may be said the most characteristic feminine affix of NIA., namely « -i, -ī » (cf. pp. 307, 672).

But there was the large class of nouns in OIA. with the attributive suffix « -in », giving in the masculine nominative singular « -ī » (« māli, yōgī » etc.), and feminine nominative singular « -in-ī » (« mālinī, yoginī »). This supplied to MIA. numerous feminine forms differentiated from the masculine only by « -inī, -iñī », especially when the nominative came to be used for all the cases in the masculine, the « -in- » of the base being totally lost. Some common isolated words like « raññī », NIA. « rānī » (« rājñī- ), fem. of « rāa, rāja » (« rājan, rājā ») also helped to establish this « -ni » as a feminine affix. So that in Late MIA., « -iñī (-ni, -ani, -ni) » also was a well-marked feminine affix, side by side with « -ia < -ikā ». Moreover, « -iñī (inī) » was partly generalised, and came to be attached to nouns to which it did not properly belong; and when added to masculine nouns in « -ā », the « -i- » was dropped, making it « -ā-nī ». NIA. thus inherited this « -inī, -a-nī (-iñī, -a-ñī) », although more restricted than « -ī », from Late MIA. In most NIA. of the recent period (' New ' NIA.), the final vowel « -ī, -i » has dropped, leaving the affix at « -n (-ñ) »; and when in a language like Bengali, we have the full form in « -ni, -ni », it is due only to the influence of *ts.* feminine words in « -in-ī, -ānī ».

The « -i-nī, -a-nī » affix in the older periods of NIA. was not so common, and its improper use (that is, in the « -a-nī » form with original OIA. vowel bases) was less frequent; in the older periods we have commonly « -ī ». Gradually the « -n- » form, as more distinctive, came to dispute the field with « -ī », and to oust it from many words, and now it may be said to be equally important with « -ī » in most NIA. speeches; and in some, it is even more important. The loss of the gender sense

in the *adjective* in Bengali is also partly responsible for the curtailment of « -I », and « -nI » is becoming more prominent in distinctive feminine *nouns*.

Examples : cases of « -nI < -in-I » in OB. : « jöini » (yöginī) ; « kariṇi », masc. « kariṇā » (karinī), cf. « hariṇi », masc. « hariṇā » (hariṇa) ; « gharinī, MB. NB. বরগী ghrāṇi » (grhiṇī) ; « śuṇḍini » (« śuṇḍin-I » ; also « śāṇḍika > \*śoṇḍia, \*śuṇḍi », fem « śuṇḍi-nī ») ; MB. and NB. examples : NB. গোগালিনী, গয়লানী « gōālinī, gāylānī », fem. of গোগাল, গয়লা « gōālā, gāylā » *milk-man* (the old feminine from is গোগালী « gōāl-I », which occurs 15 times in ŚKK., whereas the new form গোগালিনী « gōālinī » is found in the same work 12 times) ; MB. (ŚKK.) কালিনী রাতী « kālinī rāti » *black night* ; চোরনী, চুরনী « cōranī > curānī », ŚKK. চুরণী, চুরিণী « curanī, curiṇī » *woman thief* ; NB. চাঁড়ালনী « cāṛālānī » *Caṇḍāla woman* (OB. = চণ্ডালী caṇḍālī) ; NB. stś. অভাগিনী « abhāginī », besides the older অভাগী, আবাগী « āb(h)āgi » (< abhāgya) ; MB. টেটনী « tētānī », *hul woman* beside older টাঁটি « ṭhāṭī-I » (< dhrṣṭa ?) ; NB. ডোমনী, ডুম্নী « ḍōmā-nī, ḍum-nī » *Ḍōm woman* (= OB. ডোম্বী ḍōmbī) ; NB. পাগলিনী « pāgālinī » beside older পাগলী « pāgālī » *mad woman* (the first is a literary word, the second commoner, and is used also affectionately—পাগলিনী would be regarded as being from পাগল *mad, mad one*, and পাগলী from পাগলা *the mad one, madcap*) ; NB. মেছুনী « mēchunī < \*māchuā-nī » *fish-wife* ; NB. বেহাইন, বেহান, বেয়ান্ « bhāin, bh(h)ān » (vāivāhika > বেহাই bhāi + -nī) ; NB. বাঙ্গালিনী « baṅgālinī » *Bengali woman*, a new, literary form, beside বাঙ্গালনী « bāṅ(ḡ)ālā-nī » *woman from East Bengal* (but OB. বঙ্গালী « baṅgālī » *woman from East Bengal*, as in the Caryās, < বঙ্গাল « baṅgāla » *East Bengal people, or land*) ; সোহাগিনী « sōhāginī » *woman beloved by her husband*, beside older সোহাগী « sōhāgi » (< sāubhāgya-) : ননদিনী « nānādini », a new formation, literary, beside the proper word ননদ « nānādā » (nanandā) ; সতিন « sātīn » *co-wife* (sapatnī + -nī), also সতিনী « sātīnī » : cf. Bihārī « sawatīniyā », Hind. « sautin » beside Bengali সৎ, সতা « sātā, sātā » and Hind. « saut » ; নাতিন « nātin », MB. (ŚKK.) নাতিনী « nātinī », also নাতনী « nātnī », *grand-daughter* feminine of নাতী « nāṭī » (naptṛ-) : here we have NB. loss of final « -I » of MIA. ; so মিতিন্ « mitin » *girl friend* (< mitra), ঠাকর(1)ন, ঠাকরন, ঠান্ < ঠাকুরণী « ṭhākṛān, ṭhākṛān, ṭhākṛan, ṭhān < ṭhākṛ-ānī » *Madam, Lady* (< « ṭhākura +

-āni >; the wife of a < ṭhākuraḥ > a cook, or a Rajput would be ঠাকুরনৌ < ṭhākuraḥ-nī >, a modern formation); †ঘুড়নৌ > গুন্নি (Chittagong) < ghuṛ-nī > gunni > = < \*ghōḍa-nī > mare, beside older ঘুড়ী < \*bōḍī < ghuṛī < \*ghōṛī > (= \*ghōṭ-ikā); বাঘিনী < bāghinī > tigress (< vyāghra); সাপিনী < sāpinī > female snake (< sarpa); সিংহিনী < siṅhinī > (< siṅha); etc.

(আ)নৌ < -ānī > has become the common affix to denote a woman of a particular caste or profession: সেকরানী < sēkṛānī > woman of the goldsmith caste (< < sēkyakāra >, see pp. 194-195); ধোবানী < dhōbānī >, woman of the washerman caste; কায়তনী < kāyetaṅnī > a Kāyastha woman; বড়িনী < bādyī-nī > woman of the Vaidya caste; কুমোরনী < kumōraḥ-nī < kum(h)ārā-nī > woman of the potter caste (< kumbha-kāra); চামারনী < cāmāraḥ-nī > woman of the leather-worker caste (< carmakāra); মেথরনী < mēthāra-nī > sweeper-woman, beside মেথরাণী < mēthāraṅnī > (< Persian < mihtar > prince, by euphemism, commonly spelt like রাণী < rānī > with the cerebral < ṅ >); চৌধুরাণী < caudhurānī > lady of the Chaudhuri family; ডাক্তারনী < ḍāktār-nī > Lady Doctor; বাষ্টারনী < māṣṭār-nī > school-mistress.

A great many common forms, however, have retained the old < -ī > and have not taken up the < -nī >: e.g., মামী < māmi > mother's brother's wife has not been ousted by MB. (ŠKK.) মাদুলানী < māulānī > (mātulānī); কাকী < kākī >, খুড়ী < khurī > father's younger brother's wife; জেঠী < jēṭhī > (= jyēṣṭhikā), জেঠাই < jēṭhāi > (= jyēṣṭhāryikā) father's elder brother's wife; শালী < śāli > wife's sister; খুকী < khukī > girl baby (< khökā); রামী < Rāmi > (< Rāma), শ্যামী < Ś(y)āmi > (< Śyāma), বামী < Bāmi > (Vāmā + -ī), forms of women's names among the lower classes; দুলালী < dulāli > darling, etc. In many feminine adjectives, the MB. < -ī > has now been dropped with the weakening of the gender-sense, as in MB. (ŠKK.) বিতপনী < bitāpānī > (= vitapanā), পাতলী < pātāli > slim (< patra-la-), বিকলী < bikāli > (= vikalā), দারুণী < dāruṅī > (= dāruṅā), কোঁঅলী < kōāli = kōāli > (= kōmalā), আনাথী < ānāthī > (= anāthā), etc. In Late MB. and in NB., when through the influence of Sanskrit, the < -ānī, -inī > affix was regarded as an elegant form, *bbh.* formations like ননদিনী, পাগলিনী, etc., etc., were evolved by the dozen in the literary language, as well as *sts.* ones like নাগিনী, চণালিনী and চণালনী, বিহঙ্গিনী, চাতকিনী, কারহিনী, প্রেতিনী (> colloquial

শেতনৌ), পণ্ডিতানৌ, অনাধিনৌ, হতভাগিনৌ, রজকিনৌ, নাপিতানৌ (colloquial নাপিংনৌ, নাপিতিনৌ), ভিক্ষুণী (< MIA. Pali « bhikkhuni »), ঋষ্যানৌ (Śūnya-Purāṇa), etc., and quite a host of others, some of which are not Sanskrit at all (e.g., বন্দিনী « bāndinī » *woman prisoner* from Persian « bandī »); but they are very freely used. (See Lalit-Mōhan Banerji, 'Vyākaraṇ-Vibhīṣikā,' Calcutta, San 1320, pp. 40 ff.)

The « -nī » affix is not to be confused with « -ānī » (13a, 14) discussed before, and also with the « -nī » in some isolated words, like রানী « rānī » (see p. 674), কাহিনী « kāhinī » *tale* (< \*kathinikā = kathānikā), etc.

(51) পনা « pānā ».

446. This well-known NIA. affix, indicating state or function, is from OIA. « -tvana- ». From the change of « tv- » > -pp-, it would seem to have originated in the South-western IA. region during the First MIA. stage, whence it spread elsewhere (see p. 508, *supra*). Examples; চোটপনা « dhṛṣṭ-pānā » (dhṛṣṭa + -tvana-); গিন্নীপনা < গৃহীণীপনা « ginnī-pānā < gṛhīṇī-pānā »; etc.

There is an affix পানা, পনা « -pānā, -pānā » meaning 'like,' 'resembling,' 'similar to,' which seems to be a blend of পনা « -pānā » (in an extended, adjectival use) and the *sts.* word পারা « pāra » *like* < « \*parāa < prāya- »: e.g., চাঁদপানা « cāda-pānā » beside চাঁদ-পারা « cāda-pāra » *moon-like*; কুলাপানা, কুলাপনা, কুরাপনা « kulā-pānā, kulā-pānā, kulō-pānā » (*flat and broad*) *like a winnowing-fan*; লালপানা « lāla-pānā » *reddish*; etc.

(52) মত « -mātā, -mātā », মন « -mānā » < মন্ত « -māntā ».

447. Occurring in some pronominal adjectives and adverbs, like এমত « ē-mātā » *like this* যেমত « jē-mātā » *like that*, etc. The form in « -nā » is due to influence of MB. « kēhānā, jēhānā » etc. See *infra*, under the 'Pronoun.' It is used as an independent word as well, e.g., আমার মত « āmarā mātā » *like me, of my sort*. A blend মতন « mātānā » = « mātā + mānā » is also found. It is from MIA. « -mānta » (< OIA. « -mant- »), which figures also as a stereotyped form in some adjectives and some names, e.g., শ্রীমন্ত « śrī-māntā » *prosperous*, পরমন্ত « pāra-māntā » *lucky*,

*luck-bringing* (pada status, position), হনুমান্ত(ী) « Hānumānt(ā) » *Hanuman* ; etc.

The MIA. affix « -vanta », influenced by the Skt. form of it, also gave the Bengali বন্ত « -bāntā » in words like গুণবন্ত « guṇā-bāntā », ভাগ্যবন্ত « bhāgyā-bāntā », etc.

Persian « -mand », cognate with the Indo-Aryan « -mant- », reinforced these affixes in Late MB., e.g., « aql-mand, dāniš-mand », etc.

(53) র > র > উর « \*-rū > -ru, -urḥ ».

448. Originally implying 'similarity, intensity,' from OIA. « rūpa » *form, shape* > MIA. « -rūva », this affix is generally used pleonastically in NIA. in which it occurs in only a few words: e.g., \*গোকর > গোক, « \*gō-rū > gō-ru » *ox, cow, cattle*, wrongly spelt গরু in Bengali: cf. Hindi गोरु « gō-rū » (< « gō-rūpa », originally meaning *buffalo*); গাঁজার « sājā-ru » *porcupine*, beside the simple form †সঁজা, হেঁজা « sējā, hējā » (śalyaka- + rūpa: p. 476); বাছুর < \*বাহুর « bāch-urḥ < \*bācha-rū » (cf. Hindōstāni « bach-rū », Marāṭhi « vās-rū »), beside MB. বাছা « bāchā » *calf* (vatsa-rūpa); MB. শশার « śāśā-ru » *hare* (śaśa- + rūpa); MB. ঘোড়ার « ghōrā-ru » *a kind of deer* (ghōṭaka- + rūpa); also MB. তুলার « tulā-ru » *a kind of deer* (<?); † গাব্ব, গাব্বুর, MB. গাভর « gāb(h)-urḥ < gābhā-ru » (cf. Hindōstāni « gabh-rū ») *young person* (« garbha-rūpa » *children, young persons* as in the 'Divyāvadāna'); MB. (ŠKK.) জিঙ্গালর « jingālā-ru » *the 'Jingini' or 'Jiger' tree*; MB. কাঁউর, কাঁউর « Kā-urḥ, Kāw-urḥ » < OB. কামর « Kāmaru = \*Kāwa-rū » (as in Caryā 2: « Kāma-rūpa » i.e. West Assam: see *supra*, p. 299). Cf. also Marāṭhi « pākḥ-rū » *bird* (pakṣa-rūpa), Bhōjpuriyā « meherā-rū » *wife*, beside « meher » (mahilā-rūpa, mahilā), Skt. « hr̥ṣṭa-rūpa » *exceedingly glad*.

(54) ল « -lḥ », ল « -lā », লী « -lī ».

449. A common OIA. affix (with a variant « -ra »), « la » is found in the adjectival sense, meaning also 'possessing.' The pleonastic (svārthā) value also is very common; as well as a slightly modifying sense. The affixes « -ila » (see pp. 676-71) and « -ula » (< MIA. « -ulla », Bengali



«-ulā», as in MB. লাজুলী «lājūli» = «lajjā-śīlā», and রাতুল «rātulā» *red* < MIA. «\*rattulla» = OIA. «rakta + -ula») are forms of this affix, with «-i-» and «-u-» themes. The affix is in some cases found in the form of «-r-», due probably to Bihārī influence, original Māgadhī «-l-» becoming «-r-» in Bihārī (see *supra*, pp. 536-538). Examples: আদল «ādālā» *resemblance (as of one face to another)* (OB. ādaa < advaya + -la), beside আদরা «ādārā»; আধলা «ādhalā» *half, half-piece*, beside আধেলা «ādheḷā» (*ardha*); MB. উতরলী «utārāli» (fem. in «-i < -ikā»), NB. উতরোল, উতরল «utārōlā < utārālā» *anxious* (uttvara-la); ছাওয়াল «chāwālā» *child*; ছাওয়ালিরা > ছালিরা, ছেলে «chāwāliyā > chāliyā, chēlē» *boy* (śāba- + -la + -iyā); পোলা «pōlā» beside পো(রা) «pō(ā)» *son, child* (pōta-la-); MB. ছেলি «chēli» Bhōjpurīyā «chēri» *she-goat* (chagalikā < chaga); গাড়ল, গাড়র «gārālā, gārārā» *sheep* (cf. Late Skt. «gaḍḍalikā < gaḍḍala» *rolling animal, as in the entire flock*); দীঘল «dighālā» *long* (dirgha-la); OB. fem. আগলি «āgali» *advanced* (Caryā 32: < agra-la-); পাকল «pākālā» *ripe, well-ripened* (pakvala); হাঁড়ল «hārālā» *big, open-mouthed pot* (cf. হাঁড়ী, হাঁড়া «hārī, hārā» *large pot*); পাতলা «pātālā» *lean and thin < like a leaf* (patra-la-), MB. fem. পাতলী «pātāli»; MB. নহলী = নঅলী «nā(h)āli», fem. *fresh, new* (\*navāli-kā); MB. (KKC.) সোহাগলী «sōhāgāli» *wife beloved by her husband* (sāubhāgya + -li); MB. বিজুলী, NB. বিজলী «bijulī > bij(ā)li», also বিজুরী «bijurī», beside Hindōstānī «bij, bijli» (MIA. vijjulia, OIA. vidyut + -la + -ikā); ফাটল «phātālā» *crack (on a wall, on the roof)* (ফাট √phāt *split*); \*সহিলী > সহেলা > সরলা, সহিলী > সহিলি, সহৈলি «\*sāhilā > sāhēlā > sāylā, sāhili > sāhili, sāili» *friend (among women)* (sakhī + -lā, -likā); MB. মাতল «mātālā» (matta-la); ধকল «dhākālā» *strain* (cf. ধাকা «dhākkā» *push*); বীধুলী «bīdhulī» *a flower* (bandhuka + -likā); দাঁদলান «dāḍḍālānā» *to be on the aggressive, to be fighting and quarrelling, to oppress* (dvandva-la-); ফাঁড়ল «phāḍḍālā» *circumference* (< ফাঁড় «phāḍḍā», cf. Late Skt. «phaṇḍa < \*phandra» *belly*); হাতল «hātālā» *handle* (hasta-); পয়রা «pāyā» *liquid (as of treacle)* (< payas); etc., etc. We have this affix apparently in বাবল, বাবলা «bābālā, bābālā» *cloud, rainy weather* (Late Skt. vardala-), মাদল «mādālā» *a deep-toned drum* (mardala), কাডল, কাডলা «kāḍālā, kāḍālā» *carp fish*; etc.

(55) न < -sṣ >, गा < -sā >, हा, ङ < -chā, -cā >.

450. This affix, meaning 'likeness, similarity, resemblance,' is derived by Hoernle from OIA. < sadṛśa > (Gaudian Grammar, § 292); but this derivation is not tenable phonologically. As a source of this NIA. affix, I suggest the OIA. affix < -śa >, as in a limited number of words in Skt., e.g., < lōma-śa, kapi-śa, karka-śa, yuva-śa, arva-śa, ēta-śa, lōpa-śa, ? giri-śa, ? kala-śa >. This < -śa > affix was both pleonastic and adjectival, with an implication of similarity: e.g., < kapi-śa > *tawny*, 'monkey-like,' < karka-śa > *harsh, grating*, 'gravel-like.' (This < -śa > is derived from an Indo-European < -ko [-kō] >: cf. Brugmann, 'Vergleichende Grammatik der idg. Sprachen', II, Strassburg, 1889, § 83.)

Examples: < -a + -śa > -āsṣ >, feminine < -ās-I >: খোলস < khōl-āsṣ > *covering, slough of snake* (< khōlṣ cover); মুখস ts. < mukha > + < -sṣ > *mask*; ভাড়স < tārā-sṣ > *force, influence, sympathy, as in fever due to a pain or wound* (< ভাড় √tād drive, beat); বেড়স < dhēṛā-sṣ > *a vegetable, 'lady's fingers'*, beside ঢেঁড়ি, ধেঁড়ি < dhēṛi, dhēṛi > *a kind of ear-ornament*; আপস < āpā-sṣ > *friends, people of the same group or family* (appā < ātman, \*ātma-śa); sts. রূপসী < rūpāsī > *a beautiful woman* (\*rūpa-śa- + -ikā).

< -ā-śa + -āka > -ās-ā > -ṣā >: also altered to the affricates ছ < -chā >, ঙ < -cā >, in the feminine, গী, ঙী < -sī, -cī >: e.g., পরস < pāysā > *pice* (< pāi-sā, Hind. paisā); আলিসা > আলসা, আলসে < āli-sā > ālīsā, ālsē > *parapet on a terrace* (< āli, ālī embankment); চিপস, চূপস < cipṣā, cupṣā > *lean, pressed* (√cip press); ভাপস < bhāpṣā > *foetid, rank, dank (like vapour) with a bad odour* (\*bhāṣpa-śa-); পানিসা > পানসে < pāni-sā > pānsē > (by Vowel Harmony) *watery* (pānīya + -śa-); চামস < cāmṣā > *like untanned hide in smell* (\*carma-śa); চকস < cākṣā > *clearing of the sky* (cf. চকচক < cāk-cāk > reduplicated form = *to be bright*); করস < phārṣā > *light, dawning*, beside Chakma dialect < pār = phār > *light* (see p. 512); ঝাপস, ঝাপস < jhāpṣā, jhupṣā > *hazy* (cf. ঝোপ < jhōpṣ > *wood, grove*); আবছা < ābṣchā > *hazy, < cloudy* (cf. †আভ < ābhṣ > = < abhra > *thin cloud*); লেঙচা < lēṅṣ-cā > *to limp, to be like a lame man* (cf. লেঙড়া < lēṅṣṣā > *lame man*, লেঙ < lēṅ > *kick, foot, shin*); ভেঙচা, ভাঙচা < bhēṅ-cā, bhāṅ(g)ṣ-cā > *make faces or wry-*

*mouth* (cf. *bhāngi*); कण्ठा « kāṇṭhā » *to chatter* ( $\sqrt{k|p}$ , kalp); घुंसी, घुंसी « ghumṣī, ghunṣī » *waist-string, 'winding thread'* ( $\sqrt{ghum}$  *to wander about*); अलगोहा « ālāgōhā » *without touching, from a distance* might be from « \*ālāgā-śā » *distinct-like* (alagna + -śa): cf. however अलगोहे at p. 551; একসা « ēkṣā » *rolled or united into one* seems to have been influenced by, if not actually derived from, the Persian « yak-sān ».

There are extensions of this affix: অসিয়া > চে « -ā-s-iyā » -cē », and আসিয়া > আসে « -ā-s-iyā » -āsē »: লালচে « lālācē = \*lālā-siyā » *reddish*; so কালচে « kālācē » *blackish*; ফাঁকাসিয়া > ফেঁকাসে « phāṅkāsiyā » phēṅkāse » (also without nasalisation) *pale, colourless*, cf. Hindōstānī « phakk » *colourless*.

In the words সাতাসে, আটাসে « sātāsē, āṭāsē » *a child prematurely born after seven months or after eight months*, the « -āsē » represents মাসিয়া « māsiyā » < « māsa » *month*. In a few onomatopoeics, however, we have an আস « -āsṣ » and উস « -usṣ » which seem to be connected with this « -sṣ » affix: e.g., ধপাস্ « dhāpāsṣ », ধড়াস্ « dhāṛāsṣ » *with a loud thud*, পটাস্ « pātāsṣ, kātāsṣ » *with a crack*, ধুপুস্ « dhupus » *with a gentle thud* etc. Cf. « -ātṣ » (p. 655) and « -ākṣ » (pp. 681-682).

(56) সাই, সাহি « sāi, sāhi ».

451. OB. « \*sahi », from OIA. « sahita », as in জলসাই « jālṣāi » *immersed in water*, বুকসাই « bukṣāi » *reaching up to the breast*, রুলসাই « rūlṣāi » (« Hūtōm-Pṛcār Naksā, 1862, p. 74) *belabouring with a cudgel* (« rūlṣ < English ruler): etc. This is confused with another সাই « -sai » from the Perso-Arabic, for which see below.

(57) সর, সরা « -sarṣ, -sarā ».

452. From OIA. « sara <  $\sqrt{s}$  » *moving*. This affix forms ordinals, and a few other adjectives and nouns: e.g., MB. একসর « ēkāsārā » *alone, by one self* (wrongly Sanskritised in MB. to একেশ্বর, also একেশ্বর « ēkēśwārā, ēkāsawārā »); দোসর « dōsarṣ » *a second, a supporter, a double, second*, দোসরা « dōsarā » *second, second day of the month*; তেসর, তেসরা « tēsārṣ, tēsārā » *third (day of the month)*; চোসর « cōsarṣ » *fourth, square*; MB. সোসর « sōsarā » *equal, lit. moving along with (= sama-sara)*; etc. Hoernle

derives this from « spta » (Gaudian Grammar, §271), but in MIA. this would give either « saṭa > saṭa », or « sata, sita > sa(d)a, si(d)a ».

(58) সৌখ্য « -sŏā ».

453. Found in MB., as in (ŠKK.) কানাসৌখ্য « kĀnā-sŏā » *reaching the brink* (=karṇa- + -sama-).

(59) হার, হারা « -hārā, hāra ».

454. It occurs in a few words like একহার, দোহার, ভোহার, চৌহার « ēkḥāra, dōhārā, tōhārā, cōuhārā », to mean ‘fold.’ (দোহার « dōhārā » also means *stout, robust, ‘double-sized’*). The source seems to be the Skt. « hāra » *division, portion* (Yōgesh Chandra Vidyānidhi, Bengali Grammar, VSPd., p. 178). Cf. MB. ষাঠিহার « ṣāṭhi-hāra », \*বাঠিহার « ṣāṭhihārā » > NB. ষেটেরা « ṣēṭērā » *sixth-day ceremony and worship after child-birth*. The affix occurs in Hindōstānī also, where it is agentive: e.g., « sirjan-hār » *Creator*, « dēnā-hārā » *giver*, « pālan-hār » *one who maintains*, etc. The Hind. « hār(ā) » is commonly derived from « kāra- » *doer*: but the aspiration in this case would be difficult to explain. There seems to have been a confusion between « kāra > -āra » and « hāra » in Early NIA.: cf. Bengali জোকার, জাঁকার « jōkārā, jāṅkārā » *shout or song of triumph*, beside জোহার « jōhārā » *salutation*, Hind. « juhār », found also in Kōl as « juhar » *salutation*; দোহার « dōhārā » < « \*dhuārā » *singer in a chorus* (< dhruva-kāra).

In দেহার « dēhārā » < দেহরা « dēhārā » *temple*, we have « ghara, gṛha »; and দৌহার « dōhārā » *of two* is from « dōṇha, dōṇṇa + (k)ara ». Hoernle derives « hārā » from Skt. « vidha + ra » (Gaudian Grammar, §412), but this derivation offers phonological difficulties.

455. There are in addition a number of affixes which are in most cases mutilated forms of words forming parts of compounds, and these are found mainly in place names (e.g., আস, সা, সৌ « -āsā, -sā, -sī » < « -āvāsa, -vāsa- », as in ইন্দাস, « Indāsā » = « Indrāvāsa », পাকড়াপী « Pākḥāpī » a surname = « Parkaṭāvāsa + -ika »; -দৌ, দৌরা > দে « -di, -diyā » < -dē » as in নদে < নদৌ « Nōdē < Nādīyā », from « dvipa- »; etc.);

but as these are not found in derived verbal or nominal forms of the language, and have long lost all force of affixes, they are not considered here. (See Y. C. Vidyānidhi, *Bengali Grammar*, VSPd., pp. 188-199). Affixes like ভর, ভরা « -bhārṣ, -bhārā » (e.g., পেট-ভরা « pēṭṭ-bhārā *belly-full*, দিন-ভর « din-bhārṣ » *all day long*), করা « -kārā » (as in শত-করা « śatṭ-kārā » *by the hundred, per cent*, where « kārā = Bengali passive participle of কর « √kār », corresponding to « kṛta » : Hindōstāni has « kaḍa- » as in « sai-kaṛā, sai-kaṛṣ », where « kaḍa » curiously enough preserves the old Māgadhī equivalent of « kṛta » which is lost to Bengali) are but compounded words, and are self-explaining; and they need no further discussion.

## [II] TATSAMA SUFFIXES.

456. From the large and ever-increasing *tatsama* element in Late MIA. and in NIA., a number of common Sanskrit affixes were familiarised, and gradually these have been adopted into the language, their naturalisation being indicated by the formation of hybrids with *bbh.* or foreign roots or words. There seems, moreover, always to have been present in the minds of speakers of Late MIA. and Early NIA. a sense of some vague connexion between the « -ā, -ā » of nouns and adjectives and Skt. « -ākā, -ākā », and between the « -a, -ia » of the passive participle with « -ta, -ita » : a connexion which the scholars have always noted and indicated.

In Second and Late MIA., as a single unvoiced stop would not be allowed intervocally (at least in orthography), the « -k- » or « -t- » of the *ts.* affixes would be written « -kk-, -tt- », and free use of this device would be made for purposes of metre or rime. This practice was continued to the Early NIA. stage: the 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala' has spellings like « rūakka (rūpaka), Mēnakkā (Mēnakā), Sārangikkā (Sārangikā), ghitta (ghṛta), śatti (śyati) », and in Old Hindi, Old Rājasthani, etc. we find instances where this tradition is carried on, like « matti (matī), Sarasatti (Sarasvatī), Manmaththa (Manmatha), sukkha (sukha), hayaggaya (haya-gaja), jagga (jagat), uṛaggana (uḍa-gaṇa), saddāi (sadā) » etc., and even in foreign borrowings like « surattāna (sultān),

Arabbi (Perso-Arabic «arabi»), Turakki (Turki), etc. There are, however, also cases of doubling of other consonants than stops and aspirates in Late MIA. and Early NIA. In OB. of the Caryās we find also a few cases (see below, under «-ta, -ita»).

(1) ইম «-imā».

457. From OIA. «-iman», with the force of the English *-ness*: found also in MIA., e.g. «munisima (=manuṣyatva), gahirima (gabhiratva), vaḍḍhimā (vṛddhi-bhāva)», etc. OB. (Caryā 34) «pārima» (=pāra); MB., NB. বন্ধিম «bāṅkimā» (=vakra-tva), লালিম «lālimā» *redness*, রক্তিম «rātimā» *redness* (raktiman), beside কালিম «kālimā» *blackness*, নীলিম «nīlimā» *bluish tinge*, চাঁদিম «cādimā» *moon-light, moon-sheen*. This affix is found in other NIA. languages, but it is literary rather than popular. In Bengali, «-imā» has also a slightly diminutive force.

(2) ইয় «-Iyā» [io, io].

458. This is affixed to foreign and other names, forming adjectives: রুশীয় «Ruṣīyā» *Russian*, আরবীয় «Ārabīyā» *Arabian*, মিসরীয় «Misrīyā» *Egyptian*, খ্রীষ্টীয় «Khrīṣṭīyā» *belonging to Christ, Christian*, ইটালীয় «Itāliyā» *Italian*, ডেনীয় «Dēnīyā» *Danish*, হেগেলীয় «Hēgēliyā» *Hegelian*, etc.

(3) ক «-ka».

459. It is sometimes difficult to decide whether the pleonastic «-ka» of Bengali comes from MIA. «-kka» (see p. 683), or is an OB. or MB. employ of the *ts.* affix. The Skt. «-ka» undoubtedly sustained in Bengali this MIA. borrowing from it, and helped to extend its use. When it is in connexion with *ts.* words, the «-ka» might be regarded as the *ts.* affix: e.g., রাজনৈতিক «rājñaitikā» beside -নৈতিক «-nāitika» *political*; আদিক «-ādi-ka-» > দিক «-dika» in the oblique plural base of nouns; Skt. words with «-ka, -ika», like «bāla-ka, pañca-ka, saḥāya-ka, māsa-ika, pākṣa-ika, dain-ika, dōla-ka, sthāpa-ka, māpa-ka, jñāpa-ka, pāitṛ-ka, vaiṣay-ika, lāuk-ika, sāgni-ka, tirth-ika, māukh-ika», etc., etc. form a whole host in Bengali,

and since many of these words are freely used in the colloquial, «-ka, -ika (with modification of root vowel) » have become quite familiar as adjectival affixes.

In a few words like পেটুক « pēṭ-ukṣ » *glutton*, মিষ্টক « miṣ-ukṣ » *sociable*, লাজুক « lāj-ukṣ » *shy*, মিথ্যুক « mithy-ukṣ » *liar*, we have probably the Skt. affix «-uka »; cf. also হিংসুক « hiṅs-ukṣ » *envious*.

See also below, under 'Verb: Pleonastic Affixes.'

(4) ত, ইত «-t(ā), -it(ā) ».

460. The passive participle affix of OIA. (Skt.), it is in very common use. It was apparently re-introduced in the Late MIA. period, in which it was written «-tta, -itta ». This affix is frequently used with *tāh.* and *sts.*, as well as foreign roots and words, showing its complete naturalisation. Examples: OB. (Caryā 8) ভরিতী « bharitī » *filled*, fem. in «-ita » + «-I »; (Caryā 9) নিবিতা « nibitā » (nirvṛta, MIA. \*nivittā-); so (Carya 12) পরিনিবিতা « parinibitā »; (Caryā 30) উইতা « uittā » (MIA. «\*uitta-» for « uia » = « udita »); MB., NB. ঠাকিত « thākit(ā) » *astonished* (thakka < \*stabh-kṛta + -ita), খলিত « khālitā » *slipped* (√skhal), লখিত « lakhitā » *seen, noticed* (√lakṣ), জানিত « jānitā » *known* (see p. 654), করিত « kār-it(ā) » as in করিত্-কর্মা kārīt-kārmā » *experienced* (= kṛta-karmā), জন্মিত, জন্মিত « jānmit(ā), jāmmit(ā) » *begotten*, উজলিত « ujālitā » *brightened* (< ujjvala), অবিয়ত « ābiyātā » *unmarried* (« ā- + biyā < vivāha + -tā »: cf. Hindi « byāh-it » *married*); এলায়িত « ēlāyitā » *dishevelled* (where « ēlā » < আলা, আউলা « āllā, āulā » = « ākula- », see p. 388, + « -itā »); etc.; নিকাহিতা স্ত্রী « nikāh-itā stri » *woman or wife married in the nikāh form* (< Perso-Arabic « nikāh »); বাপ্তাইজিত « bāptāj-itā » *baptised*; and even আইনানুসারে রেজিস্ট্রিত « āinānusāre rējēspritā » *registered in accordance with law* (Perso-Arabic « āin »: রেজিস্ট্রিত « rējēsprikṛtā » is more common, however). A number of wrong forms in «-itā », created by Bengali writers, have become well-established in the language, like খনিত « khānitā » (= khāta), ইচিত « iochitā » (= iṣṭa), দংশিত « dāṅśitā » (daṣṭa), অনুবাদিত « ānubādītā » (anūdita), সিকিত « siñcitā » (« sikta », causative « sēoitā »), নমিত « nāmītā » (nata), আহরিত « āharitā » (āhṛta, āhārita), একত্রিত « ēkātṛitā » (= ēkatra), নিঃশেষিত « niḥśēpita »

(< nihāsa), etc., etc. The « sēt » and « an-iṭ » bases of the Sanskrit grammarians have been entirely ignored. (See *supra*, p. 201).

(5) ভব্য « -tābyā » [-tobbo].

461. The Skt. « -tavya » is combined in the colloquial rather than in the literary speech with a few *tāh.* roots, through an extension of its employ in *ts.* forms : বলভব্য « bālā-tābyā », কহভব্য « kaha-tābyā » (√bāl, kāh=brū, kathaya-), সহভব্য, সহিভব্য « sahā-tābyā, sah-i-tābyā » for « sōḍhavya »; rarely with other roots, as *e.g.*, like ধাতব্য « khātābyā » (khāditavya), imitating « dātavya ».

(6) তা « -tā ».

462. The affix of abstraction, used mainly with *ts.* and *sts.* words, often wrongly : *e.g.*, সখ্যতা « sākhyā-tā » *friendship*, আধিক্যতা « ādhikyā-tā », colloquially among women আদিখ্যেতা « ādikhyētā » *excess, effusive or gushing affection*, জাতীয়তা « jātiyā-tā » *nationalism*, রোমাণ্টিকতা « rōmāṅṅikā-tā » *Romanticism*, মানবিকতা « mānābikā-tā » *human character*, ভদ্রতা « bhādrā-tā », সৌজন্যতা « sāujānyā-tā » beside সৌজন্য « sāujānyā » *courtesy*, etc.

(7) ত্ব « -twā » [-tto].

463. Quite common in Bengali with *tāh.* and even foreign words : *e.g.*, নতুনত্ব, নোতুনত্ব « nātunā-twā, nōtunā-twā » *newness* (< nāutunā : p. 345); হিন্দুত্ব « hindu-twā » *Hinduism, Hindu ideas and practices* (Persian « hindū »); বামুনত্ব « bāmunā-twā » *Brahmanism, Brahmanishness*; মুসলমানত্ব « musulmānā-twā » *Mohammedan notions and ways*; ছোটত্ব « chōṭā-twā » *smallness*, বড়ত্ব « bāṛā-twā » *bigness*; একঘেরেত্ব « ēkaghēyē-twā » *monotony* (< ēkāghā-iyā » *with the same beat*); কর্তৃত্ব, কত্তৃত্ব « kārtā-twā, kāttā-twā » *domineering manner* (« kārtā », *sts.* « kāttā » = 'boss' + « -twā »), which, through influence of words ending in consonant + « -yā » changing the final syllable into « -i » (like সত্যি « sātyi » [jōtti], পথি « pāthyi » [potthi], অবিত্তি « ābīṭṭi » [obīṭṭi] = « satya, pathya, avasāya », see p. 406), is frequently found as কত্তাষি [kottatti] in the Standard Colloquial.



## (8) পারা « -pārā ».

464. A *sts.* form, form Skt. « prāyah » > « \*parā », meaning 'like,' 'almost as': see under পনা « -pānā », p. 696. In Oṛiyā, this appears as « pārā ». Example : পাগল-পারা « pāgālā-pārā » *like a mad person*, also পাগলের পারা « pāgālērā-pārā »; « pārā » is thus used as a separate word, as it is also in Oṛiyā.

## (9) বর « -māyā ».

465. In the sense of 'full of,' 'spread about in or with': জলবর « jālā-māyā » *covered with water*, পথবর « pāthā-māyā » *throughout the street*, কাঁদাবর « kādā-māyā » *all covered with mud*, দেশবর « dēśā-māyā » *all over the land*, ইউরোপবর « Iurōpā-māyā » *all over Europe*, etc.

## (10) সহ « -sāhā ».

466. The Skt. particle is loosely compounded with nouns to indicate inclusion : কাপড়-সহ « kāpāṛā-sāhā » *with the garments on*, বাছুর-সহ গোক « bāchurā-sāhā gōru » *a cow together with the calf*, ঢাকীসহ বিসর্জন « ḍhākī-sāhā bisārjanā » *casting the image (of Durgā or other goddess or god, after the annual worship) into water, with the drummers and all = making a thorough end of an affair*; also ঢাকীসহ « ḍhākī-suddhā », see below; etc.

## (11) সহ « -suddhā », সহ « -suddhā ».

467. Also used in the inclusive sense: আমি-সহ « āmi-suddhā » *including me*, সব-সহ(1) « sābā-suddhā, -ā » *including all*, সাজসহ ঘোড়া « sājā-suddhā ghōṛā » *horse with harness and all*, etc. This usage apparently originated from the sense of *entire, complete* which the Skt. word has. The word is also spelt with a dental স « s- », and a *sts.* or *tth.* from শু or শু « sudhu, śudhu » also occurs, meaning 'only.' In Hindōstāni we have the same word in « suddhā », also « sūdhī »; in Sindhi it occurs as « sūdhā » *along with*. Hoernle derives it from a MIA. « \*saṭddha, \*saṭwaddha », from Skt. « sam-ā-dhā » (Gaudian Grammar, p. 226), but does this not look likely.

See also under 'Post-positions,' *infra*, under 'Noun.'

[III] FOREIGN SUFFIXES: PERSIAN.

468. Persian suffixes, and some words which have almost become like suffixes in Bengali, are given below.

(1) আন, ওয়ান < -ān, -wān > *possessing* (< -wān, -bān >): গাড়োআন, গাড়োওয়ান, গাড়ওয়ান, গাড়আন < gārīān, gārīwān, gārīwān, gārān > *cab-man*; বাগান < বাগোয়ান < bāgān < bāgwān > *garden* (= bāgwān); the word কোচুয়ান < kōcuān > beside কোচমান < kōc-mān > *coachman* seems to the English word, with influence of the Persian < -wān >, found in দরওয়ান < darwān > *gate-keeper* (darwān, darbān).

(2) আনা < -ānā > *pertaining to, having the nature of* (= -ānah): with an extension আনী, আনি < -ān-i, -ān-i > (= -ānah + -i), indicating abstraction: e.g., বড়-ঘরানা < bārā-ghār-ānā > *pertaining to rich or high families*; হিন্দুয়ানী < hindu-ān-i >, হিঁ হুয়ানী < hīdu-ān-i > *Hindu ways*; বাবুয়ানা < bābu-ānā >, বাবুয়ানী < bābu-ān-i > *the ways of a gentleman, luxury and dressiness*; সাহেবিয়ানা < sāhēbi-ānā > *Europeans ways, extravagance and haughty ways, etc.*, etc. See p. 592 for the intrusive < -i >, giving rise to the form < -iānā >.

(3) থানা < khānā > *place, abode* (= xānah): শুঁড়ীথানা < šūrī-khānā > *vintner's shop*; মুদীথানা < mudī-khānā > *grocer's shop, oilman's store*; ডাক্তারথানা < dāktār-khānā > *dispensary*; ছাপাথানা < chāpā-khānā > *printing establishment*; বৈঠকথানা < bāiṭhāk-khānā > *drawing-room*; etc.

(4) খোর < khōr > *eater* (= xōr): গুলিখোর < guli-khōr > *opium-smoker*; আগিখ-খোর < āpim-khōr > *opium-eater*; ঘুষ-খোর < ghuṣ-khōr > *bribe-taker*; etc.

(5) গর < gār > *maker* (= gar), frequently altered to an Indian কর < -kārā >: কারিগর < kāri-gār > *artisan, craftsman* (Skt. < kārū > *maker* + Pers. < gar >) beside কারিকর < kārikār >; বাজীগর, -কর < bājī-gār, -kārā > *magician, acrobat*.

(6) গিরি < giri > *business, craft, trade; manners, ways* (= Pers. < gar-i >; also < gir > *taking, holding, seizing > taker, holder* + nominal affix < -i >): মুচিগিরি < muṭiyā-giri > *the calling of a porter*; মুচিগিরি < mucī-giri > *a shoe-maker's calling*; বাবুগিরি < bābu-giri > *the ways of a gentleman = soft living*; কেরানীগিরি < kērānī-giri > *the profession of a clerk*; etc.

(7) চী, চি « -ci, -ci », a diminutive affix, a modification of the Persian « -cah » > চ « cā » with feminine or diminutive « -i »: ধূনাচী « dhūnāci » *small incense-burner*; পাতাচী « pātāñci » *a carpet or mat*, from words like দেগচী, ডেকচী « dēgci, dēkeci » *a caldron* < « dēgcah »; বাগিচা « bāgicā » *small garden* < « bāgicah »; চাম্চা, চাম্চে « cāmca, -cē » *spoon*, etc.

(8) তর « -tārā » *like* (< Perso-Arabic « tarāh » *plan, mode, manner*): এমনতর « ĕmāñṭ-tārā » *such* (beside এমন-ধারা « ĕmāñṭ-dhārā »); কেমনতর « kēmāñṭ-tārā » *in a peculiar way*; যেমনতর « jēmāñṭ-tārā » *like that*; etc. After some *ts.* words it has an intensive force, as in গুরুতর « guru-tārā » *in a very excessive way*, ঘোরতর « ghōrā-tārā » *in a very terrible manner*, বহুতর « bāhu-tārā » *manifold*, etc., where it seems this suffix of foreign origin has been confused with the Skt. comparative affix « -tara ». The affix is found mainly in some pronominal adjectives and adverbs, and this use seems to be modelled on Hindōstāni (Urdū) forms like « is-tarāh, jis-tarāh, kis-tarāh », etc.

(9) দান, দানী « -dān, -dān-i » *receptacle*: নসুদান « nāsyaṅ-dān » *snuff-box*, পিকদানী « pikṣ-dāni » *spittoon*, on the model of কলমদান « kālām-dān » *pen-stand* (qalam-dān), আতরদান « ātār-dān » *scent-bottle* (\*itr-dān), etc.

(10) দার « -dār » *holder, one in charge of*: বাজনদার, extended to বাজন-দারিয়া > বাজুন্দের « bājāñṭ-dār, bājāñṭ-dār-iā » *musician*; চৌকীদার « cāuki-dār » *watchman* > চৌকীদারী « cāuki-dār-i » *work of a watchman*: চড়নদার « cārāñṭ-dār » *passenger* ( $\sqrt{\text{cār}}$  *ride*); ফাঁড়ীদার « phāṛī-dār » *person in charge of a police station*; ছড়িদার « chṛi-dār » *rod-bearer*; সম্বদার « sāmāñṭ-dār » *possessing discrimination*; অংশীদার « āñśī-dār » *for অংশ-দার* « āñśā-dār » *shareholder in a firm*; etc.

(11) নবিশ « -nābis » *writer* (= navis): নকলনবিশ « nākāl-nābis » *copyist* (naql-navis). In the word শিক্ষানবিশ « śikṣā-nābis » *apprentice* (especially in some learned trade), we have the influence of the English word *novice*. নবিশ « nābis-i » is the abstract form of the above.

(12) বন্ধ « -bandā » > বন্দি « bāñdi » *shut, enclosed* (= Pers. « band »): চিঠাবন্দি « ciṭhā-bāñdi » *entered in a ledger*, পেটরাবন্ধ, -বন্দি « pēṭṭrā-bāñdā, -bāñdi » *shut inside a chest*, বাস্তবন্ধ, বন্দি « bāksā-bāñdā, -bāñdi » *locked in a box*.

(13) বাজ < -bāj > *one accustomed to do a thing* (< bāz), an abstract formation from which is বাজী < bāj-I > : রাঁড়বাজ < rāṛḍ-bāj > *one who associates with courtesans* (slang); ধড়ীবাজ < dhārī-bāj > *acute fellow, swindler*; ধোঁকা-বাজ < dhōkā-bāj > *a swindler*; গলা-বাজী < ḡlā-bājī > *speech-making*; etc.

(14) সহি, সহৈ < -sāhi, -sāi > *proper, attached to* (Perso-Arabic < saḥīḥ >) : as an affix, this has been confused with the similar *thh.* affix (p. 700); e.g., মানান্-সহি, -সহৈ < mānānḥ-sā(h)i > *agreeable, suitable*; প্রমাণ-সহি < prāmāṇḥ-sāhi > *of full size*; চলনসহি < cālānḥ-sāi > *serviceable*; মাপসহি < māpḥ-sāi > *(article) to measure*; টেকসহি < ṭēkḥ-sāi > *durable*; etc.

Some Persian words, being cognate with Sanskrit ones, are so very similar to the latter that their Indian or Indianised forms are employed: e.g., Persian < -istān > in names of countries occurs in Bengali in the Sanskrit form < sthāna > : e.g., হিন্দুস্থান < Hindu-sthānḥ >, আফগানিস্থান < Āphḡgāni-sthānḥ >, তুর্কীস্থান < Turkī-sthānḥ >; Persian < -mand > often becomes মন্ত < māntā >, e.g., দৌলতমন্ত < dāulāt-māntā > beside শ্রীমন্ত < śrī-māntā >, and Persian < nāmāh > is hardly felt to be foreign in the Bengali নামা < -nāmā >.

Other Persian affixes or words like < -yandah, -andāz, pūš > appear only in Persian words borrowed in the language, and as they are not used with native words, they cannot be said to have as yet become naturalised.

## [B] PREFIXES

### [I] PREFIXES OF NATIVE ORIGIN : TADBHAVA AND TATSAMA.

469. Bengali has a few prefixes which are living ones, employed in forming words. The following are the *thh.* and *ts.* prefixes found in use.

(1) অ, আ < ā-, ā- >, অনা < ānā- > : Privative, Pejorative.

OIA. initial < ā- > normally became < ā- > in Bengali (see *supra*, p. 314), but the influence of Skt. restored the < ā- > [=o] in most cases. This prefix অ [o] is not mutated to [o] even when the following syllable has [i] or [u] (see p. 396). Examples: আলুনি < ā-luni < \*ā-lōṇ-I > *not*

*salted (as of curry)* (a-lavaṇ-ika); আকাচা « ā-kācā » *not washed (as a dhōṭi)*; অবনতি « ā-bānṭ-i » *disagreement* (বন √bān to make up); আকাঁড়া « ā-kāṅṛā » *not cleaned (as of rice)* (a-kāḍhia, \*a-kaṅḍia = a-kr̥ṣṭa); MB. sts. আবুদ্ধি « ā-buddhiyā » *without intelligence*; অশুভ « āśudhḥ » *mourning, ceremonial uncleanness*, often written শুভ « ōśudhḥ » (a-śuddha); MB. (ŚKK.) আদেখ « ā-dēkhā » *not seen*, আদিবস « ā-dibāsā » *bad day*, আবেলা « ā-bēlā » (NB. অবেলা « ā-bēlā ») *bad time*; আধোরা « ā-dhōrā » *not washed*; অকাজে « ā-kājō < \*ā-kāj-uā » *good-for-nothing*; MB. আকারণে « ākāraṇē » *without any reason*; অজানা(১), অজানা « ā-jān(ā), ā-jānā » *unknown*; অঘর « ā-ghārḥ » *bad family*; আঘাট « ā-ghāṭḥ » *a bad 'ghāt'*; অবিবর্ত « ā-biyā-tā », see p. 704; etc.

We have also hybrids like অহিন্দু « ā-hindu » *non-Hindu, un-Hindu*, অখুশী « ā-khuṣī » *displeased* (Persian « xūṣī »), অহিসাবী *unmethodical* (Perso-Arabic « hisāb » *accounts*).

OIA. « ān- », before vowels, is the source of the Bengali অনা « ānā », through the occurrence of forms like « an-āgata, an-āvṛṣṭi » etc.: sts. অনামুখ « anā-mukhḥ » *evil-face*, অনাছিটি, অনাফটি « anā-chiṣṭi, anā-sṛṣṭi » *extraordinary (in a pejorative sense)*.

(2) অ, আ « ā-, ā- »: Intensive > Pleonastic.

470. It is found in some MB. and dialectal NB. words. See *supra*, p. 378. Possibly it is a semantic development of the negative অ, আ above. The OIA. particle (later prefix) « ā » could not continue its force in NIA., as it was assimilated through phonetic decay in MIA. Examples: অমন্দ « ā-mānḍā » *bad*; অবৃথা, আবৃথা « ā-bṛthā, ā-bṛthā », « obretha » in the 'Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed' (see p. 234) = « vṛthā »; অঘোর নিদ্রা « ā-ghōrḥ nidrā » = « ghōra nidrā » *deep sleep*; অরঙ্গা, আরঙ্গা « ā-rāṅgā, ā-rāṅgā » *coloured*; অকুমারী, আকুমারী « ā-kumārī, ā-kumārī » *virgin*, « ocumari » in the 'Orthbhed.'

Connected with the above would seem to be an অ « ā- » prefix, indicating 'similarity' or 'resemblance': e.g., আকাঁঠ, -ট « ā-kāṭṭ(h)ḥ » *like a log* > *idiotic*; আখণ্ডা « ā-khāmbhā, -khāmbhā » *like a pillar* (slang);

আতলা  $\leftarrow$  ā-bhājā  $\rightarrow$  *slightly fried*  $\leftarrow$  *not properly fried* (here = the privative or pejorative  $\leftarrow$  ā-  $\rightarrow$  ?).

(3) কু  $\leftarrow$  ku-  $\rightarrow$ .

471. Pejorative, from OIA.  $\leftarrow$  ku-  $\rightarrow$ . This prefix also is used as a noun in Bengali, meaning 'something bad.' Examples: কুকাৰ  $\leftarrow$  ku-kājā  $\rightarrow$  *bad deed*, কুচাল  $\leftarrow$  ku-cālā  $\rightarrow$  *bad ways*. There are also hybrids—কুনজর  $\leftarrow$  ku-nājar  $\rightarrow$  *bad sight*  $\rightarrow$  *eye of displeasure (or of sensuality)* (Perso-Arabic  $\leftarrow$  *nasr*  $\rightarrow$ ), কুকেছা  $\leftarrow$  ku-kecchā  $\rightarrow$  *scandal* (Perso-Arabic  $\leftarrow$  *qiseah*  $\rightarrow$ ), etc. (The OIA.  $\leftarrow$  duṣ-, dur-  $\rightarrow$  *bad* has not been naturalised in the same way.)

(4) দর  $\leftarrow$  dārā-  $\rightarrow$ .

472. A diminutive prefix, meaning *half, a little*, from MIA.  $\leftarrow$  dara  $\rightarrow$  (cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' § 222) from OIA.  $\leftarrow$  √dṛ  $\rightarrow$  *to break*: e.g., দরকাঁচা  $\leftarrow$  dārā-kācā  $\rightarrow$  *half-unripe*, also † দরকচা, দরকোচা  $\leftarrow$  dārā-kācā, dārā-kōcā  $\rightarrow$ , *not properly matured*; দরপাকা  $\leftarrow$  dārā-pākā  $\rightarrow$  *half-ripe*. It is a rare and practically an obsolete affix.

(5) নি  $\leftarrow$  ni-  $\rightarrow$ , sts. নিৰ্  $\leftarrow$  nir-  $\rightarrow$ .

473. Privative affix, from OIA.  $\leftarrow$  niḥ, nir  $\rightarrow$ . Through Skt. influence this affix also occurs as নিৰ্  $\leftarrow$  nir  $\rightarrow$ . Examples: নিভুল  $\leftarrow$  ni-bhulā  $\rightarrow$  *faultless, without a mistake* beside নিৰ্ভুল, 'নিব্ভুল'  $\leftarrow$  nir-bhulā, nibbhulā  $\rightarrow$ ; নিৰ্ধূত  $\leftarrow$  ni-khūtā  $\rightarrow$  *without a blemish*; নিগাঁই, নিগাঁঞি  $\leftarrow$  ni-gāi, nir-gāni  $\rightarrow$  *without any village home*; নিখাস্তি, নিখাউস্তি  $\leftarrow$  ni-khā-(u)nti  $\rightarrow$ , feminine from  $\leftarrow$  \*ni-khā-wāntā  $\rightarrow$  *one who does not eat*; নিনাই, নিনার, নিনাও  $\leftarrow$  ni-nāi, ni-nāy, ni-nāo  $\rightarrow$  *one without a boat*; sts. † নিউদ্দিন  $\leftarrow$  ni-uddiṣā  $\rightarrow$  beside নিরুদ্দেশ, নিরুদ্দিন  $\leftarrow$  nir-uddēṣā, nir-uddiṣā  $\rightarrow$  (= nir-uddēṣa); † নিখাইক  $\leftarrow$  ni-khāikā  $\rightarrow$  *one who does not eat*; MB. (SKK.) নিমথি, নিমথিতী  $\leftarrow$  ni-māthi, ni-māthitī  $\rightarrow$  *woman without protector* (ni+māthā  $\leftarrow$  mastaka- + ikā, etc.); নিলাজ  $\leftarrow$  ni-lājā  $\rightarrow$  *shameless*; নিদর  $\leftarrow$  ni-dāyā  $\rightarrow$ , নিকরণ  $\leftarrow$  ni-kāraṇa  $\rightarrow$  *pitiless*; etc., etc.

It is found also in verbs and other forms, like নিবা  $\leftarrow$  nibā  $\rightarrow$  *to extinguish* (nir-vā), where its force as a prefix is now lost.

(6) বি « bi- », rarely বে « bē- ».

474. Privative and pejorative = OIA. « vi- »: e.g., বিবোধ « bi-jōṛṣ » *without a match, odd*; MB. বিবুধি « bi-budhi » (=dur-buddhi); বিকরণ « bi-kāruṅ » (=niṣ-karuṅ); বিহড় « bihāṛ » *to turn wrong* (=vi-ghaṭa-); *sts.* বেজন্মা « bē-jāmmā » beside বিজন্মা « bi-jānmā » *bastard* (=vi-janman); etc. Cf. OB. (Caryā 32) « khāla-bikhalā » = « khāta- + vikhāta ».

(7) স « sa- ».

475. Skt. « sa- », *along with*, is used in Bengali in an intensive or ameliorative sense: e.g., সঠিক « sâ-ṭhikṣ » beside ঠিক « ṭhikṣ » *true, correct*; সকাল « sâ-kālṣ » *early, morning* (as opposed to বিকাল « bi-kālṣ » *afternoon, evening*); so সবের « sâ-bērṣ » *morning, early*, as opposed to অবের « â-bērṣ » (< vâlā); *stss.* সাবকাশ « sâbākāśṣ » (=avakāśa), সক্ষম « sâ-kṣāmṣ » (=kṣama); etc. From the Persian « nābāliq » > নাবালক « nābālākṣ » *minor*, a form সাবালক « sâ-bālākṣ » *major*, as if with this prefix, has been formed.

The old sociative or instrumental use of « sâ- » has been partly revived in Bengali, and we have even a hybrid form like সবুট « sâ-butṣ » *with boots on* (< English *boot*, as in সবুট পদাঘাত « sâ-butṣ pādāghātṣ » *a kick with the boot on*), সজোরে « sâ-jōrē » *with force* (Persian « zōr »), on the model of *ts.* forms like « sa-vastra, sa-bala, sa-daya », etc.

(8) সু « su- ».

476. Ameliorative affix, used also as a noun = *something good*, (like « ku »). Examples: সুছাঁদ « su-chhāḍṣ » *of good-shape*; সুজন « su-jānṣ » *good man*; সুমন « su-mānṣ » *good-minded* (predicative adjective), *good mind* (su-manas); সুদিন « su-dinṣ » *good day*; সুনাম « su-nāmṣ » *good repute*; সুডোল « su-ḍōlṣ » *of good shape*; etc. Hybrids—সুনজর « su-nājārṣ » *good glance, kindly glance* (Perso-Arabic « nāzr »), সুখবর « su-khābār » *good news* (xabr), etc.

(9) হা « hā- ».

477. Explained as the interjection হা « hā » *alas*, which is a very likely source. It might have, however, originated from a MIA. « haa »

(=hata). Used with a few words to indicate absence of something, and a consequent yearning for it: e.g., হাপুতি < hā-puti > a woman who mourns or longs for children; হাতাতিয়া > হাবাতে < hā-bhātiyā > hābātē > a beggar for bread (lit. rice); হাবরিয়া > হাব'রে < hā-ghāriyā > hāghōrē > homeless vagrant; হাপুস as in হাপুস নয়নে কাঁদা < hā-pusā nāyānē kādā > weep with flooded eyes, where হাপুস may be from হাউস < hā-wūsā > from < hā, ha(t)a > + < √vr̥ > rain; etc.

Some independent words like ভর < bhārā >, as in ভর-সাঁঝ or -সন্ধ্যা < bhārā-sājha, -sāndhyā > in the middle of the evening, আধ < ādhā > (ardha) as in আধ-ফোটা < ādhā-phōṭā > half-open (flower), etc., occur in compounds, and these strictly speaking are not prefixes.

[II] FOREIGN PREFIXES: PERSIAN.

478. (1) গর < gār- >, from Perso-Arabic < gair > without; গরমিল < gār-milā > disagreement; cf. গরহাজির < gār-hājir > absent (gair-hājir).

(2) দর < dār- > under, within; দরপত্তনী < dār-pāttānī > sub-tenancy.

(3) না < nā- > not: e.g., না-পারিযামানে < না + পারিযামানে < nā-pārijimānē < nā + pāryamānē > when one is not able, on the model of নাহক < nā-hāk > without reason, without right (nā-hāqq), নাবালক < nābālāk > minor (nā-bālig), etc. In forms like না-টক না-মিষ্টি < nā-tākā nā-miṣṭi > neither sour nor sweet, we have, however, the native Bengali negative particle rather than the Persian affix.

(4) ফি < phi- >, from Perso-Arabic < fi >, used in Bengali to mean each: ফি-লোক < phi-lōkā >, ফি-জন < phi-jānā > (for) each man, ফি-হাত < phi-hātā > at each hand, at each step, etc.

(5) বদ < bād- > evil (Persian < bad >): বদ-রীত < bād-rit > bad ways, বদ-রাগি < bād-rāgi > one who flies into a passion, বদ-গন্ধ < bād-gāndhā > bad odour, etc.

(6) বে < bē- > without: also used pejoratively. This affix is assimilated to the cognate Skt. < vi- > > বি < bi- >. Examples: বেহাত < bē-hātā > out of reach; বেচাল < bē-cālā > evil ways, waywardness; বেরসিক < bē-rāsikā > one who is impervious to willicism; বে-হেড < bē-hēḍ > (slang) off one's head, losing control over oneself (< hēḍ < English head); বে-টাউন, -টাউন



« bē-tāim, -tāin » *in improper time* (< English *time*); etc. The word বেয়াড়া « bēārā », of course, represents the native « vikāṭa- ».

(7) হর « hār- » *each*, from Persian « har »: হরবোলা « hārḥ-bōlā » *ventriloquist*; হর-দিন « hār-dinḥ » *daily*; etc.

There are other Persian words like « bar-, sar-, kam- », but these have not as yet acquired the force of an affix, at least so far as native words or roots are concerned.

#### ENGLISH.

479. The English words *head*, *full*, and *half* are used in a number of compound forms with Bengali words, and have almost become affixes: e.g., হেড-পণ্ডিত « hēḍ-paṇḍitḥ » from the Anglo-Indian *Head Pundit*; so হেড-বাবু « hēḍ-bābu » *chief Indian clerk in an office*; হেড-মুহুরী « hēḍ-muhurī » (Pers. « muharrir », see p. 610); হেড-গোমস্তা « hēḍ-gōmāstā » (Pers. « gumāstah »); হেড-মৌলবী « hēḍ-māulābī » *Head Moulvi*; ফুলবাবু « phul-bābu » *a fop, a 'Full Babu'*; ফুল-আখড়াই and হাফ-, হাপ-আখড়াই « phul-ākḥḍṛāi, hāp(h)-ākḥḍṛāi » *two styles of poetical and singing contest much in vogue in mid-19th century Bengal (full, half + « ākhḍṛāi » gathering < « ākhḍṛā = akhūrā » club)*. The prefix *sub-* (as সব, সাব « sāb-, sāb- ») is quite well-known through the occurrence of words like *sub-division*, *sub-deputy*, *sub-assistant*, *sub-overseer*, *sub-inspector*, *sub-registrar*, etc., etc., which are familiar to Bengali speakers everywhere, but it has not yet been used with an Indian word.

## CHAPTER II

### DECLENSION OF THE NOUN

#### [A] STEMS.

**480.** Bengali like most NIA. languages may be said to have started *de novo* in its morphology, having preserved but very little of the declinational system of OIA.; and the little that it has preserved consists of a few inflexions which have been generalised. MIA. considerably curtailed the elaborate declension of the noun of OIA. The various vowel and consonant stems of OIA. (as in Vedic), considerably over a dozen, were reduced to a bare six (◀ -ā, -ī, -ū; -ā, -ī, -ū ▶ stems) in Early MIA., when ◀ ɣ ▶ became ◀ -ā, -ī, -ū ▶, and final consonants dropped off; and there were just a few relics of the other stems. They were further simplified in Late MIA., when the final long vowels were shortened (see *supra*, p. 301), and there was a general tendency to bring all declensions under the ◀ -ā ▶ type. Stems in ◀ -ī, -u ▶ were gradually approximated to the ◀ -ā ▶ declension; ◀ -ī, -u ▶ nouns were often extended to ◀ -īa, -ua ▶ by adding of ◀ -ā < -kā, -kā ▶; and new affixes in ◀ -a ▶ replaced older ones in ◀ -ī, -u ▶, like ◀ -ira ▶ in literary Apabhraṅśa of Gujarat removing affixes like ◀ -in, -ālu ▶ (cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, 'Wilson Lectures,' pp. 111-114; Jacobi, 'Bhavisatta-kaha,' pp. 30\* ff.; C. D. Dalal and P. D. Guṇē, 'Bhavisayatta-kahā,' Baroda, 1923, Introduction, pp. 17 ff.). Final ◀ -ī, -u ▶ even tended to disappear from the stem, giving place to ◀ -ā ▶: so that Early NIA. could inherit from Late MIA. (and from MIA. changing to NIA.) many stems in ◀ -ā ▶ like ◀ rāsā (= rāśī); munā (= muni); dhunā (= dhvani); gurā (= guru); sāhā (= sādhu); bāhā, bāhā (= bāhu); sūdhā (= śuddhi); dēvā, dē (dēvī < dēvī) ▶, etc. The OIA. stems were in this way reduced to the bare ◀ -ā, -ī, -ū ▶ stems in Early NIA., with ◀ -ī, -ū ▶ taking up the affixes of the ◀ -ā ▶ stem and at times even being suppressed in favour of the ◀ -ā ▶. This is what happened in all OIA. words inherited through MIA. Late MIA. ◀ -āā, -āā, -īā (-īā),

-ūḥ (-ūḥ) > became the long vocalic stems < (-ā), -ā, -ī, -ū > of Early NIA., and these long stems are preserved in most MIA. In Bengali, however, these final long vowels became weakened: < -ā > of course remained as অা < -ā > in writing (as the original short < ā > sound had become a vowel of a different quality, অ = [o]), but it was not, and is not pronounced fully long; and < -ī, -ū > became < -i, -u >, indifferently written long or short.

In MB., we have frequent examples of this levelling of the < -i, -u > stems to < -ā >. The nominative, through the influence of Sanskrit, may preserve or may even have restored the original vowel; but the stem, forming the basis of the other cases, is plainly an < -ā > stem. Even *ts.* words follow this tendency. Thus, we have commonly ধূলি < dhuli > beside ধূলা < dhūlā, dhūlā > *dust*, nominative and accusative, but in locative it is ধূলে < dhūlē > (= dhūla + -ē); দিঠি < diṭhi > *sight*, nominative, but locative দিঠে < diṭhē > (= diṭha + -ē); বেলি < bēli < \*bēli > *time of the day*, (= \*vēlika) (beside বেলা < bēlā >, as well as বেলা < bēlā > with < -ā > from Skt.), locative বেলে < bēl-ē >; *ts.* nominative বুদ্ধি < buddhi >, locative বুদ্ধে < buddhē >, genitive বুদ্ধের < buddhērā >; *ts.* অপমৃত্যু < āpa-mṛtyu >, locative and instrumental অপমৃত্যু < āpā-mṛty-ā > (as in the 'Caitanya-bhāgavata' of Vṛndāvana-dāsa); so in the 'Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed,' we find < xotro > = শত্রু < śātru >, but locative < xotre > = শত্রে < śātrē >; etc. Such modifications of < i, -u > to < -ā > in the oblique are fairly common in MB. In MB., epenthesis no doubt gave to original < -i, -u > nouns (*ibh.* or *sts.* and *ts.*) the appearance of being < -ā > nouns in the inflected forms: e.g., চক্ষু < cākku; cākhu > *eye* > চক্কে, চক্খ < cākḥ, cākḥ >, genitive চক্কের < cāk-khērā >, চক্কেৰ, চক্খের, চক্খের < cākḥhērā, cākḥhērā, cōkhērā >; সাধু < sādhū >, genitive সাধের < sādhērā >, instrumental সাধে, সেধে sīdhē, sēdhē >, etc., which would suggest as stems \*চক্খ \*cākḥā >, \*সাধ < \*sādhā >; so বাঠি < Śāṭhi > *the Goddess of children* (śāṭhi, śāṭhikā) gives বাইঠের, বেঠের, বাঠের < sāṭhērā, śēṭhērā, śāṭhērā > as if from \*বাঠ < sāṭhā >: and quite a number of similar cases.

481. The inflexions of the seven (or eight, including the vocative) cases of OIA. tended to disappear in NIA., but some occur as survivals. Although we have in NIA. here an old instrumental or there an old

locative affix preserved, the two characteristic forms from point of view of most NIA. are (i) the nominative, and (ii) the oblique. The former roughly represents the old nominative, and the latter, frequently the sole representative of other case inflexions of OIA., rests on the original genitive or dative, locative or instrumental inflexion, to which the new case-forming post-positions are added. The juxta-position of these two stems, nominative and oblique, is the regular rule in Western and Central NIA., in Marāṭhī, in Gujarāṭī and Rājasthānī, in Western Hindī, in Panjābī, in Lahndī, in Sindhī, and in Western and Central Pahārī. It is much confused in Eastern Pahārī. In Eastern Hindī, it has fallen into disuse in the singular noun; and it is absent in the Eastern languages, Bihārī, Bengali, Oṛiyā and Assamese. The declension of the noun has thus become considerably simplified in the last group.

Distinction between masculine and feminine forms is absent in Bengali and other Magadhan languages. The same inflexions serve for both masculines and neuters as well as feminines. Thus the instrumental « -ḍ, -ḥ » is found in feminine nouns like « ghaḍiḥ, āliḥ, kāliḥ » in the Old Bengali of the Caryās; and the old feminine inflexions (although at times found in a form like « samāhia » [= samādhya], which is a sporadic survival in the literary language) are entirely lost.

482. Bengali nouns thus have come to have one declension only, irrespective of stem and gender. There are in the NB. Standard Colloquial just a few phonetic modifications in the inflexions, and these are noted below. We have in Bengali—

(1) Consonantal stems = mainly « -ḍ (-ā) » bases of Early MB. and OB., and Late MIA., and partly also OIA. « -i, -ī, -u, -ū » bases (see pp. 301, 305, 307, 308, 310); and *ts.* words with quiescent « -ḍ »; and also foreign words ending in a consonant.

So long as the final vowel was pronounced, the genitive affix was « -rā < -ārā » (kāṛā), as *e.g.*, MB. হাতর, রার « hātārā, Rāmārā », as well as « -ērā < -kēra » (kārya), as in হাতের, রার « hātērā, Rāmērā »; but NB., which has dropped the final vowel, now does not use « -ārā > র -rā », but only « -ērā > এর -ērā ».

## (2) Vowel stems, simple and diphthongal :

[i] < -ā > or < -o, -ō > stems, in *tbh.* forms, representing an earlier < -āva > ; and in *ts.* and *sts.* forms, the Sanskrit < -ā > (see *supra*, pp. 302, 304, 347) ;

[ii] < -ā > stems, in *tbh.* nouns representing < -āā, -āā, -āā' > of MIA. (see *ante*, pp. 302, 307) ; in *ts.* nouns, representing Skt. < -ā > ; and in foreign nouns ending in vowels [-ā, -ə], etc., normally changing to < -ā > in Bengali (see *supra*, under 'Phonology of the Foreign Element') ;

[iii] < -ī, -ī > stems, representing, in *tbh.* words, the MB. < -i > after a vowel or after < -h- > (= OIA. < -ī, -ī > : see pp. 308-309), or the OB. < -ī > < < -ikā, -ikā > of OIA. (see pp. 302, 303, 352) ; in *ts.* stems, the Skt. < -i, -ī, -ī > are properly represented by < -i, -ī > ; and in foreign words, < -i, -ī > remain as < -i, -ī > (see *supra*, 'Foreign Element') ;

[iv] < -ū, -ū > stems, the history of which is parallel to that of the < -i, -ī > stems : they represent in *tbh.* words the MB. < -u > after a vowel or after < -h- > (= OIA. < -ū, -ū > : see p. 310), or the OB. < -ū > < OIA. < -ukā, -ūpā, -ukā, -upā > (see pp. 310, 311, 352) ; in *ts.* words, Skt. < -ū, -ū > remain < -ū, -ū >, pronounced [u] in Bengali, as well as foreign < -ū, -ū > ;

[v] a few < -ē > nouns ; and

[vi] < -ō > nouns ; both in *tbh.* forms representing the contracted < -ā > bases of Late MIA. (cf. pp. 311, 352, 353).

Foreign words with < -ē, -ō > bases are also found.

In addition, there are [vii] diphthong stems, in *tbh.*, *ts.* as well as foreign words (see *supra*, pp. 415 ff., under 'Bengali Diphthongs.')

NB. *tbh.* vowel stems in < -ā, -ā, -ē, -ō > as a rule take the < -rā > affix for the genitive, and not < -ērā > : e.g., ভালর, পনেরর, ঘোড়ার, কালোর, আলোর, দেবর (= the surname, < < dēva > < bhālā-rā, pānērā-rā, ghōrā-rā, kālō-rā, ālō-rā, dē-rā > ; but monosyllabic words in < -ā > can take both < -rā > and < -ērā > : e.g., মায়ের, বীরের, ধারের < mā-ērā, jhī-ērā, ghā-ērā > (of a blow or sore) beside মার, বীর, ধার < mā-rā, jhī-rā, ghā-rā >. OB. and MB., of course, used both < -ārā = -rā, -ērā = -ērā >, the < -rā > form being found compounded with Late MIA. bases in < -ā >. In OB. and

MB. (unlike NB.) « -ērā » seems to have been preferred with *tāh*. as well as *ta*. forms in « -i, -ī, -u, -ū »: e.g., Caryā 19 « *ḍombīēra* » = NB. *ḍumbīr* « *ḍumḥnīrā* » of a *Dōm* woman; *munīr* beside *munī* « *muni-ērā*, *muni-rā* » of a *sage*; *bāher* beside *bāh* « *bāhu-ērā*, *bāhu-rā* » of *many*; etc. Except in the case of diphthongs ending in « -i, -u », and in the diphthongs « -ao, -āo » with which euphony in NB. demands that « -ērā » is to be used, all NB. « -i, -ī, -u, -ū, -ē, -ō » words take « -rā ». *Tatsama* or foreign words in « -ā », however, can use either « -ērā » or « -rā ».

The instrumental-locative in Old and Early Middle Bengali was « -ē », in the case of all nouns ending in « -ā » or in any other vowel. NB. continues the « -ē » in what were originally « -ā » nouns (now nouns with a consonant ending through loss of the « -ā »); and in the case of nouns originally ending in other vowels, it uses the post-positional affix তে « -tē » rather than the organic one « -ē » for the instrumental and locative cases, to avoid the hiatus, always after « -i, -u, -ō » vowels, and optionally after « -ā »<sup>1</sup>: e.g., লোকে « *lōk-ē* < *lōkā* » on, by or with a man; but ঘোড়ার, ঘোড়াতে « *ghōṛā-ē* » *ghōṛāy*, *ghōṛā-tē* » on or with a horse; মারে বীরে « *māē jhīē* » mother and daughter both (instrumental and nominative), beside মাতে বীতে and মারেতে বীরেতে « *mā-tē jhī-tē*, *mā-ē-tē jhī-ē-tē* »; Early Bengali বাবুরে « *bābu-ē* », NB. বাবুতে « *bābu-tē* » on or by a gentleman; Early Bengali মুনীরে « *muni-ē* », NB. মুনীতে « *muni-tē* » on or by a sage, etc. Assamese, and numerous dialectal forms of Bengali as well, stick to the instrumental, and avoid this further confusion between the locative and the instrumental by importing the « -tē » which has now come in the « *sādhu-bhāṣā* » and the Standard Colloquial.

The above are the slight alterations which are noticed in the use of some of the inflexions with the Bengali noun stems, and being recent, and essentially phonological, they cannot be said to mark out any distinction in the stem of the noun in Bengali.

<sup>1</sup> One may compare the importation of [t] in the popular French of Paris to avoid the hiatus (cf. Henri Bauche, 'Le Langage populaire,' Paris, 1920, p. 58). See *infra*, under Cases—Nominative, Instrumental, Locative.

## [ B ] GENDER.

483. It has been noted above that the tendency in Apabhraṅśa was to generalise the inflexions of the masculine < -ā > stem. This considerably weakened the grammatical distinction between masculine and feminine nouns, and this distinction has been entirely dropped in Bengali, in its *tōk.* element. Adjectives qualifying feminine nouns (grammatical or natural) are sometimes furnished with an < -ā > or < -ikā > (*tatsama*) or an < -ī, ī > or < -nī, -nī > (*tatsama* or *tadbhava*) affix, e.g., পরমা সুন্দরী < pāramā sundārī >, তরুণী স্ত্রী < tāruṅī strī >, বংশহারা গাভী < bātsā-hārā gābhī > a cow which has lost her calf, † ভাগিন্যানী মেয়ে < bhāgyimānī mēyē > a woman happy in her husband's love (a from used by women in the Standard Colloquial, < =bhāgyavatī strī >); but these feminine forms are confined to *ts.* and *sts.* words, and are entirely against the spirit of the language. (Cf. Lalit Mohan Banerji, 'Vyākaraṇ-Vibhīṣikā,' pp. 27 ff., for examples of wrong use of the Skt. feminine affixes in Bengali). In the Western Magadhan dialects, predicates referring to nouns or pronouns in the feminine gender have the feminine affix < -ī, -ī >, but in the declension there is no distinction, such as we find for instance in Western Hindī and Marāṭhī.

(Grammatical gender may be said to be preserved in all NIA. except Magadhan. In most of them, however, the neuter has merged in the masculine: in some, like Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Sinhalese, the neuter is preserved. Thus in Western Hindī, < pōthī, bāt > are feminine, as they represent the earlier < potthiā, vattā = pustikā, vārtā >, and verbal predicates referring to them (in the past participle or future) as well as genitive and other adjectival forms qualifying them must be put in the feminine. This is thus a survival of MIA. conditions: and there is no survival of this kind now in the Eastern Magadhan speeches, Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā, although it exists in the older phases of the above speeches, and is still found to some extent in the Central and Western Magadhan speeches. We have in OB., and to some extent also in Early MB., a state of things almost identical with that obtaining in Western Hindī or in Apabhraṅśa. In the Caryās, there are numerous cases showing that nouns in < -ī, -ī < -ikā > and in < -ā = *ts.* -ā > preserved their grammatical gender, and were in the

feminine: e.g., « diṭi (= diḍi < \*dṛḍhikā) ṭāṅgi » strong axe in Caryā 5 ; « sōnē bhariti nāwi » boat filled with gold (Caryā 8) ; « mēlili kēcchi » the kawsar was loosened (Caryā 8) ; « tōhōri kuḍiā » thy little hut, « tōhōra antarē mōḥ ghalili hādēri māli » for thy sake the chaplet of bones has been cast away by me (Caryā 10) ; « tōhōri bhābhariālī » thy coquetry, « ḍombi-ta āgali nāhi cchiṇāli » before the Dōm woman there is no (greater) wanton (Caryā 18) ; « māi dibi piricchā » a question (or statement) is to be rendered by me (29) ; « ṭuṭi gēli kaṅkhā » the desire was destroyed (37) ; « lāgēli āgi » the fire caught (47 : āgi = āgi < aggia = agnikā) ; « nia gharinī caṇḍālī lēli » as (thy) own wife, a Caṇḍāla woman has been taken (by thee) (49) ; « phiṭili Śābarālī » the Śābara's nature was destroyed (50) ; etc. These would indicate that the sense of grammatical gender was quite strong in the language. Inanimate nouns, abstract, material or concrete, like « kaṅkhā, piricchā, nāwi, āgi, māli, ṭāṅgi » etc., are feminine only because of their affixes,—as much as names of persons of the female sex like « cchiṇāli » and « caṇḍālī » ; and they as a matter of course take feminine forms of the genitive-adjective (tōhōr-i, hād-ēr-i) or attributive adjective (āgal-i, diḍh-i), or verbal predicate of participial and adjectival origin (dib-i, gēl-i). But in Early MB., this is changed, and names of inanimate objects cease to have any grammatical gender, inspite of the affix. Grammatical tradition yields to reason. In Early MB. (ŚKK.) there are cases like গেলী or চললী রাহী « gēli, cālilī Rāhī » Rādhā went, তার পিসী নিয়োজিলী « tāra piṣī niyōjilī » her aunt was appointed, রোষিলী রাধিকা « roṣilī Rādhikā » R. angered, etc., where predicates take the fem. affix « -i, -i » when they qualify feminine nouns, names of sentient beings. In other MB. and NB., occasional cases of similar use crop up : e.g., VSP., p. 166, ব্রাহ্মণের নারী « brāhman-ēr-i nārī » a Brāhman's wife ; and there are also in MB. stray relics of grammatical gender, like ŚKK. (p. 381) চুড়ী « curī » bracelet being qualified by the feminine adjective « jārī » encrusted with gems (jaḍita + -ikā), and বরণে উজলী কনক বউলী « barāṇē ujālī kankā-bāulī » a floret of gold shining in its lustre (KKC., p. 64).

This early abandoning of grammatical gender in the eastern speeches has been regarded as a heritage from the non-Aryan languages current in the East, and has been connected with conditions in Tibeto-Burman, which



does not possess grammatical gender (cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 180). The dropping of the neuter affix « -am » for the masculine « -ē < -ah » characterises the eastern Aryan speech at least as early as the time of Aśoka, and in literary Māgadhī of the Second MIA. period (« phalē < phalam », like « dēvē < dēvaḥ »). The differentiation of the grammatical feminine from the grammatical masculine, or masculine-neuter, as we can see from the relics of OB. and eMB., continued in full force to the 12th century, and was even existent in the 14th. Postulating a specific Tibeto-Burman influence in doing away with the grammatical distinction of the feminine from the masculine-neuter in Late Middle Bengali and other Eastern Magadhan speeches therefore appears rather problematical. Although Assamese and East Bengali are within the sphere of Tibeto-Burman influence, West Bengali and Oriyā are removed from it. The Kōl speeches were to a large extent current in Bengal and in Northern India, and Kōl does not differentiate between masculine, neuter and feminine nouns by means of affixes. It is quite likely that in the tendency towards the elimination of the gender affixes in grammar there was the influence of Kōl speakers adopting the Aryan speech in North-eastern India from very early times. It is equally likely that the simplification was a normal development in the Aryan speech of the East, apart from questions of outside influence. On the other hand, differentiation of masculine, feminine and neuter nouns by means of affixes is characteristic of Dravidian : Marāṭhī and Gujarāṭī thus in this respect agree with Dravidian, while at the same time they preserve an OIA. conservatism. There are relics of the neuter in Western Hindi also.

Magadhan speeches including Bengali preserved the common NIA. differentiation between animate and inanimate nouns in the accusative case. This peculiarity is undoubtedly derived through contact with Dravidian (see p. 172 ; Caldwell, 'Comparative Gram. of the Dravidian Languages', p. 271).

[ C ] NUMBER.

484. The dual of OIA. fell into disuse by the First MIA. period. The distinction between the singular and the plural has been maintained

intact up to Late MIA., and it continues down to the present day in a number of NIA. speeches. It is through phonetic decay (loss of final vowels) that the old plural inflexions could not be preserved everywhere in NIA. The Western languages, Marāṭhī, Gujarāṭī, Rājasthānī, Sindhī, Lahndī, Panjābī and Western Hindī, have to a greater or lesser extent retained the plural affixes, nominative or otherwise, inherited from MIA. and OIA. Thus in Marāṭhī, in masculine nouns originally ending in « -ā », the nominative plural has lost its affix through phonetic decay and has become identical with the singular (« dēvāḥ, dēvāḥ > MIA. dēvō, dēvā > dēvu, dēvā » > NIA. Marāṭhī « dēv », both sg. and pl.), but the feminine and neuter nouns preserve their affixes in the plural nominative, although in an attenuated form (e.g., « iṣṭā, iṣṭāḥ > MIA. iṭṭhā, iṭṭhāo » > Marāṭhī sg. « iṭ », pl. « iṭā »; « mālā, mālāḥ > MIA. māḷā, māḷāo » > Marāṭhī « māḷ, māḷā »; so Marāṭhī sg. « rāt », pl. « rāṭī »; neuter singular « sūtram > sūt », plural « sūtrāṇī > sūtē »; Sindhī nom. sg. « ḍ'ēh<sup>u</sup> = dēśāḥ », nom. pl. « ḍ'ēhā = dēśāḥ »; nom. sg. « piu = pitā », nom. pl. « piura = pitarāḥ »; Western Hindī sg. « bāt < vārtā », pl. « bāt-ē », where « -ē » is explained as being from the neuter pl. affix « -āṇī », transferred to feminine nouns; etc.). The nominative affix is entirely lost in most other NIA. languages, and plural oblique cases in some instances are extended to the nominative (e.g., Western Hindī « ghōṛē = ghōṛahi = \*ghōṛebhiḥ », instrumental > nominative plural). Instrumental plural and genitive plural are the two forms which survived in NIA., and these two were used for the nominative plural. (The accusative, dative, and ablative plural forms were lost in Late NIA., although Literary Apabhraṅśa used the locative plural.) Typical NIA. started, therefore, with three forms to indicate the plural number: the original nominative plural, which had weakened considerably and was fast disappearing in most places; the instrumental plural in « -hi, -hī < -bhiḥ »; and the genitive plural in « -ṇa, -na ».

485. In most NIA. languages there is no confusion between the nominative and the genitive plurals, the latter being kept distinct as the oblique form: e.g., W. Hindī « camār » (= carma-kārāḥ, carma-kārāḥ) sg. and pl., but oblique plural, never nominative, is « camārē, ṭcamārē »

(= carma-kārāṇām). The instrumental supplies the nominative plural affix « -ē » of W. Hindi, as noted above ; but the genitive plural never invades the domain of the nominative plural. This distinction is preserved in Marāṭhī, Sindhī and other Western speeches, and also in the Eastern speeches ; although in the latter, the old genitive > oblique is found in some cases to encroach into the domain of the nominative ; e.g., Eastern Hindi nom. sg. « ghōṛā », nom. pl. « ghōṛawan = ghōṛakānām », beside « ghōṛawē = ghōṛa(ṣ)ahi = \*ghōṛakēbhiḥ » ; Maithilī « lōkani » pl. genitive originally, is commonly used as plural affix ; however, it may be said that the plural oblique is used for the oblique only. Thus in Oṛiyā, we have « puruṣā », plural « puruṣē < \*puruṣahi = puruṣēbhiḥ » but « puruṣāṅ-kā(rā) » where the form « puruṣān- < puruṣāṇām » retains its genitive function.

Evidence of Western Hindi and the Eastern languages would show that in Northern India, from the Panjab and the Midland eastwards, the instrumental assumed the place of the lost nominative, at least in masculine « -ā » nouns, from the Early NIA. or Late Apabhraṅśa stage. But in Bengali, this instrumental « -ahi, \*-ai, -ē » no longer figures as an affix, although it is found in its immediate neighbour and relation Oṛiyā, as well as in forms of the Bihārī speeches. It is just possible that in a NB. expression like লোকে বলে « lōk-ē bālē » *people say* we have in Bengali the plural « -ē < -ahi ». Cf. also expressions like চল সব « cālā s̄ab-ē » *come all* ; সব মিলি ভারত সন্তান « s̄ab-ē mili Bhārātā-sāntānā » *all united Sons of India* ; দশ মিলি করি কাজ, হারি জিতি নাহি লাজ « dās-ē mili kārī kajā, hāri jiti nāhi lājā » *ten people united we do the deed, we lose or we win there is no shame* ; ŚKK., p. 192, সবই কহিব আইহনের মা « s̄ab-ē kahibā Āihānērā mā » *we shall all tell Ā.'s mother*. But this form can also be explained as a sg. instrumental-nominative « -ē < -ē < -ēna ». Cases of instrumental nominative like the above can thus be regarded as representing both « -ēna > -ē > -ē, -ē » in the singular and « -ēbhiḥ > -ahi > -ai > -ē » in the plural. In the ŚKK. there occur two cases সবই, সবই « s̄abāi, s̄abāi » (pp. 66, 336), which may represent the « \*-a(h)i » stage, rather than the emphatic particle « hi » (saba + hi) ; for in MB. the latter is commonly preserved as « hi ». Relics of the instrumental plural are found in the pronoun (see *infra*) ; but

in general, it can be said that the plural instrumental affix of OIA. is lost to Bengali and Assamese.

486. The genitive plural affix « -ānām > -nā, -nā » is better preserved in Bengali. It is found (though as a rare form) in nouns in dialectal MB. and NB., and also occurs in the pronouns; but in the noun, its proper genitive force is now lost. It is used mainly as a secondary affix added to the nouns of multitude which are used to form the plural: *e.g.*, Standard Bengali গুলিন, গুলান « -gul-i-nā, -gul-ā-nā » beside গুলি, গুলা « -gul-i, -gul-ā », plural affix (< Skt. kula-); dialectal (East Vaṅga) Bengali আইন < আনি « -āin < -āni » as in সকলাইন, হকলাইন « sakkāl-āin, hā- » *all*, হোলাইন « hōl-āin < \*pōlāni » *sons*; Western Bengali (LSI., V, I, pp. 89, 100) মিতান-রা-কে « mit-ān-rā-kē » *to friends*, সাংগানগার « sāṅg-ān-gā-rā » *of friends*, etc. We have also in MB. সভান « śābhā-nā » *all*, gen. সভানের « śābhān-ērā ». The genitive force is preserved in the pronoun: *e.g.*, তান « tānā » *his* (honorific), but even in the pronoun, the genitive in « -nā » has supplied the (honorific) nominative, as তিনি « tin-i ». The forms « -n-i » and « -ān-i > -āin » have their « -i » apparently from the old instrumental plural « -hi » which in this way modified the genitive before being itself lost. Maithilī, Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā as well as Western Hindī also show this « -n-i » for the plural. We have another modification of « -na » in Bengali, viz. « \*-nha > -hā, -hā » as in pronominal forms like বেহ, তেহ, ইহ « jēhā, tēhā, ihā » *who, he, this* (honorific), দৌহ « dōhā » as in দৌহে « dōhē » *two* (nominative), দৌহার « dōhārā » *of two*, which may be compared with the Eastern Hindī « -nha, -nhi » as in Tulasī-dāsa. The « -ha, -hi » is difficult to explain: but it can well be due to contamination with the instrumental plural « -hi », or the singular locative « -hi » which became the accusative (oblique) in Bengali (see under 'Locative' below).

The « -na, -n-i, -nha > -hā, -hā » form is practically obsolete in Bengali as a plural affix for the noun, agglutinated words of multitude having taken its place. In the respectful form of the verb, which represents an original plural, we have ন « -nā »: করেন, গেলেন, দিবেন, বলিতেছেন « kārēnā, gēlēnā, dibēnā, bālītēchēnā » *gives or give, went, will give, is or are telling*: this « -nā » represents the OIA. « -anti », but phonologically it

cannot be the Bengali development of « -anti », we would expect « -st » or « -št » or « -it » (*supra*, p. 502); it is certainly the genitive plural « -na » extended from the noun to the verb to indicate the plural or the honorific. In certain forms of MB. (as for example in the 'Padmā-Purāṇa' of Baṅśī-dāsa), this verbal affix occurs as **জাঁই, জাঁকি** « -āi, -āñi », e.g., **দিলাঁকি** « dilāñi », **করিলাঁই** « kārīlāi »: here it is unmistakably a modification of the nominal « -nā > -ni » as added to the verb.

The genitive « -ṇa, -na » certainly existed in OB., but no sure example is found in the Caryās. (Cf. Caryā 18, « kājaṇa kāraṇa » = « kāryāṇam kāraṇam »?). So far as NB. is concerned, it occurs only sporadically, in some stereotyped plural forms, like « gulā-nṣ, guli-nṣ », and it figures in a few forms like **নানান্** « nānā-nṣ » *many, several* (nānā). Words like **ভোটাঁন** « Bhōṭānṣ » *Bhotan country* < 'Bhōṭ' or *Tibetan people*, **কোলহান** « Kōlhānṣ » *tract inhabited by the Kōls* (see *supra*, p. 2) are instances of this « -nṣ < -ṇam »; phonetically a form like **ভোটাঁন** « Bhōṭānṣ » cannot represent a Skt. « Bhōṭānta » *Bhōṭa frontier*, as it has been suggested by some.

487. In the word **সবাই** « sabbāi » *all* (MB. **সব্বাই, সব্বাকি** « sabbhāi, -bñi », as in the SKK.) beside an emphatic **সব্বাই** « sabbhāi » (see *supra*, p. 448), we have possibly a unique relic of the OIA. nominative plural affix : « sarvā hi > sabbā hi (generalised « -ā ») > sab(b)āi ». The force of the « -hi > -i » is no longer present. The form **সবে** « sabbē » noted above (p. 724), may be a contracted form of it, rather than « \*sabahi ».

In the SKK. (p. 176) we have the following : **বারতাক বেলা বারে । তার পানী না লঞ পীড়রে ।** « māraṅtā-kā jē nā mārē, tāra pāñi nā lāṣ pītārē » *the fathers do not accept the water (offered in the Śrāddha) of him who does not strike an aggressor*. Here of course **পীড়রে** is merely a *sts.* form from the Skt. « pītaraḥ », familiar in many a *ślōka* current among the people.

488. Original nominative plural affix was lost to OB. Original plural instrumental certainly was used for the nominative, but it also became obsolete in OB. itself. Original genitive plural had only a very restricted use for the plural of all cases down to Early MB. To indicate the plural, which had come to be indistinguishable from the singular, some new devices came in. Of these, the most noteworthy was the affixing of

some noun of multitude to the noun. This method of indicating the plural by composition is already found in OB. as in the Caryās. Where the noun was qualified by a plural numeral, there was no necessity of compounding with a noun of multitude: e.g., « pañca vi dāla » (*with*) *five branches indeed* (Caryā 1); « bēni pakṣā » *two wings or sides* (pakṣa- : Caryā 4); « cauṣaṭṭhi pākhuḍi » *sixty-four petals* (Caryā 10); « pañca janā » *five men* (Caryā 12: « janā = jana + ā », see pp. 658-659; it is not the MIA. plural nominative « -ā »: cf. NB. একজন *ekṣ janā* » *one man*, সে জন *sē jānā* » *that man*, and গাঁও জন *gāṅṅ jānā* »); « pañca tathāgata » (Caryā 13); « pañca kēḍuḷa » *five oars*, « dui māga » *two ways* (Caryā 14); « batisa tānti » *thirty-two strings* (Caryā 17); « tini bhūana » *the three worlds* (Caryā 18); « tia dhāu » *three natures* (dhātu) (Caryā 28); etc. But in the other cases, where it was felt necessary for the plural idea to be specified, we have compounding or periphrasis: e.g., « maṅḍala-saḷa bhājai » *all the maṅḍalas are broken* (Caryā 16); « kuḷiṇa-jana » *people of good family*, « bidujana-lōa » = « vidvajjana-lōka » (Caryā 18).

« Saḷa = sakala, jana = jana, lōa = lōka » seem to have been established as plural-forming words in OB. In MB. we find গণ *gaṅṅā* », সকল *sakāla* », সব, সত্ত, সদ্ধ *sābhā, sābā, sāmhā* » (see p. 319), আদি(ক) *ādi(ka)* » and কুল *-kulā* », among others. The last is the source of the common pan-Bengali affix for the plural, গুল *-gulā* » (-kula-ka > MB. -kulā, -gulā), extended to গুলী *-gul-ī* » (<(\*kulāka): by Vowel-Harmony গুলো *-gulō* »), গুলান্ *-gulā-nṣ* », †গুলাইন *-gulāin* < \*gulā-n-i » with the « -na » from the old genitive (see p. 725), and গুলি *-guli* » (to denote pettiness, loveliness or prettiness of the object whose plural it indicates is really the feminine: <(\*kulikā): see pp. 672, 673, 686), and we have further an extension গুলিন *-gul-i-nṣ* ». In addition, we have extensions of « -gulā » with the pleonastic ক *-kṣ* » (গুলাক *-gul-ā-kṣ* », গুলিক *-gul-i-kṣ* ») which are found mostly in West Rāḍha. This *sts.* form with the « -k- » in an intervocal position softened to « -g- », seems to have been quite common from Early MB. times; but literary Bengali preserves the *ts.* « kulā > kulṣ » as well, as in অলিকুল *-āli-kulṣ* » *bees*, কামিনীকুল *-kāmini-kulṣ* » *ladies*, ধেনুকুল *-dhēnu-kulṣ* » *cows*, পাখীকুল *-pākhi-kulṣ* » *birds*. In dialectal

Bengali, «-gulā, -gulā, -gulān » become গুলো «-gunō» (Calcutta and surrounding tracts), গিলা, গা «-gilā, -glā» (North Bengali), and উন, গিন «-un, -gin» (Chittagong).

489. There is in NB. the affix দিগ «-digā», genitive দিগের «-digērḡ» which is used with names of animate, preferably sentient and intelligent beings, in the plural forms of the *oblique* cases. The affix is never used for the nominative. দিগ, দিগের «-digā, -digērḡ» are «sādhu-bhāṣā» forms; in the specimens of prose in the Late MB. and Early NB. periods, a form দিগর «digārḡ» also occurs side by side with দিগ «-digā». The equivalents of দিগ, দিগের «-diga, -digērḡ» are common in West Bengali, specially in the Standard Colloquial, and are দি, দিগ and দের «-di, -dig-, -dērḡ». The affix seems to have been of Central Rāḍha origin: it is not found in East and North Bengali dialects, where its occurrence at the present day can without difficulty be explained as being due to the influence of the «sādhu-bhāṣā» as well as of the Standard Colloquial. The use of this affix, both with organic inflexions and with post-positions, is indicated below, with the word মানুষ «mānuṣḡ» «man».

*Accusative and Dative*: Sādhu-bhāṣā মানুষদিগকে «mānuṣḡ-digā-kē», মানুষদিগেরে «mānuṣḡ-dig-ēr-ē», archaic মানুষের দিগরে «mānuṣ-ērḡ digār-ē», মানুষের দিগরকে «mānuṣērḡ-digārḡ-kē»; Standard Colloquial মানুষদিকে «mānuṣḡ-di-kē», মানুষদিগে «mānuṣḡ-dig-ē», মানুষদিগকে «mānuṣḡ-dig(ā)-kē», also «mānuṣḡ-dikkē», beside the genitive মানুষদের, মানুষদেরে «mānuṣḡ-dērḡ, mānuṣḡdērḡ», and the genitive *plus* the dative or accusative post-position কে—মানুষ(ে)দেরকে «mānuṣ(ē)-dērḡ-kē»;

*Instrumental*: Sādhu-bhāṣā মানুষদিগ-দ্বারা, -কর্তৃক «mānuṣḡ-digā-dwārā, -kārṭṭkḡ» মানুষ, মানুষের দিগর (দিগের) দ্বারা «mānuṣ(ērḡ)-digārḡ (-digērḡ) dwārā», etc.; Standard Colloquial মানুষদের দ্বারা «mānuṣḡ-dērḡ-diyā < diyā, -dwārā», etc.;

*Ablative*: Like instrumental, with হইতে, হ'তে «hāitē, hōtē», থাকিয়া, থেকে «thākiyā, thēkē» etc., in the place of instrumental post-positions.

*Genitive*: Sādhu-bhāṣā বাহুবচিনের, বাহুবচিনের « mānuṣ(ēṛḥ) -digārḥ », বাহুবচিনের « mānuṣḥ-digārḥ », archaic and rare বাহুবচিনের « mānuṣēṛḥ digārēṛḥ »; Standard Colloquial বাহুবচিনের, বাহুবচিনের « mānuṣ-ēḍērḥ, mānuṣḥ-dērḥ », বাহুবচিনের « mānuṣēṛḥ-dērḥ, mānuṣēddērḥ »;

*Locative*: Sādhu-bhāṣā বাহুবচিনে, -দ্বিগেতে « mānuṣḥ-digā-tē, -digē-tē », archaic বাহুবচিনে, বাহুবচিনে « mānuṣēṛḥ digār-ē, -digār-ētē »; Standard Colloquial বাহুবচিনে « mānuṣḥ-dērḥ-tē », বাহুবচিনে « mānuṣḥ-digētē » (rather uncommon for the locative: the Standard Colloquial would prefer the form বাহুব-গুলিতে, গুলিতে « mānuṣḥ-gulī-tē, -gulā-tē » etc.)

The affix is thus in three forms, -দি -দ « -di-, -d- », দিগ « -dig(ā)- » and দিগর « -digārḥ ». The last form apparently has a র « -rḥ » which is not the genitive affix. It is frequent in letters and documents and in prose generally from the 18th century onwards, but it became obsolete by the middle of the 19th century. This দিগর « -digārḥ » is only an artificial form built on the proper genitive দ্বিগের or দিগর « -dig-ērḥ, -dig-ārḥ ». It came to be established through a confusion with the Persian « digar » *another, more, and the rest*, etc. Persian « digar » occurs frequently in the highly Persianised Bengali of the law courts: a form like বাহুবচিনের « mānuṣēṛḥ digārḥ-kē » *to men* arose probably in the early 18th century in the law courts; and when a prose style came into being in Bengali about that period, it had to be based as a matter of course on the only prose that was current, viz., in legal and epistolary documents. The curious form দিগর « digārḥ », which is thus merely the native দিগ-র, দ্বিগের « -dig-ārḥ, -dig-ērḥ » mistaken for the Persian word, in this way came to be accepted in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » in its formative and early periods. The confusion between the native affix দিগ « -digā » and the Persian « digar » is plain: we have তাহাদ্বিগকে, তাহাদ্বিগের « tāhā-digā-kē, tāhā-dig-ērḥ » *to them*; and a Persianised expression তাহার দ্বিগকে « tāhārḥ digārḥ-kē » *to the others of his (group)* > *to them* could easily be evolved when the form « -dig-ārḥ » was handy in the language. With the decay of Persian influence upon Bengali, the form দিগর « digārḥ » has become obsolete.



The persistent use in many Late MB. and Early NB. prose documents of the form *দিগর* « *digārṣ* » as a separate plural forming post-position, like *সব, সকল* « *sabṣ, śakāṣ* » and the rest, has thrown some Bengali scholars off their guard, and has been responsible for the assumption that *দিগর* « *digārṣ* » and *-দিগ, -দিগের, -দি, -দের*, « *-digā, -dig-ārṣ, -di, -dērṣ* » etc. are derived from the Persian word.

There is no affix corresponding to *-দিগ, -দিগের, -দি, -দের* « *-digā, -di, -dig-ārṣ, -dērṣ* » in any other NIA. language. It does not occur in OB. There has been some speculation about the origin of this group of affixes. (Cf. Beames, 'Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India,' II, London, 1875, p. 200, Bengali Grammar, Oxford, 1894, p. 20; B. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, Wilson Philological Lectures delivered in 1877, Bombay, 1914, pp. 238-239; A. F. R. Hoernle, Gaudian Grammar, pp. 190-191; Chintāmaṇi Gāṅguli, Bengali Grammar, Bengali year 1288, p. 40; Rabindranath Tagore, 'Śabda-tattwa,' pp. 85-90.) But there is nothing in MB. to warrant an affiliation to an obsolete genitive affix « *-dā* » (Hoernle), to a plural form « *\*-nhi-kēra > \*-ndigēra > -digērṣ* » (Rabindranath Tagore), or a derivation from a Skt. « *diś, dik* » *direction* (Beames and Bhāṇḍārkar), or from a Skt. « *dirgha* » (Gāṅguli).

The proper source of *-দিগ, -দি* « *-digā, -di* » is undoubtedly the *ts.* word « *ādi* » which came into wide use in Eastern Rāḍha from the Second MB. period. Rai Bahadur D. C. Sen suggested « *ādi, ādi-ka* », so commonly found in MB. literature from the 16th century onwards (and certainly earlier still) as having developed into the NB. affix. (Cf. 'Vanga-bhāṣā Ō Sāhitya', pp. 33, 34, 235, 332). It would be noted that in MB., *আদি* « *ādi* » and its extension *আদিক* « *ādi-ka* » are used for the nominative as well. The words are used in MB. mainly after proper names, but they are found with other nouns, masculine as well as neuter. The sense is not exactly of the plural, but of 'and the like,' 'and the rest.' Thus, in the 'Narottama-Vilāsa' of Narahari Cakravarti (c. 1614-1625), we have—

এঁহে কত কহি অধ্যাপকে হির কৈলা ।

প্রাতঃকালে আনাদিক করি সজ হৈলা ॥

বিনা বানে রাজা অধ্যাপকাদি সনে ।

গেলেন খেতরি শীত্র গৌরাক প্রাঙ্গণে ॥.....

বহাবিজ্ঞ রামচন্দ্র গোবিন্দাদি ভবি ।

তৈল সনাদর সবে হৈলা ছষ্ট অভি ॥ (VSP., II, pp. 1244-1245)

- śicḥe kātā kaḥi, ādhyāpākē sthirā kaḥilā |  
 prātāh-kālē snānādikā kāri śājjā haḥilā ॥  
 binā yānē rājā ādhyāpākādi sānē |  
 gḥelēnḥ Khētāri śighrā Gaurāṅgā-prāṅgāṇē ॥.....  
 māhā-bijñā Rāma-candra Gōbindādi tāḥi |  
 kaḥilā sāmādārā, śābē haḥilā ḥṣṣṭā āti ॥

*In this way saying a great deal, he made the scholars quiet ;*

*In the morning-time, having finished his bath and other duties, he was dressed ;*

*Without a vehicle the king, with the scholars and the rest,*

*Went quickly to Khetari, to the courtyard of Gaurāṅga ;*

*The very wise Rāma-candra, and Govinda and the rest there*

*Did honour, and all were very glad.*

In some cases, we find the phrase আদি করি সবে « ādi kāri śābē » *all with so-and-so at the head=so-and-so and others*, rather than the simple আদি or আদিক « ādi, ādi-kā ». This « ādi-kāri » must have had something to do with the evolution of দিগর « digārḥ » discussed above.

As yet the more common plural-affix is গণ « gaṅḥ », at least in literature ; but the « ādi, ādi-ka » > « -dḥ, -digā », for the plural oblique seems to have been well-established by the end of the 15th century : তোমাদের « tōmādērā » *your*, for instance, is found in Kṛttivāsa's ' Rāmāyaṇa, Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa ' (pp. 29, 30, VSPd. edition, MS. of c. 1602 A. C.) as well as in ' Uttara-kāṇḍa ' (e.g., p. 194 ; MS. of c. 1580 A.D. ; the MSS. are late, and it cannot be ascertained whether « -dērā » was actually in use in Kṛttivāsa's time, 15th century, but in all probability it was).

MB. *ts.* « ādi » would naturally become « āidā, āid » by epenthesis : মানুষাদি « mānuṣādi » would become মানুষাদ « \*mānuṣāid », genitive মানুষাদের « \*mānuṣāidērḥ », whence NB. মানুষদের « mānuṣēdērḥ », which is still common, and then by dropping of the « -ē », মানুষদের « mānuṣḥ-dērḥ ».

We even now invariably say *রামবনের* « Rāmēdēṛṇ » of *Rāma* and his people = « \*Rāmāīdēṛā < Rāmāī, Rāmāīd + -ēṛā »; and *রামবনের* « \*Rām-dēṛṇ » is not heard at all : the old full form is preserved in this case, where we have a proper name, and the sense too is the old one of a group rather than of the plural. The «-ā-» of «ādi, āīd» came to be linked with the preceding word, and gradually «-di, -d-» alone had the force of an affix. Then it came to be used with nouns ending in vowels like «-i, -u» : e.g., *পাখীবনের* « pākhi-d-ēṛṇ » of *birds*, *গোরুবনের* « gōru-d-ēṛṇ » of *cows*. The intermediate stages are not preserved in MB. literature, as the literary language scorned to have colloquial forms as yet not fully established. The form *দি* «-di» without epenthesis, is found, but it is rather rare in the Standard Colloquial (see under accusative above, p. 728). *আদিক* « ādi-kā » became *আদিগ* « ādigā » by voicing, as in the case of *কুলা* < *কুল* «-gulā < kula-». The «ā» was assimilated with the ending of the preceding word, and there was not much scope for epenthesis here (to a possible « \*āīdgā »): and the «-kā» form seems to have been rather a learned and artificial one than colloquial—the result of an attempt to give a respectable look with the all-useful «-ka» to a vernacular form in «-di, -ādi». *দিগ* « digā » also came to be generalised, like *দি, দ* «-di, -dṇ» with words in «-i, -u» vowels. The genitive form of *দিগ* is *দিগের* « digēṛṇ = digā + -ēṛṇ »; and *দিগর* « digārṇ = digā + -ārṇ » also is found. It would not be correct to derive *দিগের* form *আদিকের* « ādikēra », regarding the case as one of retention of the older MIA. form of the common Bengali genitive affix «-ēṛṇ »; the occurrence in MB. of *আদিক* « ādi-kā » is against such a derivation. Rai Bahadur Y. C. Vidyānidhi, while accepting «ādi» as the source of the Bengali affix, suggests that «ādi + kāra» > *দিগার* « \*digārā » was the original form of *দিগের* « digārṇ » (Bengali Grammar, VSPd., p. 196), which has the «-ā-» changed to «-ē-» through Vowel Harmony (see pp. 400 *supra*); but the need to postulate a MB. « \*digārā » is equally unnecessary.

490. The *bbh.* word *সব* « sabbṇ », strengthened in MB. by the *sts.* *সভ* < *সভা* « sabbhā < sabbhā », the *bbh.* or *ts.* words *কুলা* > *কুলা* « kulā > *gula-*, *জল* « jānṇ » and *গণ* « gāṇṇ », and the *ts.* or *sts.* *আদি*, *আদিক* > *দ*, *দিগ* « ādi, ādi-ka > -d-, -digā », have thus furnished to Bengali a set of new

agglutinated plural affixes. There are other *ts.* words of multitude loosely agglutinated to indicate the plural in the « sādhu-bhāṣā »—*e.g.*, « samasta, sakala, samūha, varga, lōka, caya, nicaya » etc. The Perso-Arabic « māhāl » is also similarly used, though in a restricted way, *e.g.*, বন্ধু মহল « bāndhu-māhāl » *society of friends = friends*, রাজনৈতিক মহলে « rājñaitik-māhāl-ē » *among politicians, etc.*

The case affixes and post-positions are placed after the noun of multitude agglutinated, and this system has its parallel in the agglutinative system of Dravidian, *e.g.*, মানুষ-গুলি-কে « mānuṣ-ḡulā-kē » *to men*, cf. Tamil « manidāṅ-gal-ukku ». Here of course we have only a fortuitous resemblance, there being no genetic connexion whatever between the very late Indo-Aryan « -ḡulā, -kē » and the Dravidian « -gal, -ukku ».

Of the above nouns of number, সব « sabb » , সকল « sakal » sometimes সমস্ত « samastā », and অনেক « ānek » (MB. অনেক « ānek ») which indicate merely number and not grouping, are loosely compounded with nouns as attributives to express the plural. This is found from the oldest period of Bengali: *e.g.*, Caryā 1, « saala-samāhia » *with (all) samādhis*; SKK., p. 1, সব দেবী মেলি সভা পাতিল আকাশে « sabbā-dēbī meli sabbā pātīlā ākāśē » *the Gods having met held a gathering in the sky*; *ibid.*, p. 1, ব্রহ্ম সব দেব লইয়া গেলান্তি সাগরে « Brāhmā sabbā-dēbā layā gēlānti sāgarē » *B. taking the Gods went to the sea*. In NB., the noun qualified can optionally take a second word at the end, or the affix « -ērā, -rā » (see *infra*).

Other forms of periphrasis are found from the Early MB. period: the pronominal adjective জত, বত « jātā » *as much* is used attributively, singly or with সব « sabbā », গণ « gaṇā » etc.: *e.g.*, Early MB. (SKK. p. 19), বত নানা ফুল পান করপুর সব পেলাইল পাএ « jātā nānā phulā, pānā karāpurā, sabbā pēlāilā pāē » *all the various flowers, betel-leaves, and camphor she scattered with her foot*. *ibid.*, p. 237, কাহ্নিক দেখি বত গোপগোপীগণে । হরবে হরিল উবে সজল নয়নে ॥ « Kāhñikā dēkhi jātā gōpā-gōpi-gaṇē, harābē hāril ūbē sajālā nayānē » *Seeing Kṛṣṇa, all the herdsmen and herdswomen through joy then had moistened eyes*. The loss of a genuine plural-forming affix had placed the language in this difficulty.

Plural nouns qualified by demonstratives solve the difficulty by adding the noun of multitude to the pronoun: *e.g.*, সে-সব কাজ « sē-sābhā kārjā » *those works*, এই-সমস্ত কথা « ēi-sāmāstā kāthā » *these talks, etc.* This usage is found in the ŚKK.: *e.g.*, p. 18, এতেক্ষে এ সব কাজের প্রকার জানহ আশেবে বিশেষে « ētākṣē ē-sābhā kājērā prakāra jāṇāhā āśēṣē biśēṣē » *in this way know thoroughly and in detail the method of these works*; p. 33, এ সব গোপবধূজন লক্ষ্য কর্যা না বাসি বড়ায় « ē-sābhā gōpā-bādhū-jānā laṅṅā kārthā nā jāsi bārāyi » *taking all these wives of the herdsmen, where indeed dost go, old mother!* p. 56, এ সব চরিত্তে « ē-sābhā cāritṭē » *with these deeds*; etc., etc.

491. The commonest NB. affix for the plural is রা or এরা « -rā, -ērā » which is now organic or inflexional in its nature, although in origin it is post-position. রা, এরা « -rā, -ērā » are only extensions of the genitive bases in রা, এর « -rā, -ērā » by means of the আ « -ā » affix. Originally, there was a noun of multitude after the strengthened genitive in « -ā ». This stage is still found in the Maithili « hamarā-sabh, tōharā-sabh » *we, ye*; and in Bengali, the noun of multitude can be optionally used, and as a matter of fact is still frequently used in the colloquial as well as in the literary language (of both prose and poetry); *e.g.*, আমরা সব « āmrārā-sābhā » *we*, তোরা সব « torā-sābhā » or তোমরা সব « tōmrārā-sābhā » *ye*, বাবুনেরা সব « bāmunērā-sābhā » *Brāhmins*, রাজারা সব « rājārā-sābhā » *kings*, পাখীরা সব « pākhirā-sābhā » *birds, etc.* It is like « mama gaṇāḥ » or « māmākāḥ sarvē » for « vāyam ». In NB., however, the noun of multitude is ordinarily felt to be superfluous. The genitive form with its « -ā » of definitiveness (see *ante*, pp. 658-659) could be easily distinguished from the ordinary genitive of connexion which does not have the « -ā ».

The use of the strong genitive with the noun of multitude came into being with the pronouns of the first and second person, when the old plurals আমি, আন্হে, আমি « āmhi, āmhē, āmi » and তুমি, তুন্হে, তুমি « tumhi, tumhē tumi » first became honorific singular and then ordinary singular. New plurals were found out; either by mere juxta-position, as nominative আমি সব, আমি সব « ām(h)i-sābhā », তুমি সব, তুমি সব « tum(h)i-sābhā », oblique আন্হা (আরা) সব « ām(h)ā-sābhā », তোন্হা (তোরা) সব « tōm(h)ā-sābhā », the case affixes

and post-position being added to সব « sabbā » ; or by means of the strong genitive, e.g., আক্ষারী, আবারী, আঘরী সব « āmhārā-r-ā, āmār-r-ā, āmār-r-ā sabb(h)ā » we, তোক্ষারী, তোবারী, তোঘরী সব « tōmhār-r-ā, tōmār-r-ā, tōmār-r-ā sabb(h)ā » you. Both the types are found in MB. literature. With the demonstrative and other non-personal pronouns, however, « sabbā » is employed in NB. only to indicate inanimate objects, and to indicate animate objects সব « sabbā » must be used with the রা « -rā » form : e.g., এ-সব « ē-sabbā » *these things*, সে-সব « sē-sabbā » *those things*, and এরা « ē-rā », এরা-সব « ē-rā-sabbā » *these people*, তারা « tā-rā » *they, those people* (but এ-সব লোক « ē-sabbā lōkā » *these men*, সে-সব ছেলে « sē-sabbā chēlē » *those boys*). The method by simple juxta-position of « sabbā » to the base has not yet become obsolete in NB. The simple strong genitive, without adding the noun of multitude, already came into being in the 14th century. But it was still not very popular, and was confined to the first and second personal pronouns apparently. In the ŚKK., there are only 3 instances of it :

- p. 202, আঞ্জি হৈতে আক্ষারী হৈলাহৌ এক মতী ।  
 « āji haītē āmhārā hailāhō (= hailāhō) ēka-mātī »  
*From to-day we have become of one accord.*
- p. 232, পুছিল তোক্ষারী কেহে তরাশিল মনে ॥  
 « puchilā tōmhāra kēhē tārāsilā manē »  
*Why did ye ask with a mind afraid ?*
- p. 263, আক্ষারী মরিব শুণিলে কাশে ।  
 « āmhārā maribā ṣuṇilē kāśē »  
*If Karṇa were to hear, we shall die.*

The « -rā » plurals for the pronouns seem to have been well-established in the 15th century : তোবারী, তারী, ইহারী, য়ারী, আঘরী « tōmārā, tārā, ihārā, mōrā, āmārā » etc. are quite frequent in the 1580 and 1602 MSS. of the Uttara and Ayōdhya-Kāṇḍas of Kṛttivāsa's 'Rāmāyaṇa.' It was during this century also, apparently, that the « -rā, -ērā » affixes were extended to nouns. Thus in Vijaya-gupta's 'Padmā-purāṇa' (last quarter of the 15th century : edition by Pyāri-Mōhan Dās-Gupta, Calcutta, 1918, from late MSS., modernised to a great extent), we find ছেলেরী « chēlē-rā » (for

« chālā-rā » *children* (p. 12), কাজীরা « kājīrā » *the Qāsīs* (p. 55), বাপুৱা « bāpurā » *good men, fathers* (a term of address: p. 149), কাবাবেরা « kābāberā » *black-smiths* (p. 169), শিবেরা বাপে বী « Śibērā bāpē jhī » *they together, Śiva the father and (Padmā or Manasā) the daughter, lit. the Śivas, father and daughter* (p. 219), etc., beside ডা(হা)রা « tā(hā)rā », মোরা « mōrā » (pp. 53, 54), ভোৱা « tōrā » (p. 71), etc., etc. In MB. from the 16th century the use of « -rā, -ērā » is steadily on the increase, although it looks as if it was not favoured by literary Bengali of the Late MB. period. The « sādhu-bhāṣā » of the 19th century similarly preferred compoundings with « gāṅṅ, sāmūhā, sākālā » etc.; but « -rā, -ērā » are at the present day commonly used both in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and the Standard Colloquial and it is found in all the dialects. In the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and the Standard Colloquial « -rā, -ērā » are used only for the nominative, but in many forms of dialectal (colloquial) Bengali, we have the « -rā, -ērā » bases employed for the genitive as well by adding the usual « -rā »: e.g., Standard Colloquial *nomi ative* তারা « tārā » *they*, genitive তাদের « tāderā » *their* (= « sādhu-bhāṣā » তাহারা « tāhārā » and তাহাদের « tāhādigērā »), but East Bengali তারা « tārā », genitive তারার « tārā-rā »: the last is therefore a double genitive form. Similarly, there is Western Bengali (Dhalbhum) আমরাকে « āmrā-kē » *us, to us* = Standard Colloquial আমাদের « āmāderā »; so Malpahāria চাকররাকে « cākārā-rā-kē » *to servants*, মিতানরাকে « mitān-rā-kē » *to friends* (LSI., V, I, p. 100), etc.

The use of a form of the genitive for the nominative plural is not an isolated fact in Bengali. Apart from the genitive plural in « -rā, -ērā », we have in Bengali itself, in the Western dialects, plural forms by extension from the obsolete genitive in « -kā »: e.g., Western Bengali (Dhalbhum, LSI., V, I, p. 79) ইগা « i-gā » < \* i-kā » *these*; (Malpahāria, Santal Parganas, LSI., V, I, p. 100) বেহিরাগা « bēhiyā-gā » *courtesans*, ইহাগা « ihā-gā » *these*, সাকানগার « sāggāṅṅ-gā-rā » *of friends*; (Manbhum, LSI., *ibid.*, p. 97) হাতগা « hāt-gā » *hands*; S.W. Bengali (LSI., *ibid.*, p. 110) ইগা « i-gā » *these*; etc. Among the sisters and cousins of Bengali we have similar instances, e.g., Magahi « hamar-nī » *we* < « hamar » *of us* + genitival affix « -nī »; Bhōjpuriyā « hamānī-kā, hamānā » *we*, « unhā-kā » *they*,

« kēkani, kekani-kā » *wāo* ? (pl.); in the Baghēlkhaṇḍī form of E. Hindi, we have similarly « hamārē, tihārē » *we, ye* (cf. Kellogg, ‘Hindi Grammar’ p. 193). In Eastern Pabāri (Khas-kurā or Nēpālī), the plural affix is « -hēru, -haru » and « -ēru », with which are connected the dialectal Rājasthāni (Mālvī) plural affix « -hōr, -hōrō, -hōnō » and the Early Kanauji (W. Hindi) plural affix « -hwār » (cf. LSI., IX, IV, p. 23; IX, II, p. 55). The source of the above would seem to be the old genitive and adjectival post-position of MĪA., namely « -kara, -kēra »,—the source equally of the Bengali « -rā, -ērā »: the « h-, hō-, hē- » being possibly the « -h- » of the old oblique (cf. Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, pp. 191, 192).

The evolution of the « -r-ā, -ēr-ā » affix for the plural is comparatively a late thing in Bengali, and its derivation from « kara, kēra < kārya » is clear; and it cannot be in its origin a Dravidian borrowing, nor should it be compared with the Dravidian plural « -ār, -ār », found in Tamil as well as in the Dravidian speeches adjoining Bengali, viz., Oraon and Maler.

492. In dialectal Bengali there is an affix for the plural, মীন « mīnā » (West Bengali, Manbhum Dist.), or মন « mānā » (South-Western Bengali of Midnapur). This is undoubtedly the same as the affix « -māna- » which is found in Oṛiyā as a common plural affix (in the nominative « mānē »): e.g., « puruṣā », pl. nom. « puruṣ-ē, puruṣā-mānē », genitive pl. « puruṣāṅ-kā(rā), puruṣa-mānāṅ-kā(rā) ». In the Early Oṛiyā of the 15th century inscriptions (see *supra*, p. 107), the form occurs as both « māna » (with a cerebral « ṅ ») and « māna ». The source of this form is the OIA. « mānava », compounded to indicate the plural, like « jana, lōka ». The *lōk.* form in Oṛiyā gave « \*māṅā = \*māṅā » (« ava, aṅa > ā »: see p. 346): but when it became an affix, it was possibly confused with a *ts.* « māna » *measure*, and this has led to the spelling with a dental « -n- » which obtains now: « \*māṅavahi, māṅāhi » gave « māṅē, mānē ». In OB., the word is found with the « -ā » affix, e.g., in Caryā 46: « mōha-vimukkā jāi māṅā, tabē tuṭai avāṅā-gamanā » *when a man is freed from ignorance, then (his) coming and going (= saṅsāra) is broken*. The word is found in the Haijong dialect of East Bengali (Maimansing) as মন « mānā » *man*, and possibly it occurs in other dialects. In Bhōjpurīyā, we have « māna! », a common word for *man in general*, which



represents either a « \*mānavika » or the old Māgadhī nominative singular « māṇavē » \*māṇavi » : and « man » for the plural is found in the Nāgpuriyā dialect of Bhōjpuriyā, as well as in the contiguous Chattisgarhī form of Eastern Hindī. We have thus a tract of IA., embracing the Oṛiyā, West Bengali (in part), South-eastern Bhōjpuriyā and Chattisgarhī speeches, in which « mānava » has come to be a plural indicating word : and considering that « mānē » is in full force in Oṛiyā, it may be presumed that this employ originated in the old West Rāḍha form of Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, which was the source of Oṛiyā, and thence it spread to the contiguous dialects.

493. Early Assamese uses the words « gaṇa, saba (samha, sama), sakala » etc. to indicate the plural, just like Bengali. The use of these affixes has become obsolete now. New Assamese employs instead the words « -bilākṣ, (-blākṣ), -bōrṣ » and « -hātṣ ». All these are rare in Middle Assamese. « -bilākṣ » is of obscure origin. North Bengali has a dialectal form for the Common Bengali « -gulā, -gulākṣ », namely, « -gilā, -gilākṣ, -glā », and a connexion between « -gilākṣ » and « -bilākṣ » has been suggested ; but apart from the phonetic difficulty of the change of « -gi- » to « -bi- », there is a wide difference in the employment of this word — « -gulā » in Bengali is contemptuous, but « -bilākṣ » in Assamese is honorific. In Early Assamese, again, « -gulā(ka) » is not found at all. The Skt. work « vilōka » has been suggested as the source of « -bilākṣ » (Devānanda Bharāli, 'Asamiyā-bhāṣār Maulik Vicār,' Dibrugarh, 1912, p. 35). The use of the *is.* « lōka » as an honorific plural affix in Assamese lends support to this derivation (e.g., « tai » *thou*, « tumi » *you*, honorific « tumi-lōkṣ » ; so « mantri-lōkṣ » *ministers*), but the change of « ṁ » to « ḅ » is not justifiable, and this precludes the above derivation.

« -bōrṣ » may be from an IA. « bahula » or « bahala » *many*, rather than from « bhūri » (as suggested by Devānanda Bharāli, *op. cit.*) Or can it be that « -bōrṣ » and « -bilākṣ » are connected with each other, and are to be referred to a non-Aryan (Tibeto-Burman) source ? There is the common Boḍo plural affix « frā, for, fūr » which comes up in this connexion : Boḍo formed an important (if not the largest) non-Aryan element in Western Assam where the Assamese dialect was characterised.

Assamese « -hãtã » represents « \*ahanta », present participle of « √ah -as », corresponding to Bengali হাঁতে, হাঁতে « hãitã », apparently used as a genitive-ablative post-position in the Eastern Magadhan dialects, and later stereotyped into the plural affix in Assamese.

494. By reduplicating the adjective, we have the sense of the plural distributive in Bengali, as in other NIA. languages : e.g., বড় বড় ঘোড়া « bãrã bãrã ghõrã » *horses, each a big one* ; OB. (Caryã 28) « ũcã ũcã pãbata (ste.) » *hills, each a high one* ; MB. (ŠKK., p. 388) বড় বড় গাছের « bãrã bãrã gãchãrã » *of trees, each a big one*.

[D] CASE INFLEXIONS : INHERITED FROM MIA., AND NEWLY CREATED.

495. Following the method of the Sanskrit grammarians, the Bengali noun is declared to have seven cases (eight, including the vocative), which are formed by adding both inflexions and postpositions. The following are the case affixes which are added to the noun in New Bengali, like organic inflexions, as distinct from the detachable post-positional words :

Nominative : এ, য় « -ë, -yã » ;

Instrumental : এ, য় « -e, -yã » ;

Locative : এ, য় « -e, -yã » ; † ত, তে « -tã, -t-ë », এ-তে « -ã-t-ë », extended also to the Instrumental and the Nominative.

Oblique-Locative : এ, য় « -e, -yã », occurring as the Accusative and Dative, and also in the Instrumental with the post-positional verb করায় « kãriyã » or করে « kõrë » ;

Genitive : য়, এর « -rã, -ërã » : in the plural, † গা, গো « -gã, -gõ » ;

Dative : কে, কে, এর « -k-ë, -r-ë, -ër-ë ».

496. Of the above, the Genitive, Dative, and Locative affixes « -rã, -ërã, -gã, -gõ ; -k-ë, -r-ë, -ër-ë ; -ta, -t-ë » are of recent, Late MIA. origin, having developed, not from OIA. case inflexions, but from help-words which came to be combined with the stems or inflected forms of the noun in the period immediately before the NIA. stage. The other affix, the affix এ « -ë », occurring also as য় « yã » after the « -ã » and « -õ » vowels in New Bengali, which is found in the Nominative and Instrumental, and in the

Oblique-Locative and Accusative, is the sole representative in Bengali of the OIA. case affixes, into which several OIA. cases have merged.

### NOMINATIVE.

497. Bengali and Assamese nominative affix has the characteristic affix « -ē ». It has become rather obsolete in West Bengali, but it is still a living form in East Bengali and in Assamese. Instances are exceedingly common in the OB. of the Caryās and in MB. of all periods. In other Magadhan Languages, « -ē » as the nominative affix (singular) is obsolete now, but the older literatures of Oṛiyā and Maithilī show that it was formerly as much a living form as in Bengali and Assamese. See *infra* for examples.

In the old Prācya or eastern speech of the First MIA. Period, the OIA. nominative masculine and neuter affixes « -aḥ, -am » both became « -ē ». The specimens of the Eastern dialect that we have all show this « -ē »—Aśōkan Eastern speech, Old Māgadhī as in the Śūtanukā inscription (see p. 59), 'Māgadhī' and 'Ardha-māgadhī' as in Aśvaghōṣa's dramas (p. 59), Jaina Ardha-māgadhī, and Māgadhī of the Sanskrit drama. In Late MIA., i.e., during the Apabhraṅśa Stage, this « -ē » in all likelihood became « \*-i », as we find from the evidence of some of the Prakrit grammarians. Thus Mārkaṇḍēya (17th century) in his 'Prākṛta-sarvasva' notes for Māgadhī that « sāu puṃsy ēd-itāu : puṃsi sū parē 'kāra ēd-itāu syāt » : i.e., in -su, or nominative singular, masculine (and neuter), the final « -ā » becomes « -ē » and « -i » : e.g., « śīli muṇḍidē=śīraḥ muṇḍitam » (Vizianagram ed., p. 102); and further, he says that in the Śābarī dialect, a form a Māgadhī, « -ā » in the nominative singular becomes both « -ē » and « -i », and this is a rule which is common to both masculine and neuter nouns : « māṇuṣē, māṇuṣī; vaṇē, vaṇi » beside « māṇuṣō, vaṇam », for Skt. « mānuṣaḥ, vaṇam » (p. 108 : « atāḥ sāv ēd-itāu ca, puṃ-napuṃsaka-sādhāraṇō' yath vidhiḥ »). Paralleling the weakening of the OIA. locative « -ē » to « -i » in Late NIA. of both the East and the West, and that of Saurasēnī and Mahārāṣṭrī and other Western MIA. « -aḥ » > « -ō » to « -u »

in the Apabhraṅśas of the West (see pp. 311-312), the Māgadhi «-ē» can reasonably be expected to have also become «-i», as the grammarian has noticed it. A form like «putra» > puttē» would therefore result in Māgadhi Apabhraṅśa as «\*putti», in Māgadhi NIA. (including OB.) as «\*pūti». This «-i» form for the nominative (by extension, serving as the base for the other cases also) seems to have actually survived in a few words: e.g., OB. vocative «Kānhi» (Caryā 7: <Kāṅhē, Kṛṇṇa); N.B. † পুতি «puti» beside পুত «puta» son; চাপুতি «Cāputi» (see pp. 409, 692); ঠাই «ṭhāi» place < «\*thāwi, ṭhāmē=sthāman» (but cf. W. Hindi «ṭhāw<\*ṭhāwu»); নেই «nēi» indulgence.< «\*nēhi=ṇēhē=snēhaḥ» (but cf. MB. দে «dē» < «dēha»; «dēhi» is found in Early Oṛiyā); and a few similar forms in MB., NB. A form like «putra-kaḥ» with pleonastic «-ka» would give Māgadhi Pkt. «putta(g)ē» which would become in Māg. Ap. «\*puttai», and the Old Bengali transformation of it would be «pūtē» = MB. and NB. পুতে «putē». And probably in this way the «-ē» is mostly to be derived from a Māgadhi «-aē» = Skt. «-a-kaḥ». Thus, OB.: «jē ajarāmara hōi diṭa-kāndha» (= «diḥha-kāndhē», to rime with «sāndhē» in preceding line) so that he becomes ageless and deathless, and strong in his shoulders (Caryā 3: < \*diḥha-kandhaī < diḥha-kandhaē = dṛḍha-skandhakaḥ); «Bhādē bhanaī» says Bhāda (Caryā 35: < Bhaddāē = Bhādrakaḥ); «kumbhīrē khāi» the crocodile eats (Caryā 2: < kumbhīlāc = kumbhīrakaḥ); MB. (SKK.) কনের কারণে হএ স্বর্গের বিনাশে «Kaṅsērā kārāṇē hāē sṛṣṭirā bināśē» through the reason of K. the destruction of the world takes place (p. 2); বাড়াই বলনে «bārāhāē mādanē» love increases (p. 30); না ছাড়বে নানের পোএ «nā chārē Nāndērā pōē» Nanda's son does not leave (p. 38); 'Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhedh'—«xadhue eq crux bhanaia boner moidhe raqhilo» = সাধুরে এক ক্রুশ বানাইয়া বলনের মধ্যে রাখিল the saint made a crucifix and kept it within the forest; «xtrie zigguiaxa corilo» = জ্বায়ে জিজ্ঞাসা করিল the woman asked; etc., etc.;—such instances from MB. and NB. are extremely common. A noun without any verb, in the usual nominal phrase-building of NIA., is frequently found with this «-ē» in Bengali.

Examples from Oṛiyā: «...Uttāma-kumarē...upujilē» Prince Uttama was born ('Dhruva-caritra,' p. 4); «bicārā nēśā kāribārē, ētā nōhāi subicārē»

*you think of killing, this is not justice* (Jagannātha-dāsa, 'Bhāgavata,' the Story of the Birth of Kāṁsa, Contai ed., p. 19); « ēmāntā bhāli jānē jānē, buddhi āṅṅilā mānē mānē » *so viewing, each individually formed the plan in his mind* (*ibid.*, p. 7); « bājṛā pāṅṅilā jēnhē sīrē, bādānē nōhilā uttārē » (text = uttārā) *as if a thunder-bolt fell on the head, there was no reply in the mouth* (*ibid.*, Rāsa-līlā, p. 7); « sujānā jānāṅkārā hitē, kāhāi bipṛā Jāgannāthē » *for the good of virtuous men, the Brāhman Jagannātha narrates* (*ibid.*, p. 10); « ēkā gōplē āgāsāri jāi, khōjāi puṣpā-bāri » *one herldswoman goes advancing and seeks flowers and water* (*ibid.*, p. 12); etc. This « -ē » for the singular nominative has already become rather rare in Early Oriyā.

Examples from Maithili: « jani Manamathē mana bēdhala bānē » *as if Love pierced (her) mind with an arrow* (Vidyāpati, VSPd. ed., p. 39); « kāpala parama rasālē » *(he) trembled, filled with love* (*ibid.*, p. 40); « sapanē-hu na purala manaka sādḥē, nayana dēkhala Hari, ēta aparādhē » *even in a dream the heart's desire was not fulfilled; (she) saw Hari with (her) eyes, (was that) such a crime?* (*ibid.*, p. 51); « cintāē bikala hṛdaya nabi thīrē, bādana nihāri nayana baha nīrē » *the heart agitated with thinking is not steady; seeing his face, tears flow from the eyes* (*ibid.*, p. 52); etc., etc.

An « -i » affix inherited from the Māgadhī « -ē » disappeared in the OB. period, possibly through confusion with the locative « -i < -ē », and « -akāḥ > -āē > \* -ai > -ē » was fully established. In establishing this « -ē » as the characteristic nominative affix, there was the influence of the « -ē, -ā » affix of the instrumental. The nominative was replaced by the instrumental in the passive construction which occurred in OB. in the past tense of the transitive verb, following the MIA. conditions: e.g., OB. « \* Kānhē (for \* Kānhi) pōthī paḍḥai » *Krishna reads a book* would become in the past tense « \* Kānhē pōthī paḍḥilī ». The difference between the nominative and instrumental affixes in OB. (Kānhē < Kāṅhāē = Kṛṣṇakāḥ, Kānhē = Kāṅhē[ṅa]ṁ = Kṛṣṇēna) was one of nasalisation only, and the cases could be easily confused, and then affixes interchanged. And as a matter of fact, « -ē, -ā » interchange, and are used one for the other from the OB. period. The tendency also was to drop the affixes « -i, -ē » for the nominative when the construction was active: thus, beside

« kumbhirē khāi » (Caryā 2) and « Bhādē bhañai » (Caryā 35), we have the simple « -a » base: e.g., « Saraha bhañai » (Caryā 32). But this tendency may be said to have been resisted by the « -ē, -ā » of the instrumental nominative of the past transitive: e.g., OB. « cōrē nila » a thief took away (Caryā 2); Kukkuri-pāṣē gāḍa » *Kukkuri-pāda sang (ibid)*; « Kānhē gāi » (= Kṛṣṇēna gitam: Caryā 18); « Bājulē dila » *Bājula gave (35)*; « Ājadēvē saala bihariu » *everything Ārya-dēva has taken away (48)*; MB. গাইল বজীদালে « gāilā Cāḍidāsē » *C. sang, etc.* The nasalisation of the instrumental « -ē » was entirely dropped during the 15th century, and this made the fusion of the two cases complete.

In the gradual merging of the two cases, it is not unlikely that there was some influence of masses of Bengalised Tibeto-Burmans in North and East Bengal, who adopted the Aryan speech of Bengal during the formative period of Bengali. In Tibetan, for instance, the 'verb must be regarded as denoting, not an action, or suffering, or condition of any subject, but merely a coming to pass, or in other words, they are impersonal verbs, like *taedet, miseret* etc. in Latin, or *it suits* etc. in English. Therefore they are destitute of what is called... the active and passive voice, as well as of the discrimination of persons... From the same reason the acting subject of a transitive verb must regularly appear in the Instrumental case, as the case of the subject of a neutral verb, —which, in European languages, is the Nominative—ought to be regarded, from a Tibetan point of view, as Accusative expressing the object of an impersonal verb, just as 'poenitet me' is translated by 'I repent'... The subject of a transitive verb, in Tibetan, assumes regularly the form of the instrumental, of a neutral verb that of the nominative which is the same as the accusative.' (H. A. Jäschke, 'Tibetan Grammar', London, 1883, p. 40).

The possibility of the « -ā » of the nominative also preserving the Māgadhī Ap. instrumental plural « -ahi » (> nominative, as in Oṛiyā) has been noticed before (p. 724). The instrumental in MB., through overlapping of function with the locative and through confusion with the « -ā » of the locative, assumed the postpositional affix « -ta, -t-ā » which is proper to the latter: e.g., MB. (ŚKK.) হাথহেতা « hāthēta » in or with the

*hand*, NB. হাতেতে < hātēte >. This as a matter of course was taken up by the nominative in the Second and Late NB. periods, after nouns ending in a vowel (i.e. the vowels < -ā, -i, -u, -ō >, after < -ā > had dropped off) : e.g., বোতালে খাল খায় < ghōṛā-tē ghāṣṣ khāyṣ > *the horse eats grass*, earlier বোকার=বোকা < ghōṛā-yṣ = ghōṛā-ē > and বোকা < ghōṛā >, which are still used ; so গোরতে < gōru-tē > or গোর < gōru > (the earlier গোর < gōru-ē > is no longer found in the Standard Colloquial : see *supra*, p. 719).

Old Bengali shows a number of instances of nominatives in < -u > and < -ō > : these are literary impositions from Western or Śaurasēni Apabhraṅśa; and although they crop up in the artificial Braja-buli dialect, they are not found in the Bengali speech proper, either in MB. or in NB. (see *supra*, pp. 115-116; 103-104).

#### INSTRUMENTAL.

498. The instrumental < -ē, -ē > occurs in numerous instances in the Caryās : e.g., < darē > *in fear* (2), < bēgē > (5 : vēgēna), < māṅsē > (6 : māṅsēna), < akilēsē > (9 : = akilēsēna), < nāvē > (10 : = nāvēna), < bōhē > (12, 35, = bōdhēna), < suraa-pasaygē, jōṅi-jālē > (19 : = surata-prasaygēna, yōginī-jālēna), etc., etc. This < -ē > is used also for the plural number : e.g., < tipē paṭē > *with or in three beings* (16); and it has been generalised for feminine nouns as well, e.g., < sāṅē > (Caryā 2 : samjñā + -ēna) < michē > (22 : = mithayā), < hēlē līlē > (18 : = hēlayā līlayā), < bhāntiē > (41 : = bhāntiyā); etc., etc. (see *supra*, p. 717).

The < -ē > represents the OIA. < -ēna >, instrumental singular : < -ēna > is found in MIA. as < -ēna, -ēnaḥ, -ēn >; in Old Bengali and Early Middle Bengali it still retains the nasalisation— < -ē >; e.g., হাতে দারে < hātē mārē > *strikes with the hand*, eMB. হাথে দারে < hāthē mārē >, OB. < hāthē mārāi >, MIA. < hatthēn mārēi > = OIA. < hastēna mārayati >.

The change of < -ēna > to < ē > has been through the nasalisation of the vowel by the < -n- >. The nasalised form already occurs in Apabhraṅśa. A parallel case is the change of < -ānām > of the genitive plural

to the forms «-š, -š» in NIA. (See p. 373.) The full «-n» also is preserved, for both «-šna» and «-anām», in NIA.: e.g., in Awadhī (Lakhimpurī dialect) «ḍarēn» *through fear*; and «-n(a), -n-i < ānām» is quite common.

The instrumental «-ē» is the sole relic of a true inflexion of OIA. which has survived in Bengali without contamination.

Instrumental «-š, -š» is preserved in Bihārī, e.g., Maithilī «nēnš» *by a child*. It is found as «-ē» commonly enough in Early Oriyā. Traces of it occur in the Western Languages: e.g., Hindi «dhīrē calō» *walk slowly*. For Marāṭhī, cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 193, and R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, 'Wilson Philological Lectures,' pp. 204-205.

The locative and instrumental were confused through the possession of the common affix «-š, -š», and in some cases a form could be equally either locative or instrumental. This resulted in the employment of the post-positional locative affix «-ta» in the instrumental as well, which has been noticed above. The Caryās show one or two instances: e.g., Caryā 1, «sukha-dukhētē» *through joy and misery*; Caryā 15, «biārētē» *by discrimination* (vicāra-). In MB. and NB. «-ta, -t-ē, -ē-tē» become established for the instrumental, and for words ending in vowels (esp. «-i, -u, -ō»), «-tē» has become the characteristic instrumental affix (see *ante*, p. 719).

In Caryā 14 «bāha tu cchandē» *row thou with pleasure*, and in Caryā 45 «bāḍhai sō taru śubhāśubha-pāṇi» *that tree grows through the water of good and evil*, we have exceptional cases of the simple base being used for the instrumental.

#### LOCATIVE AND OBLIQUE.

499. It represents in all probability an old locative suffix, an OIA. «\*-a-dhi», not found in Sanskrit, but attested from MIA. (Pali) «-dhi» and from the Greek «-thi». It has been also surmised that there was in OIA. an affix in two forms, «\*-bhi, \*-bhim» (which is represented in Homeric Greek by «phi, -phin», and is found in Latin in «ti-bi»: it occurs also in Armenian). Its use, as can be seen from the Greek and



other Indo-European languages, was in the sense of 'by, along with,' in the Locative and Ablative, as well as Instrumental, and rarely in the Genitive and Dative : and it was not of a definite number. This « \*-bhi, \*-bhim » would become « -hi, -hiḥ » in MIA., and it seems this suffix is partly also the base of the MIA. ablative and locative affixes: the nasalised « -hiḥ » would certainly seem to go back to it. (Cf. Wackernagel, 'Altindische Grammatik,' I, p. xx; Herman Hirt, 'Handbuch der griechischen Laut- und Formenlehre,' Heidelberg, 1912, § 304.) Thus, घरे « ghārē » in *the house*, eMB. घरे, घरे « ghārē, ghārē » = Late MIA. « gharahi, gharahiḥ » < OIA. « \*gṛha-dhi(m), \*gṛha-bhi(m) ».

It is very likely, however, that we have in addition the OIA. locative singular affix « -asmin » here, = « \*-assim, -assim, -amhi, -ammi » in Early MIA., which has merged into the Late MIA. « -ahi, -ahiḥ ». There is some difficulty of deriving « ahi, -ahi » from the Eastern form « \*-assi, \*-assi » as well as the Western « -amhi, -ammi ». The genuine Māgadhī form in the oldest period was « \*-aśsi », and « -amhi » was a Western one (cf. Truman Michelson, JAOS., 1909, pp. 77 ff.); but later Prakrit grammarians note « -ammi » for both Māgadhī and Mahārāṣṭrī. The form « -ahi » is found in Early Maithilī in the locative, and « -e, -ē, -aī, -ahi, -ahi » occur in Old Bengali. Oṛiyā uses now « ṭhā-r-ē » for the locative, but « -ē » is quite common for the locative in Early Oṛiyā.

Old Bengali has also « -i » < « -ē » of OIA. for the locative: this « -e > -i » later dropped off in MB. (see *supra*, p. 312).

Instances of the inflected locative from the Caryās: « cīḥ » in *the mind* (1); « divasāi » (2); « eku hiahī » in *one heart* (2: printed text = « ekuḍi ahi », but « -ḍi ahi » must be for « hiahī », as the commentary has « bṛdayāḥ »); « ghaḍiḥ, bākalāi » (« bākalā »: Caryā 3: printed text = « bākalā »); « gharē » (2, 11); « khaṇahī » (4: « kṣaṇē », or « kṣaṇam »); « mājhē » (5, 14, 18, 30); « hiahī » (6); « niaḍi » (5), « ṇiaḍi » (7) = « nikaṭṭē »; « acārē, caraṇē » (11); « pahilē » (12: = prathamē); « māggē (= mārgē), kulē » (14); « caṇilē » on *having mounted* (5) « jivantē, mailē; jāma-maraṇē » (22); « kaṇṭhē » (28); « sājjhē » in *the evening* (33); « āiḥ » at *the beginning* (41: < ādi); etc., etc.

There is in Bengali from the earliest times an accusative or dative form in «-è, -È»: e.g., OH. «sahajè thira kari» *making the sahaaja steady* (Caryā 2); «śahajè kabèi» *describes the sahaaja* (Caryā 27); «bindhaha parama-ñibāṅṅè» *pierce the supreme Nirvāṇa* (Caryā 28); «balada biāśla gaviś bhājhè» *an ox made a barren cow to bear* (Caryā 38); «Bhādè bhāṇai, abbhāgè laiī» *Says Bhāda, I have taken bad-luck* (Caryā 35); «sākhi kariba Jālandhari-pāè» *I shall make Jālandhari-pada my witness* (Caryā 36: see p. 121 *supra*); «sadguru-baanè dhara patavāla» *grasp the word of the good master as an oar* (Caryā 38); etc. MB. (ŠKK., p. 46), দেহ বোরে সরস বচনে «dēhā mōrē sārāsā bhācānē» *give me a pleasant reply*; *ibid*, p. 100, কান্দীয়া জাণায়িকী কাশে। পাছে কাহাঞি বোকে না দিহে দোষে। «kāndīā jāṇāyibī Kāśē, pāchē Kānhāñī mōkē nā dihē dōṣē» *I shall cry and inform Kaśa, afterwards Kṛṣṇa will not (be able to) put blame on me*; (Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttara-kāṇḍa') বাত্ব হঞা জিনিলে তুমি হেন রাবণে «mānuṣṣ hāñi jinilē tumi hēnā Rābāṇē» *being a man, you could defeat such (a foe as) Rāvaṇa*; (KKC.) দোষ নাহি দেখা কেন কর অপমানে «dōṣā nāhi dēkhyā kēnā karā āpāmānē» *why do you do me insult, seeing no fault?*; *ibid*, বোল উপচার দিয়া হাগল বহিবে «ṣōlā upācārā diyā chāgālā-māhiṣē» *making the sixteen offerings (and sacrifices of) goats and buffaloes*; NB. অন্ধজনে দয়া কর «āndhā-jānē dāyā karā» *have pity on a blind person*; etc., etc. We have also an «-è» in instrumental forms with করে or করিয়া «kōrē, kāriyā», like হাতে করে «hātē kōrē» *with the hand* (never হাত করে «hātṣ kōrē»), বোকার করে «jhōṛāy kōrē (< jhōṛā-è)» *in a basket*, etc.

This «-è, -È» affix recalls the oblique (accusative, dative, instrumental and locative cases) in «-(a)hi, -(a)hī» which is found in Early Awadhī and W. Hindi: e.g., Awadhī ('Tulasīdāsa), «taba Rāmahi bilōki Baidēhi» *then Vaidēhi, seeing Rāma*; «nṛpahi bacana priya, nahi priya prānā» *to the king his word is dear, not dear his life*; «nāi munihī siru, sahita samājā» *having bowed his head to the sage, together with his companions*; «aisē prabhuhī bilōkaṭi jāi» *I shall go and see such a lord*; «pūchata prabhuhī» *they are asking the lord*; etc.

W. Hindi ('Chatra-prakāśa,' ed., Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā, p. 88): «utari Narmadā dēśahi ṣyē» *crossing the Narmadā, they came to the country*; p. 91,

« jahā sēvakahī nidrā lāgai, sāhiba tahā saṅghahī jāgai » *where sleeps takes the servant, the Lord even there watches in his company*; etc. The affix is exceedingly common with the pronouns, in the form « -hi », and the present-day Western Hindi oblique « -ai, -ē » is derived from the earlier « -a-hi ». From their nature and employ, it would seem that we have in Bengali « -ē » and the Eastern and Western Hindi « -ahi, -ahī, -ai, -ē » a common inflected form. The use of it has now become comparatively rare in NB., but it was exceedingly common in MB. It is the case of the gradual restricted use in Bengali (as in other eastern dialects) of an oblique form as differentiated from the nominative. We find the same thing in Early Oṛiyā and in Early Maithilī: what may be called the « -ē » oblique is no longer in use now, but it figures in the older literature in these speeches: as e.g., in Oṛiyā, Jagannātha-dāsa's 'Dhruva-caritra': « munīṅki prāṇāmi kāhē mādhurā bācānē » *after saluting the sages says sweet words* (Contai edition: p. 17); « muhī jāi bāsibāku dhāili āñcālē » *I went and caught the skirt to sit down* (*ibid.*, p. 19); « Uttāmā putrē saṅgē lēi » *having taken (his) son Uttama with him*, « Sunīti putrē kolē dhāri » *S. having held her son in her lap* (p. 61); « sē kānyā Dhruvē dēlā bibhā » *gave that daughter to Dhruva in marriage* (p. 63); « Guhyākā-gaṇē dāyā bhāhi, kāhānti Dhruvā-mukhā cāhi » *feeling pity for the Guhyakas, he says looking at D.'s face* (p. 69); « ēmāntē Kubērā-bācānē Dhruvā bicāri tōṣā-mānē » *in this way D., having pondered on K.'s words, glad of heart* (p. 73); etc.; in Maithilī: Vidyāpati (VSPd. edition): « Rāhu dūri basa, niyarō na āvathi, taī nahi karathi garāsē » *R. dwells afar, does not come near, that is why he does not gobble up* (p. 12); « kāmini karaē sanānē » = « kāminī karōti snānam » (p. 23); « āōra pēkhala... mōtima-hārē » *further I saw the chain of pearls* (p. 28); « lōbhē garāsali lājē » *desire ate up (destroyed) shame* (p. 38); « sunaha, sundari ! Bidyāpati-bacana-sārē » *hear, O fair one, the precious words of Vidyāpati* (p. 38); « lakhala lalita tasu gātē rē » *O, I saw his handsome body* (p. 39); « tējala guru-jana-lājē » *I have given up shame of superiors* (p. 43); etc.

This oblique « -ē » of Early Bengali and of other Magadhan dialects, < « -ai, -ai, -ahi, ahī », seems to be identical with the locative. The trans-

ference from the locative to the dative, accusative and instrumental sense is perfectly clear and intelligible. It has been suggested that this NIA. oblique « -ahi, -ahī » is derived from the OIA. genitive « -sya » (Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, p. 210; Beames, II, p. 221; R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, Wilson Philological Lectures, pp. 243-244); and again, that the instrumental plural of OIA., « -bhiḥ » > Late MIA. « -hiḥ » has been extended to the singular, and as « -hī, -hi » has become the oblique singular (cf. Baburam Saksena, 'Declension of the Noun in the Ramayan of Tulsidas,' IAnt., 1923, Vol. LII, p. 74; cf. also L. P. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of Old Western Rājasthānī,' § 59, IAnt., 1914, p. 183; see *ante*, pp. 161-162). But the change of « -sya » to « -hi » presents a phonetic problem which is unexplained, considering that « -sya » remains as « -s- » in a number of forms, e.g. Hindi « kis, jis, tis = kasya, yasya, tasya », Bengali কিস- « kis- » = « kasya » (see *supra*, p. 549; Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 182). The extension of an old plural to the singular, again, would be extremely curious, and certainly it is a very unsatisfactory explanation. The locative singular in « -a-hi, -a-hī » (< \*dhi; \*bhi, \*bhim; -smin) offers the most likely solution of this very characteristic case inflexion of NIA.

In the Bengali dative case forms « -(e)r-ē, -k-ē » we have the same locative affix « -ē », added to the post-positional affixes; and the locative « -t-ē » is case of double locative form (= post-positional locative affix « -ta » + « -ē »). So also the Oriyā « -ṭhā-r-ē », W. Hindi « -m-ē ». (Cf. Grierson and Hoernle, JRAS., 1903, p. 617).

500. There are cases of use of the simple base for the locative in OB. and in MB.: e.g., « sāsu gharē ghāli, kōñcā tāla (= tāli) » *putting the breath inside the room, and the key in the lock* (Caryā 4); « bēḍhila hāka paḍai cau-disa » *the surrounding tumult falls in the four quarters* (Caryā 6); « kulē kula » *from shore to shore* (Caryās 14, 15); ŚKK. গোহারী করিবো রাজা কংসের দুয়ার « gōhāri karibō rājā kānsērā duārā » *a cry for justice shall I raise at the gate of king Kansa* (p. 328). This is mainly for purposes of rime, and does not indicate any real loss of the vowel, but cf. NB. দোর দোর ভিক্ষা দাও « dōrḍ dōrḍ bhikṣā māṅgā » *to beg from door to door* (see pp. 311-312).

There is no trace of the locative plural affix «-su, -ṣu» of OIA. in Bengali and its sister-speeches: it seems to have fallen into disuse from the Late MIA. stage. Śaurasēni Ap. uses the instrumental plural «-ahī, -ēhī» for the locative plural: it may be that such was also the case in Māgadhī Ap. in which «-ahī, -ēhī» could easily become confused with the singular locative.

501. The above are the real inflexions of the Bengali declension. The other affixes were independent words compounded with the noun, and then inflected; but in the genitive, there is in all likelihood an adjectival «-ka».

The locative «-ta» is found in OR. in numerous instances in the Caryās: e.g., «sāṅkama-ta» on the bridge (5); «māṅga-ta, bāṅga-ta» (8: mārga-, vartman); «piṭa-ta» on the vessel (14); «gaṅga-ta» in the sky, «gīva-ta» on the neck (28); «ṭāla-ta»? on high, «hāḍī-ta = \*hāḍī-ta» in the pot (33). This «-ta» would seem to be the word «-antaḥ» within: it was compounded with the noun-base: «mā(ṅ)gata < \*maggāanta = mārga + antaḥ». The loss of the «-n-» here is unexpected for OB. The present participle in «-anta» still preserves the «-n-», and a post position like «antar-ē» for, is as yet not reduced to अन् «-tārē» (as in NB.) in the language of the Caryās. The fact of the word being agglutinated with the noun-base may have been responsible for its losing its individuality, and any intermediate stage with the nasalised vowel, like «\*mā(ṅ)ga-ṅ-āta, \*mā(ṅ)gāta» must be pre-Bengali. The «-ta» post-position characterises the Bengali-Assamese group only among Magadhan speeches. This post-position would nevertheless seem to have been a Magadhan (MIA.) inheritance in Bengali. At the present day, it occurs as «-tṣ» in Assamese and in dialectal Bengali (North, East, South-east). Standard Bengali employs «-tṣ» (which is a locative form «-ta + -ṣ», i.e., from «\*antahi = antaḥ + dhi»), and also «-ṣ-t-ṣ» (= locative in «-ahi» + «-antaḥ» + «-ahi»). The word «-antaḥ» for the locative is found in Marāṭhī as a recent NIA. formation (see Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 197). R. G. Bhāṅḍārkar's derivation of Bengali «-tṣ» from the MIA. «-tahi» = locative of pronominal base «-ta-» (Wilson Philological Lectures, p. 248), cannot be entertained, considering the existence of «-ta, -tṣ» side by side with «-t-ṣ».

The extension of < -tā, -t-ā > to the instrumental and nominative has been noted before. It has also been used with an ablative force from Early MB. times: e.g., SKK., p. 264, মাতা বাপত বড় ভক্তজন নাই < māā-bāpātā bārā guru-jānā nāī > *there are no greater respected ones than mother and father*; p. 308, আতাত আধিক তোর কে করিবে হিত < āmbātā ādhikā tōrā kē kāribē hitā > *who will do more good to you than I?*; p. 326, আতাতে চাহি বাণী < āmbātā cāhī bāī > *asked for the flute from me*; Kṛittivāsa, রাজাতে বিদায় মাকে < rājātē bidāyā māngē > *takes farewell from the king* (cf. R. S. Trivedī, ‘Śabda-kathā,’ pp. 102-104).

The Skt. word < madhya > was used as a post-position for the locative in the Apabhraṅśas of Northern India, in the *etc.* form < \*maddha, \*madha, \*mādhā > maha, māha >. This is the source of the NIA. locative post-fix < -mī, -mā, -mā >, etc. Dialectal Bengali (Haijong) বি < -mi > is in all likelihood derived from this (LSI., V, I, pp. 214 ff.): e.g., দেশবি < deśā-mi >. This post-fix is otherwise unknown to Bengali, and to Assamese and Oṛiyā as well.

#### GENITIVE.

502. The OIA. genitive affixes in the singular have not survived in Bengali, as in most other NIA. speeches. The solitary < -a-sya > of < -ā > nouns was carried down to Late MIA., as a generalised affix for all nouns, and even this fell into desuetude. This < -a-sya > became < -aśā > in Māgadhi, as we can see from the evidence of the Brāhmī seals found in Magadha (see *supra*, p. 59, foot-note) and from the Prakrit grammarians. Side by side with < -aśā >, Prakrit literature registers a form < -āha > for this form of MIA.: and this < -āha > forms an unsolved problem. A change of < -aśā > to < -āha > is difficult to explain: the change of < -śā, -sā, -ā, -ā > to < -h- > in MIA. continues to be obscure (see *supra*, pp. 549, 550, 555). It seems < -āha > or some analogous form (-ahō?) is found as early as Second MIA. in Māgadhi, as in the dramas of Aśva-ghoṣa. (H. Lüders, ‘Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen,’ pp. 34-36); and the fact remains that Māgadhi Pkt. has < -āha >, Śaurasēni Ap. has < -āha, -āhō, -āhō >, beside < -assu, -asu >; and that Old Bengali shows

« -ā » (and in a few pronouns, « -āha, -ha ») for the genitive (examples are given below). Can it be that the real development of Early MIA. « -assa, -āśā » was a form « -ā, -ā » in Late MIA., through stages like « \*-asse, \*-āśā » > \*āśe, \*āśe, \*āśe, \*āśe » > \*ās, -ās, \*ās, \*ās » > \*ā, \*ā », and then the locative affix « -ha < -dha » (as in Skt. « i-ha » = MIA. « i-dha », cf. Avestan « iḥa », etc.) extended to the genitive sense, or an emphatic particle « -ha, -hō < -hu = khu, khalu », was added to it? The transcription in Greek letters of MIA. Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī legends in the coins of the Indo-Scythian prince Nahapāna of Malwa of the 1st cen. A. C., so far as it can be restored, would seem to suggest that the pronunciation « \*-as » was current at the time, in Western India at least: the transcription seems to have been

PANNIO NAHAPATA NAHAPANAC

=ranniō (raññō) Kṣaharatas (Kṣaharātassa) Nahapanas (Nahapānassa) (E. J. Rapson, 'Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty in the British Museum,' London, 1908, p. cxii), where it would seem as if « -āse » or « āse », or « -ās, -ās » was heard.

Be it as it may, in OB. we find « -ā, -āha » as the genitive affix— « -āha » being found with pronouns: thus, « hariṇā hariṇira nilaa ṇa jāṇi » *the abode of the Stag and of the Doe is not known*, « Bhusuku bhaṇai, mūdhā hahi na paṣai » *B. says, it does not enter into the heart of a fool* (Caryā 6); « jā ēthu jāma-maraṇē bisanṅkā » = « yasya atra janma-maraṇē viṣanṅkā » (Caryā 22); « jabē muṣā-ēra cā(ra) tuṭai » = « yadā \*mūṣakasya-kāryaḥ cāraḥ truṭyati » (21); « jāh-ēra bāna-cihna-rūva na jāṇi » = « \*yasya-kāryakaṁ varṇa-cihna-rūpaṁ na jñāyatē » (29). In MB. the oblique form of the pronouns has « -āha » side by side with « -ā »: *e.g.*, তাহ, তাহা, তা « tāha, tāh-ā, tā- » = « tasya ». The « -āha, -ā » is thus preserved in the pronoun in Late MB. and in NB., but in the noun it is entirely lost from after the OB. period, except in the verbal noun in « -ibā »—*e.g.*, genitive দিবার, করিবার, বাইবার « dibā-rā, kārībā-rā, jāibā-rā », dative †দিবাকে, করবাকে, বাবাকে « dibā-kē, kārībā-kē, jāibā-kē.

503. From the Transitional MIA. Period we find the use of a number of words, either along with the genitive pleonastically, or compounded with the base to indicate the genitive idea. We have « -santa (+-ka) » (present participle of « √as » *to be*) meaning 'belonging to,' in the Nasik inscriptions of the 1st-2nd century A.C., e.g., « amha-sa(n)taka, pitu-sa(n)taka » *our, of the father* (Senart, 'Nasik Cave Inscriptions,' Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 73, 78); and the other words which came in during the Second MIA. Period are « kṛta » *kada, kaa*; « kārya » *kajja, \*kāira » kēra, kēla*; « kāra » *kara*; « kṛtya » *kicca*; « \*dita (= Skt. datta) » *dida, dia*; « kārṇa » *kaṇṇa*, etc. These words have become transformed into the genitive and other affixes of NIA. (see pp. 163, 164 *supra*). MIA. literature, however, does not notice all of them, but only a few, although certainly they all occurred in the spoken dialects in different parts of the country. The most popular post-positional or compounded word of genitival import occurring in MIA. literature is « kēra- (kēla-) », which is found all over Northern India in later times. The source of this word is « kārya », and it cannot be « kṛta » (which would give « kaṭa, kaḍa », or « kada, kaa, kida, kia » in MIA.); « kārya » came to be used (apparently as a *semi-tatsama* form with epenthesis) in Transitional or Second MIA., as « \*kāira », before it became « kēra », in Māgadhī « kēla » (cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' §176). This « kēra- » is found East in Bengal, and West in Rajputana; « kēra- » also occurs in the speech of the European Gipsies who went with their language from North-Western India during the Second MIA. period. A vernacular or *ibh.* form would be « kayya » or « kajja », and the Sindhī affix of the genitive, « -jō, -jt », is certainly from this « kajja ». (Grierson: cf. A. F. R. Hoernle, JRAS., 1903, p. 616). Māgadhī Prakrit, like the Prakrits of other parts, took up « kēra (kēla) », side by side with some of the other words. As in other dialects, the form was either used after the genitive, as an adjective qualifying the noun governed, or it was compounded with the noun-base into an adjective; but in either case, the whole sooner or later came to be regarded as one word, which brought about the voicing and dropping of the « -k- » in Eastern Magadhan quite early.



In Bengali forms like **মানুষের** « mānuṣēṛṣ » , **ঘোড়ার** « ghōṛāṛṣ » , making up with the inflexion a single word, as opposed to the Hindi « mānuṣ-kā, ghōṛē-kā » forming a group apparently of an oblique base and a separable post-position, Grierson sees an inherent tendency in Bengali, as an 'Outer' language, towards a synthetic declension, which presents a contrast to Western Hindi as the 'Midland' speech favouring a separate post-position (see *supra*, pp. 161-164; LSI., IX, II, p. 328). But there is nothing in the Prakrit of the dramas, using « kēra(ka), kēla(ka) », to suggest that a particular dialect, Māgadhī, or Śaurasēnī, specially preferred compounding or mere juxta-posing after the inflected genitive. The pronouns, however, generally seem to retain the old inflected genitive which was strengthened by « -kēra (-kēla) », and nouns could have mere compounding. Thus we have, *e.g.*, in the 'Mṛcchakaṭīka,' Śaurasēnī « ajjassa kēraō » beside « vessā-jāṇa-kērakō » and « paḍivēsi-gahavaī-dāraa-kēriāē », and Māgadhī « ajja-Cālundattāha kēlakē » beside « vappa-kēlakē » : but always « mama, tava, tassa (taśśa), kassa (kaśśa), attanō » + « kera(ka), kēla(ka) ». The pronominal forms in NIA., like Bengali **তার**, **তাহার** « tā-rṣ, tāhā-rṣ » (= tasya + kara), **মোর** « mōrṣ » (= mama + kara), and Hindi « tis-kā » and « mērau, mērā », etc. show that the old usage for pronouns still continues. Besides, 'Outer' speeches do not always show a synthesis: *e.g.*, Oriyā « jānāṇ-kā(rā) » (= jānānām kara-), which is as much post-positional as W. Hindi « ghōṛē-kā »; and European Gipsy, which is based on an 'Outer' speech allied to Western Panjābī, possesses forms like « cōres-kērō, -kēri » and « cōreṇ-(g)ērō, -ēri » (= cāurasya, cāurāṇām + kēra-). The preservation of the « -k- » in W. Hindi is no isolated thing: we have « -kar, -karā » (rather than « -rṣ » as in Bengali) in the Bibāri dialects. The W. Hindi « -kau, -kā » seems to have retained the « -k- » chiefly through two reasons: firstly, it formed the only consonant in the post-position, and as such intelligibility demanded its retention; and secondly, there was in all likelihood the influence of the adjectival « -kka » affix, which also had a genitival force. The loss of « -k » in the agentive affix « -nē » of W. Hindi (= MIA. \*kaṇṇahī, OIA. \*karna-smin :

cf. L. P. Tessitori, ‘ Grammar of Old Western Rājasthāni, ’ Ind. Ant. 1915, §§ 70, 71) is to be recalled.

Side by side with « kārya > kēra, kēla », the words « kara, kāra » and « kṛta > kaa » were used in Māgadhī Prakrit and Apabhraṅśa to indicate the genitive. It would seem that in Māgadhī Ap. « kara » was used with the pronoun originally, and then was extended to the noun. Reduced to « -ara > -rā, -rāḥ », it occurs as the genitive affix in Assamese-Bengali and Oṛiyā, and also in Maithilī and other Bihārī speeches in the genitive of the first and second personal pronouns. The unreduced form « -kara » is here and there found as a survival in MB., possibly through Maithilī influence; it is met with in Oṛiyā in the plural, where the « -k- » is preserved by the « -n- » of the genitive plural affix (see *supra*, pp. 137, 724); and it occurs in the forms « -kar, -karā, -kārā » in the genitive and dative of the pronouns other than those of the first and second persons in Maithilī, Magahī and Bhōjpurīyā. « kēra, kāra » have become practically doublets of an identical genitive affix. They figure also in Eastern Hindī side by side. « kara » is still found in its unchanged form in Marāṭhī surnames like « Hōl-kar, Bījāpur-kar, Ciṭṭṭṭ-kar, Tāḷgāw-kar » etc., meaning ‘ belonging to, dwelling in ’: compare the use of the genitive « -kā » in Mārwarī family names like « Khēm-kā, Gōyēn-kā, Himmatsīnh-kā », etc.

The affix « kāra » seems to have been rather rarely used in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa. It is now found in its unreduced form in a few nouns and pronouns in Bengali: e.g., সকালকার « sākāḷ-kārā » of the morning, হেথাকার « hēthā-kārā », এখানকার « ēkhān-kārā » of here, বছরকার « bāchār-kārā » of the year, সকলকার « sākāḷ-kārā » and সবাকার, সবাইকার, সবাইকার « sabbā-kārā, sā(b)ḍāi-kārā » of all, আপনকার « āpān-kārā » of self. It does not occur in the other Magadhan speeches: and it may well be a modification of « kārā » itself.<sup>1</sup> The affix « kārā » is used in NB. with nouns indicating

<sup>1</sup> Hoernle (Gauḍian Grammar, p. 236, foot-note) regards this ‘ kāra ’ as being a double genitive, ‘ -kā + -ra. ’ This explanation cannot be objected to considering that we have ‘ -ka ’ as a genitive affix in Middle Bengali. But we do not have ‘ -kā ’ (with the long ‘ ā ’) with nouns in Bengali: and although in Early Bengali we sometimes find ‘ -ka, ’ the words which form the genitive with ‘ -kāra, ’ as above, never employ the ‘ -ka ’ form.

time and direction, and besides it has a definitive force (cf. Rabīndranāth Tagore, 'Sambandhē < kārṣṭ >' in 'Śabda-tattva').

The form < kṛta > MIA. *kaa* > is more important. As a word strengthening the genitive as well as the dative relation it seems to have come up in the Transitional MIA. Period, and probably even earlier. We have quite early < tasya kṛtē dattam = tasmāi dattam > in Sanskrit, an idiom apparently borrowed from a Prakrit or vernacular one; and a Buddhist Skt. form like < udyāna-kṛtam āsanam > shows the early establishment of < kṛta > *kaa* > as a genitive-indicating word. But it is a question whether the < -k- > genitive of the Magadhan languages (Early Bengali < -kā >; New Bengali dialectal < কা, গা, চা > -kā, -gā, -gō >, Oriyā < -kā >, in the plural; Maithilī < -k >, Magahī < -k, -kē >, and Bhōjpuriyā < -k, kē, -kāl >) is based on the < kṛta > form. < kaa, kṛta > *kaa* >, compounded with the preceding noun-base, could be expected to drop the < -k- >, and to be changed to < -aa > as in the case of < -kēra, -kara > -ēra, -ara >. It seems that the basis of the New Magadhan < -k- > of the genitive is the MIA. pleonastic < -kka >, rather than < kaa < kṛta > (see *supra*, p. 683). The < -kṣ > of the Bihārī dialects would derive better from a monosyllabic < -kka > rather than from the disyllabic < -kaa >. The 'Prākṛta-Pāṅgala' (14th century) has some instances of the < -ka > genitive which would seem to be an Eastern form derived from < -kka >: e.g., (in the 'Bibliotheca Indica' edition, ASB.), p. 249, < Khurasāna-ka Ollā >; p. 403, < gāi-ka ghittā >; p. 412, < dēva-ka likkhia kēṇa mēṭāvā >; p. 470, < tā-ka jaṇani ki ṇa thakkaū bañjhaū >, etc. But the presence of a < kaa < kṛta > is not absolutely precluded from consideration; and this < kaa > can of course easily give the Western Hindī < kau, kō, kā >, and also Eastern Hindī and Bihārī < -kē, -kāl >. The < -kā > in an Oriyā form like < puruṣāṅ-kā > may be either the < -kka > generalised as an affix or help-word and employed by extension with the original genitive plural, or it may equally be the word < kaa > used post-positionally (= puruṣānām kṛta-).

About the use of the < -ka > (< -kka, -kaa), there is an agreement between Modern Bengali and Oriyā: it is confined only to the plural (or plural > honorific singular) in Oriyā, and in Bengali now it is found,

although dialectally only, in the plural genitive of the pronouns only. Why this form should be chosen for the plural is not clear: possibly «-ra» and «-ka» (Oṛiyā «-ṅ-ka», Bengali «-kā, -gā, -gā = -gō») were gradually adopted for the singular and the plural respectively in the absence or disuse of an affix distinguishing the two numbers.

Examples of «kēra > -ēra, -kara > -ara, -kka (-kaa) > -ka» for the genitive, from OB. and MB.:

«chānda-ka bāndha» *the bonds of (= from) pleasure* (1); «rukhēra tentali kumbhīrē khāi» *the crocodile eats the tamarind of (=from) the tree* (2); «hariṇā hariṇira nilaa ṇa jāṇi» *the abode of the Stag and of the Doe is not known*, «hariṇāra khura na dīsaī» *the Stag's hoofs are not seen* (6); «tōhōri kuḍiā» *thy hut*, «kāhari nāvē» *in whose boat?* (tava + ha, kasya, + kara-), «tōhōra antarē» *for thy sake*, «hāḍēri māli» *chaplet of bones* (haḍḍa + kēra + -ikā) (10); «tōhōri bhābhariāli» *thy coquetry* (18); «ḍombi-ēra saṅgē» *in the company of the Dōm woman* (19); «mōhōra» *my* (20); «muṣā-ēra» *of the mouse* (21); «sō karaū rasa-rasānēri kaṅkhā (text = rasānērē kakhā)» *let him entertain the desire for pleasure and for elixirs* (22); «tōhauri» *thy* (28); «jāhēra» *of which*, «tāhēra» *of that* (29: yasya, tasya + kēra-); «cāndari cānda kānti (reading of the commentary)» *moon-light of the moon* (31); «hāthēra kāṅkāṇa» *the bracelet of (=on) the arm* (32); «Dhēṅḍhaṇa-pāēra gita» *D.'s song* (33); «mōhērā bādhā» *bound up of (=by, with) ignorance* (34); «pākhi na caḥāi mōri pāṇḍiācāē» (see *supra*, p. 121); «kāhēri śaṅkā» *whose fear?*, «mahāmudēri kaṅkhā» *desire of the mahāmudrā* (37); «tōhōrē dōsē» *through your fault*, «tōhāra biṇḍḍā» *your science* (39); «bāsaṇā tōrā» *thy desire* (41); «mōra» *my* (49); «tailā bāḍira pāsēra jonhā-bāḍi tāēlā (=uēlā? bhāēlā?)» *the mansion of moon-light by the side of the third mansion became clear* (50).

It is seen that «-ēra, -ara» like their source-forms in MIA. are adjectives referring to the nouns they qualify, and take the feminine affix «-i=-ī» (see *supra*, pp. 720-721), and also the case-terminations (e.g., «tōhōrē dōsē» in Caryā 39: = «\*tava-kērakēṇa dōṣēṇa» in MIA.)

«kēra, kara» occur in a few instances as cases of stereotyped survival in MB.: e.g., ŚKK. নদীকের «nādi-kērā»; লাক্ষকের «lākhē-kērā» *of one*

*lakh*; 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-vijaya,' বঙ্গকের « *bātsā-kērā* » (R. S. Trivedī, 'Śabda-kathā,' p. 103); 'Mānik Candra Rājār Gān,' কোড়াকর « *kōṛā-kārā* » of a cowrie, ঘড়িকর « *ghāṛī-kārā* » of an hour (VSP., pp. 63, 65); 'Śūnya Purāṇa,' রূপাকর « *rūpā-kārā* » of silver (p. 38), তামাকর « *tāmā-kārā* » of copper (p. 39), হীরকর « *hīrā-kārā* » of diamond (p. 40), etc. In some of the above instances, e.g., « *lākhēkārā, kōṛākārā, ghāṛīkārā* », the base may be in « *-kā* »: « *lākhēkā* » one lakh, « *kōṛākā* » one cowrie, « *ghāṛīkā* » one hour, so that the inflexion would be « *-rā, -ērā* » and not the old « *kara, kēra* ».

The « *-ka* » affix for the genitive is rather uncommon in Bengali from the oldest times: it has disappeared from Modern Bengali in the singular, but is found in dialectal forms in the plural only. Examples: OB. « *chānda-ka bāndha* » the bondage of pleasure (Caryā 1), « *samādhika pāṭa* » the process of samādhi (comm. to Caryā 21); in the ŚKK., অরমক তরে কুলে কলঙ্ক থাইবে « *jāramā-kā tārē kulē kālāṅkā thuibē* » will put a stain on the family for all life (p. 127); আপন কাজক লাগি সবই বিকলী « *āpanā kājā-kā lāgi sabbāi bikālī* » every body is anxious for the sake of her own work (p. 253); পরাক লাগিআ সে হারাইবে নাক কানে « *pārā-kā lāgiā sē hārāibē nākā kānē* » he will lose both his nose and his ears for the sake of another (p. 307); নিত্যানন্দ রাম বন্দো রোহিণীক স্তুত « *Nityānānda-rāmā bāndō Rōhiṇī-kā sutā* » I praise N., the son of R. (Lōcana-dāsa's 'Caitanya-maṅgala'), বিহারক রাজপুরী নামে অমরাবতী « *Bihārā-kā rājā-purī, nāmē Amrābātī* » the capital of Bihār, Amarāvati by name (Vira-nārāyaṇa's 'Kirāta-parvan'); গৃহস্থক ধর্ম এহি পুরাণ কহিছে « *gṛhasthā-kā dhārmā ēhi purāṇā kāhichē* » this is the duty of the house-holder, so declares the Purāṇa (Sañjaya's 'Mahābhārata': the last three examples given in R. S. Trivedī's 'Śabda-kathā,' p. 104); etc. NB.: মোর, আমার « *mōṛā, āmārā* » my, plural † মো(রা)গো, আ(রা)গো « *mō(rā)-gō, āmā(rā)-gō* », আমকা, আমগা « *āmā-kā, -gā* » our; তার « *tārā* » honorific তাঁর « *tāṛā* », his, plural † তাগো, তাঁগো « *tā-gō, tāṛ-gō* »; মানুষের « *mānuṣērā* » of man, plural † মানুষগো, -গা, এর-গো « *mānuṣērā-gō, -gā, -ērā-gō* » of men. The « *-gā, -gō* » affix for the plural is present in some form or other in the vulgar dialects practically all over Bengal.

**504.** An affix « *-sat-ka* », loosely compounded with a noun, with its base (for the singular), or with the genitive (for the plural), is largely found

in inscriptional Sanskrit all over Northern India from the Second MIA. period : *e.g.*, Inscription of Jayanāga of Karṇa-suvarṇa (p. 180, *supra*), « brāhmaṇānām-satka-grāma-simā » ; Siyadoni Inscription (c. 11th cen. A. C., Lalitpur District, U. P., Ep. Ind., I, pp. 162 ff.) : « samasta-kallapālā-nāth-satka-haṭṭānām-upari (= Hindi « -kalwārṭh-kē hāṭṭ-par), Vighraha-pāla-satka-dramma, bāmana-satka-vīthi, caṇḍāla-satkāvāsānikā », etc., etc. This affix « -sat-ka » is difficult to explain : apparently it is the present participle of « √as » — « santa-+ -ka » (pleonastic), such as we find in the Transitional MIA. (see *ante*, p. 753). It is not unlikely that a vernacular from « santa-ka » became « \*sante-ka, \*sant-ka, \*sakka » which was Sanskritised into « sat-ka » in medieval Sanskrit as in the inscriptions. In Early Assamese we have the affix সাক « -sākā », as in the forms আমাসাক, তোমাসাক « āmā-sākā, tōmā-sākā » *our, your, us, you*, which are obsolete in Modern Assamese. (Dēvānanda Bharāli, ‘Asamiyā-bhāṣār Maulik Bicār,’ p. 32). These would affiliate themselves to a MIA. « \*amha-sakka, \*tumha-sakka », Sanskritised into « \*asma-satka, \*yuṣma-satka ». This form সাক « sākā » has not been found in Bengali.

The plural of the genitive has been discussed under ‘Number’ above (p. 725 ff.)

#### DATIVE

505. The « -ka » genitive of Bengali is used for the dative in OB. : *e.g.*, Caryā 4 « mantīē<sup>1</sup> thākura-ka parinibittā » *the minister (= queen, in chess) has checked the king* ; Caryā 21, « nāṣa-ka » *for destruction*. This genitive-dative in « -ka » is exceedingly common in MB., as in the ŚKK. and other works : *e.g.*, ŚKK. p. 3, মাহুস নিয়োজিল মারিবাক তাএ « mānuṣā niyōjilā māribā kā tāē » *appointed men for killing him* ; সেই উপদেশ দিব তোমাক তখনে « sei upādēśā dibā tōmhā-kā tākhāṇē » *he will give you advice at that time* ; p. 108, বরক মন না জাএ « ghārā-kā mānā nā jāē » *the mind does not turn to home* ; etc., etc. This « -ka » occurs as « -kḥ » now, but it is confined

<sup>1</sup> The printed text reads মতিএ : I accept the emendation proposed by Muhammad Shahīdullāh in the VSPdP., 1327, p. 151.

to North Bengal and Assam only, and members of the Bengali-Assamese group of dialects in other parts now employ « -k-ē, -r-ē ».

« -k-ē » is an inflected form, the final « -ē » being really the locative affix, as has been noted before (p. 749). It can be the locative of the adjective-genitive with pleonastic « -ka » (*supra*, p. 756); it can be equally the locative of the form « kaa < kṛta » : e.g., *তাকে দিল* « tākē dilā » = Skt. « tasya kṛtē dattam » for « tasmāi dattam » (cf. Grierson in the 'Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung,' quoted by Hoernle in the JRAS. for 1903, p. 615). There is a third likely source of « -k-ē »—the OJA. « kakṣa » (see *supra*, pp. 164, 553) which has been suggested by Beames ('Comparative Grammar,' II, pp. 252-259) and Hoernle (Gauḍian Grammar, § 375, .p. 224), and accepted by Kellogg (Hindī Grammar<sup>2</sup>, p. 130). Hoernle later admitted the « kṛta » derivation (JRAS., 1903, p. 615). R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar would trace the dative « -k-ē » of Bengali and « -kō » of W. Hindī to a MIA. locative « kēhī, kahī » *where, somewhere*, from the interrogative pronoun base « ka » (Wilson Philological Lectures, pp. 246-248).

The last derivation does not at all seem convincing. Against it, and in favour of a derivation from « kakṣa », are the forms « kakhu » in OB. (see below), « kāhū, kāhu » with « -ā- » in Eastern Hindī, and « kahū » as in Western Hindī. (See also the remark in connexion with the derivation of the locative « -t-ē » at p. 750.) The forms « -kū, kahū » etc., as in Western Hindī, « ku » as in Oṛiyā, and « -ka » as in Early and dialectal Bengali, will also go against it: for all these forms accord but ill with « kahī, kaī » the locative of « kaa, kṛta ». There cannot of course be any objection to the derivation of « kē » from « kṛta », but the difficulty remains with regard to « kō, kū, ku » and the « -hu » forms. The forms « ku, kū » is not found in NB., but it occurred in OB., and it is now the characteristic dative affix of Oṛiyā only among Magadhan speeches. In Caryā 35, we have « ēbē cia-rāa ma-kū(=mō-kū) ṇaṭhā » = « idānīm cittarājāḥ mama vinaṣṭa(h) », as the commentary explains; and also « Bājulē dila mōha-kakhu (bhaṇiā) » = « Vajrakulēna...mahyam pradattam », also according to the explanation of the commentary.

We have apparently « kakhu » side by side with « kũ » here. The Skt. « kakṣa » seems to have been adopted in Late MIA. as a post-positional, and from « kakkha » a weak form « \*kakha » can very well be assumed. This in the transitional stage between Late MIA. and NIA. seems to have become « kaha, kāha ». The proper NIA. *tbhs.* « kākha, kākha, kācha » seem to have influenced the lengthening of the « kāha ». The change of « -kṣ- < -kkh- » to « -h- » is not isolated: Beames gives « pāhũ, pahũ » *beside, to*, from Hindī, which he derives from « pakṣa » ('Comparative Grammar,' II, p. 258); Old Western Rājasthānī also has the same word as « pāhī, pāhi » (Tessitori, §72[8]); and Oṛiyā as « pāi, pā » as in « ki-pāi, ki-pā » *why? wherefore?* Pischel also cites a number of instances of change of « -kṣ- > -kkh- » to « -h- » from Prakrit ('Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' § 323). We can also compare the origin of « maha, māhi, mē », NIA. post-position of the locative, from Sanskrit « madhya » introduced in MIA. as a *sts.* « maddha, madha » beside the *tbh.* « majjha > NIA. mājha ». The normal NIA. form of « kakṣa », with « -kh- », is certainly preserved in the Sindhī « khē » for the dative, and « khā, khō, khī » for the ablative (although Trumpp derived these from « kahā < \*katham < kṛtam, kṛtē »: Sindhī Grammar, London, 1872, pp. 115-116): here the initial « -k- » of « kakkha » has been elided, like the « -k- » in « kajja- < kārya » giving « -jō, -ji » for the genitive. The Sindhī « khē, khā, khō, khī », inflected forms of a post-fixed « (ka)kkha », the Old Bengali « kakhu », and the Early Eastern Hindī « kähũ » would all support the assumption that « kakṣa » is the source of Western Hindī « kahu, kau, kō, kũ » and Oṛiyā « ku ». These are all to be connected with an Apabhraṅśa (Māgadhī as well as Ardha-māgadhī and Śaurasēnī) form for the *ablative*, « \*kakkhahu, \*kakkhahũ », or probably « \*kakkhāu, \*kakkhau ». (Cf. Māgadhī and Śaurasēnī ablative affix « -ādō », which we would expect to give « -āu, -au » in Apabhraṅśa). Unlike « kē », the present day « kō, kũ, ku » is thus not of locative origin.

« -kē » of Bengali can thus be either « kṛta », or « kakṣa », in the locative. It is not unlikely that the two post-positional words have converged into this one form. In the plural of the dative as in তাদেরকে « tāderā-



-kē » to them, we can see that an analysis into « tasya + ādi-kēra + kakṣē » or into « + kṛtē », is equally possible. The *tbh.* form कृत् *« kāchē »* is still in use in Bengali as a post-position meaning *near, by, with*. The earlier forms of « -kē », namely « \*-kai, \*-kaḥī », are not found in Old Bengali. The Caryās, in addition to « -ka » and « -ku », give instances of « -kē » : « rūpā thōi mahī-kē ṭhāvi » *pulling away the silver, it was placed on the ground*, and « kēḍuāla nāhi kē ki bāhaba-kē pāraī (text = pāraa) » *there being no oar, what can one do in the matter of rowing?* (Caryā 18 : the text in the second instance is corrupt). « -kē » occurs regularly in MB., N.B. ; and « kē » , with nasalisation, is rather rare in MB.

Maithilī has « kē », Magahī « kē », and Bhōjpuriyā « kē » : all these are identical with the Bengali post-position. Of the E. Hindī dialects, Awadhī has « kā, kā, ka », Baghēlī « kā, kahā », and Chattisgarhī « kā ». The Baghēlī « kahā » is a relic of the older forms « kahū, kahā » etc. of Early Eastern Hindī as in Tulasī-dāsa, and « kā, kē » apparently also are from « kāhū > \*kāhā ». The « kakṣa » derivative is thus found to occur in Bengali, Oṛiyā, E. Hindī and W. Hindī, and Sindhī.

506. The dative « -r-ē, -ē-rē » : it is found from OB. times, e.g., « kariṭā kariṇi-rē risaa (= risai) » *the male elephant is impassioned (?) with regard to the female elephant* (Caryā 9) ; « kēhō kēhō tōhō-rē biruā bōlai, bidu-jana-lōa tō-rē kariṭha na mēlai » *some call thee (as being) of ugly form, (but) the learned never free thee from embrace* (Caryā 18). It is the locative in « -hi, -hī » of the genitive in « -ra, -ēra ». At the present day, the « -r- » dative is found in East Bengal (W. Vaṅga specially), and the « -k- » dative is spread from Rāḍha through Varēndra to North Bengal and Assam, and seems to occur also in East Vaṅga, as in the Haijong Dialect of Maimansing, and in the Chakma of Chittagong.

#### ABLATIVE.

507. Bengali-Assamese does not now possess an organic affix for the ablative, unlike Oṛiyā. In Caryā 4, however, there seems to occur a solitary instance of an ablative form in OB. : « khēpahu (= khēpahū` jōini lēpana jāya » = « kṣēpāt sva-sthāna-yōgāt sū bōdhicitta-rūpā nāirātma-yōginī, mōha-

malāvāliptā bhavati », as the commentary explains. In Oṛiyā the ablative affix is also « hū », as in Early Oṛiyā, e.g., 'Kaṁsa-janma' in Jagannāthadāsa's 'Bhāgavata': « Ugrasēna-hū nōhē āna » *he is not different from U.* (p. 4, Contai edition), « kāhū utpatti hōilā » *from whom was the origin?* (p. 8, *ibid*). In Modern Oṛiyā it occurs as « -u »: « ghārā » *house*, ablative « ghār-u »; and it figures also in 'S.-W. Bengali.' The genitive form is also put in the ablative: « ghārā-rā, ghārā-r-u ». With proper names, and as an honorific, the post-positional form « ṭhā-r-u » from « ṭhā » *place* is used (cf. « ṭhā-r-ē » for the locative), and « ṭhāu, ṭhu » also are found as ablative post-positions with pronominal adverbs of place. The « -hū, -u », doubtless a Māgadhī form, is apparently the same as that we find in Saurasēnī Ap., viz « -hu » in the singular and « -hū » in the plural (puttahu, puttahū). The origin of this « -hu, -hū » in Ap. is obscure, but it seems that it was due to the fusing of several case-terminations—« -a-taḥ » > -adō > \*-au » of the ablative, *plus* « -h, ~ » of the locative, for instance. The form « -a-hu, -a-hū » occurs in Sindhī, Panjābī and Western Hindī as « -ō, -ō » (e.g., Hindī « hāthō-hāth » *from hand to hand* < « \*hatthahu hatthi »), and in Marwārī as « -ā » (cf. Tessitori, Grammar of OWR., §61).

The use of the locative form in « -ta, -tē » for the ablative has been noted above (p. 751). In the MIA. and NIA. confusion or interchangeability of the three cases, instrumental ablative and locative, there is probably the influence of Dravidian. (Cf. K. V. Subbaiya, IAnt., 1910, pp. 145ff.)

508. The development of the OIA. noun declension, through the Late MIA. (Apabhraṁśa Māgadhī) into Bengali, as described above, is set forth below, in the declension of the OIA. word « putra » = MIA. « putta » :

Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa	Bengali
Nominative: singular—	Nominative: singular—
(i) *putti, *putta (< Māgadhī Prakrit puttē < putrah).	(i) * pūti, *pūta < পুতি, পুত puti, putḍ.
(ii) *puttai (< puttaē < puttagē, puttakē < putrakah).	(ii) পুত putē.

Nominative : plural—

- (i) \*puttā (< puttā < putrāḥ).  
 (ii) \*puttahi (< puttēhi < \*putrēbhiḥ = instrumental).

Accusative : singular—

\*puttā, \*puttam (< puttam  
 < putram).

Accusative : plural—

\*putta, \*puttāi (< \*puttāni,  
 \*puttāni < putrān).

Instrumental : singular—

\*puttē, \*puttēm (< puttē-  
 ṇa[m] putrēṇa)

Instrumental : plural—

\*puttahi, \*puttahi (< puttēhi,  
 puttēhiḥ < \*putrēbhiḥ).

Dative : singular—

- (i) \*puttā (< puttā < putrāya).  
 (ii) \*puttā/ā(ha) (genitive) + kai;  
 + ka(k)khi, ka(k)khī, kahi,  
 kahī; putta-kkaī, -kkaī.  
 (iii) \*puttāba-(k)arahi, -(k)alahi;  
 \*puttāha-(k)ērahi, (k)ēlahi.

Dative : plural—

\*puttahi, \*puttēhi (< puttēhi  
 [as in Aśōkan inscr.] < \*pu-  
 trēbhiḥ = putrēbhyah) (also  
 Genitive Forms).

Ablative : singular—

\*puttāu, \*puttāu, \*puttahu,  
 \*puttahū.

Nominative : plural—

- (i) পুত puttā.  
 (ii) ? পুতে putē.

Accusative : singular and plural—

Lost.

Instrumental : singular—

OB. \*pūtē, \*pūtē > পুত্বে puttē,  
 পুতে putē.

Instrumental : plural—

? পুতে puttē.

Dative : singular—

- (i) Lost.  
 (ii) পুতেকে puttākē, পুতেকে « puttē-  
 kē », পুতেকে puttā-kē.  
 (iii) পুত্রে, পুত্রে puttārē, -ērē,  
 পুত্রে, পুত্রে puttārē, puttērē.

Dative : plural—

Lost.

Ablative : singular—

OB. \*pūtu, \*pūtahu, \*pūtahū;  
 Orijā putahū, putu.

Ablative: plural—

- (i) \*puttāhī, \*puttēhī (< \*putrē-  
bhiḥ = instrumental).

Genitive: singular—

- (i) \*puttā, \*puttā, \*puttāha,  
\*puttāha (= puttaśśa <  
putrasya).  
(ii) \*puttā/ā(ha)-(k)ēra -([k]ēla);  
\*puttā/ā(ha)-(k)ara, -([k]āla);  
\*putta(k)ēra- (-[k]ēla);  
\*putta-(k)ara- (-[k]āla).  
(iii) \*putta-kka- (= putra-ka-).

Genitive: plural—

\*puttāṇa, \*p u t t ā ṇ a ṁ,  
\*puttāṇ-i- (< putrāṇām).

Locative: singular—

- (i) \*putti (< puttē < putrē).  
(ii) \*puttahi, \*puttahi.  
(iii) \*putta-anta; \*putta-antahi,  
-antahī; \*puttahi antahi  
(\*puttahi antahī).  
(iv) \*putta-ma(d)dhi, -ma(d)dhahi,  
-ma(d)dahī; -mahī, -mahahi,  
-mahahī (< madhya).

Locative: plural—

- (i) \*puttaśu, \*puttēśu.  
(ii) \*puttāhī, \*puttēhī (< \*putrē-  
bhiḥ = instrumental)

Ablative: plural—

Lost.

Genitive: singular—

(i) OB. \*pūtā, \*pūtāha.

(ii) পুত্ৰ, পুত্ৰে put&rdsh;, put&rdsh;.

(iii) OB., MB. পুত্ৰক put&rdsh;-k&rdsh;.

Genitive: plural—

OB. \*pūtāṇa, \*pūtāṇa, \*putāni:  
NB. †পুত্ৰাইন putāin.

Locative: singular—

- (i) OB. \*pūti (cf. NB. ঘৰ গহ&rdsh;  
< ghar-i).  
(ii) OB. \*pūtahi, \*pūtahī, \*pūtai,  
\*pūtē > MB., NB. পুতে putē;  
(iii) †পুত্ৰে put&rdsh;, পুত্ৰেতে put&rdsh;tē,  
পুত্ৰেতে putē-tē.  
(iv) †পুত্ৰমি put&rdsh;-mī (cf. Bihāri  
« pūt-m&rdsh;, -maī).

Locative: plural—

Lost.

## POST-POSITIONAL WORDS.

509. Use of post-positions to denote case relations is found in IA., Kōl and Dravidian. In OIA., indeclinables like « ā, adhi, anu, pari, pra » etc. are found both as prepositions and as post-positions ; so in Old Greek. In IE., these so-called prepositions were properly adverbs referring to the act, but in all IE. languages, including IA., they came to attach themselves to and to 'govern' particular case forms of nouns (accusative or instrumental, ablative or genitive or locative). The prepositional and post-positional use with the noun of these particles fell into gradual disuse from Late OIA., and they lost their separate and independent existence in the sentence as help words : they were compounded as prefixes or pre-verbals with the verb, the sense of which they modified. Classical Sanskrit shows fewer particles with a prepositional or post-positional employ than Vedic (J. S. Speyer, 'Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax' in the Grundriss, §§ 85-90). In MIA., the number of these old particles as post-positions employed with nouns grew even more restricted. On the other hand, to make the sense clear, especially when in MIA. the case terminations were confused and were being lost, the IA. speech began to employ the accusative, dative, ablative or locative form of some suitable noun (with the sense of location, vicinity, direction, connexion, purpose, or power) along with the principal noun which retained its original inflexion. Classical Sanskrit, following the Prakrit vernaculars, took up this device (Speyer, § 91). This sort of auxiliary and post-positional use was later extended to some verbal formations—passive participles and present participles, and to the indeclinable conjunctive verb. Such post-positional or prepositional use of verb forms is not unknown to other IE. languages : e.g., English *during*, *regarding*, *concerning*, German *während*, French *pendant*, Italian *mediante*, *durante*, etc. But this principle was utilised only to a very limited extent elsewhere outside India, whereas IA., from the MIA. stages downwards, fully employed it to form post-positionals. Classical Sanskrit already took up some passive participles and conjunctive indeclinables as post-positions governing oblique cases (Speyer, §§ 92, 93). In this matter, it seems that IA. was profoundly

influenced by Dravidian (*vide supra*, p. 172; cf. also K. V. Subbaya, 'A Comp. Gram. of Dravidian,' IAnt., 1910, pp. 145ff).

Some of these post-positional words—nouns and verb-forms—through phonetic decay became transformed into organic affixes in NIA., as has been seen before. The conjunctive and participle post-positions, however mostly retained their phrasal character, and in NIA. they remain distinct, as detached words. Bengali has a number of such verbal post-positions. Besides, some nouns (old *tshs.*, as well as *tss.* or *tss.*), are used as separable post-positions in all NIA. Their establishment is apparently post-NIA., and independent in each language or dialect group.

Below are given the more important Separable Post-positions of Bengali.

(1) অপেক্ষা « apēkṣā » = *with regard to: ts.*, used either with the base or with the genitive to indicate comparison.

(2) আগে « āgē », locative of আগ « āgā » < « agra »: MB. আগত « āgātā » *before*. Used more commonly with the genitive, and occasionally with the=base: cf. ŚKK., p. 65, রাজা আগে করিবো গোহারী « rājā āgē karibō gōhārī » *shall make a plaint before the king*; p. 127, আমার আগত বীর নাহি কোন জন « āmhārā āgātā bīrā nāhī kōṇā jānā » *before me (i.e., greater than me) there is no hero*; etc.

(3) করিতে « kārītē » > কর্তে « kār'tē, kōrtē » *doing, present participle* of কর « √kār » = « √kṛ » *to do* (instrumental or locative: « kārītē < karantē < karantahi, karantahī » (see p. 676). Employed with the genitive for comparison, e.g., আমার কর্তে শ্যাম ভালো « Rāmērṣ kōrtē Śyāmṣ bhālō » *Ś. is better than R.* This is a form which is not common in the « sādhu-bhāsa ».

(4) করিয়া « kārīyā » > করে « kār'rē=kōrē » *having done*: added to the locative oblique in « -ē » to denote the instrumental (see *ante*, p. 747). Used with an adverbial force after adjectives and nouns (the commoner practice at the present day being to use it after the base and not after the « -ē » oblique): e.g., জোর করে « jōrṣ kōrē » *forcibly, lit. doing force*; টান করে « ṭānṣ kōrē » *tightly*; ভালো করে « bhālō kōrē » *well, etc.*; ŚKK., p. 14, একজন নাহিব আছে করিআ বহনে « ē-kājā sādhibā āmhē kārīṣ jātanē » *we shall*

*do this work carefully*; p. 250, তখন রাধা রোব করিখা গম্বনে জাএ « tākhanā Rādhā rōṣā kārīṣ sātwarā gāmanē jāē » *angrily then R. goes with quick steps*; etc.

(5) কর্তৃক « kārṭṭṭkṣ » (generally pronounced [kottrik]): a *ts.* word, used as an instrumental post-position, either loosely compounded with the stem, or used with the genitive: 'having (the preceding noun or pronoun) as the doer': e.g., বিদ্যাসাগর কর্তৃক লিখিত « Bidyāsāgar-kārṭṭṭkṣ likhitā » *written by Vidyāsāgara*; ঔগকর্তৃক দৃষ্ট « t̄ṣhā-kārṭṭṭkṣ dr̄ṣṭā » *seen by him*. A learned form, which became established during the early 19th century.

(6) কাছে « kāchē » *near by, beside* = locative of কাছ « kāchṣ » *side, neighbourhood*. Like the other derivative from « kakṣa », viz. কাঁধ « kākṣṣ » (< MIA. \*kaṅkha = kakkha; cf. pp. 178-179), কাছ « kāchṣ » also meant *waist* in MB.: e.g., ŚKK., p. 287, কাছের কলসী « kāchērā kālāsī »; p. 250, কাছের কলসীএ « kāchērā kālāsīē » *in the jar held on the waist, beside কাখেত কলসী করি* « kākṣhē-tā kālāsī kārī » *placing the jar on the waist* (p. 259). কাছে « kāchē » is used with the genitive to indicate the locative. The base কাছ « kāchṣ » (or its genitive কাছের « kāchērṣ ») + থাকিয়া, থেকে « thākiyā, thēkē » *having been, or হইতে, হ'তে* « hāitē, hōtē » *being*, verbal post-positionals for the ablative, are also used along with the genitive of the noun or pronoun to indicate its ablative.

(7) কারণ « kārāṅṣ » *cause*: used with the genitive, in an instrumental, dative as well as ablative sense: very common from eMB. downwards: e.g., ŚKK., p. 1, কংসের কারণে হএ সৃষ্টির বিনাশে « Kaṅsērā kārāṅṣ hāē sṛṣṭirā bināśē » *through Kamsa takes place the destruction of the world*.

(8) ঘর, ঘরে « ghārā, ghārē » *house, in the house* (gr̄ha): used colloquially over a great part of Bengal to indicate the oblique cases in the plural. It is used with the genitive of the noun, and optionally with the « -ā » oblique of pronouns. In the employment of this post-position, there seems to have been some influence of the « -k-, -g- » genitive for the plural (pp. 756, 757). Variations are ঘোরে « ghōrē », গরে « gārē ». (Cf. the plural use of মহল « māhālṣ »: p. 738).

(9) চাহিতে « cāhitē », present participle locative of চাহ « √cāh » *look at, want*: used in comparison, generally with the genitive and occasionally

with the stem. The beginnings of the post-positional use of this present participle form go back to OB.: « cāhantē » already figures in the Caryās (e.g., Caryā 31): but the old sense of *seeing* is still predominant in eMB. (SKK.)

(10) চাহিয়া, চেয়ে « cāhiyā > cāyē » *having looked at*, indeclinable conjunctive of চাহ « √cāh »: used in comparison, with the genitive. This use seems to be old. Cf. Early Eastern Hindi as in Tulasi-dāsa: « kahā dhanu kulisahū cāhi kaṭhōrā: kahā syāmala mṛdu-gāta kisōrā » *where is the bow, more tough than even the thunderbolt, and where the lad, darkish and soft of limb?*

(11) ছাড়ি « chārī » *let loose* = passive participle of ছাড় « √chār » *give up, loosen*: used with the stem in the sense of 'without,' e.g., আনাছাড়ি « āmā-chārī » *without me*, হুক্কাছাড়ি « hūkā-chārī » *without the hookah*, etc.; or 'in addition to,' e.g., তা ছাড়ি « tā-chārī » *in addition to that* < *letting that alone*.

(12) জন্তে « jānyē » locative, beside the stem form জন্ত « jānyā » = *for the sake of, because of, caused by*: a ts. word, employed with the genitive to express the dative relation.

(13) ঠাই « ṭhāi » *place* (< sthāma-): dative or locative post-position, used with the genitive of the noun. An old post-position in Bengali: e.g., SKK., p. 142, কহ মোর ঠাই « kāhā mōrā ṭhāi » *tell me*; p. 200, এবে আকাক পাঠারিল তোর ঠাই « ēbē ābhākā pāṭhāyilā tōrā ṭhāi » *now me he has sent before thee*. Cf. NB. সবঠাই মোর ঘর আছে « sabā-ṭhāi mōrā ḡharā ṣohē » *I have a home everywhere*. A locative of « ṭhāi »—ঠাই-এ « ṭhāi-(y)ē » is also found: this ঠাইয়ে « ṭhāiyē » becomes in the Standard Colloquial ঢেয়ে, তেয়ে « ṭhēñē, ṭhēyē », and in Calcutta « ṭhēñē » is changed to ঢেয়ে « ṭhēñē »—the change of « -ñ- » to « -ṅ- » here is curious ঠাই « ṭhāi » is found in dialectal Bengali as ঢে « ṭhē », ঠি « ṭhi ».

(14) তরে « tārē » *for, for the sake of*, from অন্তরে « antār-ē », a genuine *tbl.* form, with regular MB. change « -nt- » to « -t- ». Used with the genitive of the noun, and the oblique of the pronouns of the first and second persons optionally. Found in OB. as « antarē »; e.g., Caryā 10, « tōhōrā antarē » *for thee, for thy sake*. In the SKK., the word occurs as



the regular form তরে *< tārē >* only twice, and as আতরে *< antārē >* over a dozen times: (for *< ā- >*, see *supra*, p. 314). The latter is apparently an archaic literary form.

(15) থাকিয়া *>* থেকে *< thākiyā > thēkē >* *having stopped at*: also dialectally \*থেকে, থে *< thēē, thē >* (\*thāiā): affixed direct to the stem (or to the locative oblique in *< -ē >* or *< -tē >*) of neuter nouns, and to the genitive of names of sentient beings, to indicate the ablative. Found in Early MB.: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 347, দূরথাকি *< dūra thāki >* *from a distance*. Gujarātī has the same conjunctive used similarly for the ablative, *vis.*, *< thakī >*.

(16) থানে, থানত *< thānē, thānā-tā >*, locative of থান *< thāna >* (sthāna): used with the genitive to express the dative and locative relations. Examples are numerous in the ŚKK and other MB. works. In NB., it is mainly dialectal (in East and North Bengali, where it is found as থনে, তনে, থোন, তোন, থুন, তুন *< thānē, tānē, thōn, tōn, thun, tun >*).

(17) দিয়া, দিরে, দে *< diyā > diyē > dē >* *having given*. This conjunctive form is used ordinarily with the base of the noun (which is in accusative relation to it), but occasionally also with the genitive, to express instrumentality or intermediacy. Found from early times: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. ২২, হাথ দিখা দেখ *< hāthā diḥ dēkhā >* *feel with the hand*, etc.

(18) দ্বারা *< dvārā >*: *ts.*, instrumental of *< dvār >* *door*, = *through the instrumentality of*. Forms the instrumental, with the genitive (and also with the oblique base in *< -ā >* in the case of pronouns). This is in its origin a learned form, but it has become sufficiently popular to be used in familiar conversation in NB.

(19) নিমিত্তে *< nimittē >* (locative), নিমিত্ত *< nimittā >* (stem) = *mark, target, sign >* *objective*: a *ts.* word, forming the dative with the genitive of the noun.

(20) नीচে *< nicē >* *below*: used with the genitive to express the locative.

(21) পর *< pārā >* from *< upari >* of Skt. = *above, upon*. The full form উপর *< upārā >* also occurs, as also the Bengali locatives পরে *< pārē >*, উপরে *< upārē >*, as if from a base *< upara >*. Occasionally also strengthened by তে *< -tē >*, as পরেতে *< pārē-tē >*, উপরেতে *< upārē-tē >*. Used with the genitive to form the locative. *E.g.*, ŚKK., p. 377, তনের উপর

« tānērā (sts. < stana) upārā » ; pp. 388, 389, গাছের উপর « gāchērā upārā » *on the tree*. But cf. ŚKK., p. 80, বোম্বাট উপর « khōmpā-tā upārā » *on the coiffure*, where « upārā » is used along with the locative in « -tā ».

(22) পাশে « pākḥē » *by the side of*, locative of « pākḥḥ » (pakḥa) : found in North Bengal : used like পাশে « pāsē » below (See *supra*, p. 121.)

(23) পাছে, পিছে (পীছে) « pāchē, pichē (piohē) » *after*. Used with the genitive (as in the corresponding Sanskrit expression). OIA. « paścā(t) » > MIA. « pacchā, pacchā » > NIA. « pācha », locative « pāchē ». The form « pichē, pichē » has an anomalous « -i- », which is found also in the Hindi « pichē ». Beames explains the « -i- » as follows: « \*paścē » > \*pah(a)cē », on the analogy of « niścaya » > nihacē » : « \*pah(a)cē » > \*pahicē » > pīcē », then « pichē » with aspiration through influence of « pācīcē » (Comp. Grammar, II, p. 297). But there is no need to postulate a *ts* stage for this *bbh.* word: it is more likely that there was the influence of a word like « piccha » *feathers of the tail*, or « nica » *below down* (also a post-position), or of « pṛṣṭha » > পিঠ « piṭḥḥ » *back* (cf. পিছমোড়া « piḥḥ-mōrā » beside পিঠ-মোড়া « piṭḥḥ-mōrā » *with arms pinioned behind the back*), in altering « -ā- » to « -i- ». The « -i- » form might well be a borrowing from a Western dialect, and not native Bengali: and in the derived adjective and denominative verb in Bengali at least, the « -i- » is resultant, due to Umlaut and Vowel Harmony : পিছ > পাছ, পাছু « pāchā » > pāchu, pāchuā », adjective, > পেছো, পেছু « pēchō, pēchu » > পিছু « pichu » ; verb পিছুমান « pīchūmānā » > পেছোনো, পেছুনো, পিছুনো pēchōnō, pēchunō, pichunō » *to fall back*.

(24) পানে « pānē » *at, towards, in the direction of*: e.g., মুখ পানে « mukh(ā)-pānē » *at the face, towards the face*, আমা(র) পানে « āmā(rā)-pānē » *at me, towards me*, ঘর or ঘরের পানে « ghārḥ (ghārērḥ) -pānē » *in the direction of the house*. This post-position occurs in Assamese as পানে « pānē ». The origin of it is obscure, but phonetically it can be from either OIA. « prajñā » *knowledge* (cf. p. 305, *supra*), or « panna » (√pad + na) *reached, arrived at*.

(25) পাশে « pāsē » : locative of পাশ « pāśḥ » *side* (pārśva). Forms the locative of proximity with the genitive : ŚKK., p. 7, এহার পাশে « ēhārā pāsē » *by his side*, রাধার পাশে, কাছের পাশে « Rādhārā pāsē, Kāchērā pāsē »

etc. We have also (in poetry especially) पाप « pāpā », which is the old locative in « -i », = « \*pāsi < pārśvē » (see p. 312).

(26) বই « bāi » *without, apart form, in addition to*: apparently from an OIA. « vyatīta ». Used with the base. In MB., this post-position is written বহি, বহী « bāhi, bāhi », as if from বহ « √bāh » *carry, bear, be carried away* (indeclinable conjunctive forms of which are বহি « bāhi » and বহিয়া « bāhiyā »). The « -h- » however is euphonic (see 'supra', p. 341), and the OIA. passive participle « vyatīta » is the source: if it were বহি, বহিয়া « bāhi, bāhiyā », the Standard Colloquial form would have been বয়ে « bōyē », which is not the case. This post-position occurred in eMB.: cf. ŚKK., pp. 192, 193, হাটে দান দেহ এ বাটে বহী « hāṭā dāna dēhā ē bāṭē bāhi » *pay the tax in the market, apart from (the tax) on the road*, ভিন কি দিবোর এ বাট বহী « bhinaḥ ki dibō-rā ē bāṭa bāhi » *what else shall I give, in addition to (that on) the road*.

(27) বাহির « bāhirā », modern locative বাহিরে « bāhirē », Standard Coll. বার, বের « bārā, bērā », বাহিরে « bāirē » = *outside* (MIA. \*bāhiri, \*bāhirē < bāhira: cf. OIA. bāhiḥ, bāh-ya). Employed with the genitive.

(28) বিনা « binā », by Vowel Harmony বিনে « binē », also বিনি « bini »: from the OIA. « vinā » *without*. This word is found both as preposition (a rare thing in NIA.) and as post-position. Thus বিনা অহুমতি or অহুমতিতে « binā ānumāti, ānumāti-tē » or বিনা হকুম « binā hukum(ē) », beside অহুমতি or হকুম বিনা « ānumāti, hukum binā » *without permission*; বিনা হাতা, হাতা বিনা « binā hātā, hātā binā » *without handle*; etc. বিনি « bini » is a rare form, now occurring only prepositionally in a few expressions like বিনি-সুতার হার « bini-sutārā hārā » *a necklet without a cord*, বিনি দুঃখে « bini duḥkhē » *without sorrow*. It is found both pre- and post-positionally in the ŚKK., e.g., p. 212, বিনি বতনে « bini jātanē » *without any trouble*, beside p. 215, কাহ বিনী আভাগিনী গোপসুভতি « Kāhā bini ābhāgini gōpā-jubāti » *without Kṛṣṇa, the milkmaid girls are unhappy*. বিনি « bini » may be a locative form, from a nominalised use « \*bina » of the Skt. particle.

(29) বিহনে « bihānē », OB. « bihāni, bihunē » (Early Oṛiyā = bihunā) *without, in the absence of*. It seems to be the Skt. « vibhina » in the locative, with influence of « √bhū » > -hu-. Caryā 13, « niṇḍa-bihunē suinā jāiē »

*just as a dream* (suina = svapna) *without sleep*; 23, « jivantā-bhēlā-bihaṇi maśla » *dead without even having been a living one*; 35, « cia-bibunnē pāpa na punna » *without mind, no sin, no merit*. In MB. and NB., this post-position is used with either the stem or the genitive: cf. ŚKK., p. 172, চুন বিহনে বেহ তাম্বুল তিতা « cunā bihānē jēnhā tāmbulā titā » *just as the betel leaf is bitter without lime*; Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 9, তোমার বিহনে বাহা হাড়িব জীবন « tōmār(ā) bihānē bāchā chāṛibā jīban(ā) » *in thy absence, my son, I shall give up life*; etc.

(30) ভিত (ভীত), modern locative ভিতে (ভীতে) « bhita (bhītā), bhite (bhītē) » *in the wall, bank, side*: from « bhitti ». Used with the genitive, to indicate direction: e.g., ŚKK., p. 388, বঙ্গনার ভীতে « Jāmunārā bhite » *towards the Jumna*. Rare in the NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā ».

(31) ভিতর, ভিতরে « bhitarā, bhitarē » *within*, locatives (the first form < \*bbitari < \*abhyantarē): used with the genitive.

(32) মাঝে « mājhē » *in the middle*, locative form (< madhya). Compounded with the stem, or used with the genitive: NB. বনমাঝে কি মনমাঝে « bānā-mājhē ki mānā-mājhē » *in the woods, or within the heart*; MB., ŚKK., বন্দাবন মাঝে « Bṛndābānā-mājhē » *within Brindāban*, মথুরা পুরের মাঝে « Māthurā-purērā mājhē » *within the city of Mathurā*, etc. This post-position is a characteristic one of Bengali, and is found from the OB. stage: e.g., Caryā 2, « kōṛi-mājhē (= mājhē) ōku-hiahi » *in one heart, in the midst of (=among) 10 millions* (see ante, p. 748); 14, « Gangā-Jaunā-mājhērē bahāi nāi » *the boat floats in the Ganges and the Jumna*; 30, « uittā gaṇa-mājhē adabhūā » *risen in the sky, wonderful*; etc.

The locative in বি « -mi » in Haijong, from sts. « \*mahī, ma(d)dhī » = « madhyē », has been noted before (p. 751). Haijong has also the forms বিনি « -mini » and নি « -ni » which are difficult to explain: বিনি « mini » may be from « \*mahī » with « hī » changed to « -ni », and « ni » would in that case appear to be a contracted form of « mini ». Or it may be the affix « -hī » as added to the noun—ঘরনি « ghārā-ni » < \*gharanhi < « gharahī ». Or is it the locative of a help-word « karṇa » *edge, side* (« -kaṇṇahi » > \*(k)annaī > -ni »?), which is found for the genitive and accusative in W. Hindi, Panjābī, Rājasthānī, etc. ?

(33) লাগিয়া > লগে « lāgiyā > lāgē », poetical লাগি « lāgi » = *having come in touch with*: contracted dialectally to লাগে, লগে, লয়ে, লায়, লই, লে « lāgē, lāgē, lāyē, lāy, lāi, lē ». Used with the base, or the genitive, to indicate the dative of interest, 'for the sake of, with the object that.' This postpositional form has become rather rare in the NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » and in the Standard Colloquial, but it is exceedingly common MB. and in the archaic poetical language: e.g., সুখের লাগিয়া এ ঘর বাঁধিছ « sukhērā-lāgiyā ē ghārāḥ bādhinu » *for the sake of happiness this house I built* (Caṇḍīdāsa); রূপ লাগি আঁধি বুঝে « rūpā-lāgi āñhi jbuṛē » *the eyes shed tears for (a sight of) the beauty* (c. 1590: VSP., p. 1324); এইক্ষণে তোমালাগি ছাড়িব পরাণ « ēi kṣaṇē tōmā-lāgi chāṛibā pārāṇā » *even at this moment for your sake I shall give up my life* (Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 9); etc., etc.

(34) সঙ্গ « sāṅgē »: instrumental or locative-oblique of the *ts*. « sāṅga » *company*: used in MB. and NB. with the genitive, but in OB. with the stem, to mean 'along with': e.g., Caryā 32, « dujjana-sāṅgē » *with a bad man*; ŚKK., p. 169, বড়ারির সঙ্গ « baṛāyirā sāṅgē » *with the old dame*; etc.

(35) সনে « sānē » *with*, instrumental of « samam, sama- ». In OB. the base « sama » (pronounced undoubtedly « saṁa ») is used with the instrumental or oblique: e.g., Caryā 10, « ā lō Ḍombi, tōē-sama karibe ma sāṅga » *O Ḍombi, with thee shall I have companionship*; Caryā 33, « ṣiālā ṣihē-sama jujhāi » *the jackal fights with the lion*. The instrumental or locative « \*sama-hi=sāṁē > sānē, sāyē » seems to have been in use in OB., and even in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, as the Maithilī equivalent « sañē, sayē » would show. By the end of the 14th century, it became সনে « sānē »: e.g., ŚKK., p. 19, দেবসনে « dēbā-sānē » *with a god*; p. 382, দসনের সনে « dāsānērā sānē » *with the teeth*. Dialectally in North Bengali, it occurs as সানে « sānē ». The earlier form সবে « sāmē » is also found in the ŚKK. (over a dozen times).

The W. Hindi « sō » and probably also « sē » *with, by* are from « sama ».

(36) সাথ, সাথে « sāthā, sāthē » *with*, from OIA. « sārtha » *having interest in*. Employed with the genitive, to denote association. This word is more commonly used in East Bengali, West Bengali (especially

the Standard Coll.) preferring সঙ্গ *sāṅgō*. Not found in the ŚKK., which is in Early West Bengali.

(37) শুধু, স্বধা, শুধ(ী) *«suddhā, suddhā. (suddhā, -ā)»* is used after the noun or pronoun put in the dative in কে *«kē»* or (কে) *«-dērṣ»* to indicate the dative of inclusion: e.g., তাকে শুধ ব'লতে হবে *«tākē suddhā bōltē hābē»* one must tell him also, ছেলের(কে) শুধ নিয়ে *«chēlēderṣ (-kē) suddhā niyē»* taking also the boys, etc. It is compounded with nouns and pronouns as an inclusive affix: see *supra*, p. 706.

(38) হইতে (হেতে) *«hāitē»* > হ'তে *«hōtē»* being. In MB., this is found also as হন্তে *«hāntē»*, beside হোঁতে *«hōntē»*, হইতে *«hāitē»*, হোঁতে *«hātyē = hāitē»*, হোঁতে *«hōitē»*, হন্তে *«hāntē»*, হনে *«hanē»*. With the base, it indicates the ablative. It is the present participle of  $\sqrt{h}$  or অহ *«√hā, āh»* to be = OIA. *«√as»*: *«\*as-ant- > \*ahanta- > \*ahenta- > \*ahita- > hāita-»*, locative or oblique *«\*ahanatahi» > \*ahitē»* > হইতে *«hāitē»*, NB. হ'তে *«hōtē»*. There are phonological reasons for affiliating হইতে *«hāitē»* to *«√as»\*ahitē»* and not to *«√hō, hū > \*hōitē»*: (see *infra*, under Verb: 'Substantive and Defective Verbs.'). The MB. dialectal form হনে *«hānē»* shows change of *«-nt- > -t-»* to *«-n-»* on the analogy of *«karanti > করেন kārēṅṣ»* does, do (honorific): and possibly there is some influence of সনে *«sānē»* (No. 35, above). Equivalents of হইতে *«hāitē»* are apparently the Magahi *«-satī»* and Bhōjpurīyā *«-santē» = from, by* (Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, pp. 228, 328), where the sibilant has been preserved.

The use of *«-santa-»* as a genitival post-position is very old, and has been found, at least in MIA. of the South-west, as early as the Transitional MIA. period (see *supra*, p. 753). At the present day, this employ of *«-sant-, -hant-»* obtains in the Western languages, Sindhi and Rājasthāni (*«-sand-»* in Sindhi, and *«-handō, -handī»* in Western Rājasthāni), and in the Dardic speech of Kashmir (*«-hondū»*, beside *«-sonḍū < -s handū»* with *«-s»* from the genitive base to which it is affixed: cf. Grierson in 'Lallā-vākyāni,' London, 1920, p. 139). It has been also suggested that the Panjābi genitive post-position *«-dā, -dī»* has developed out of the same present participle *«-handa»* (Beames, II, p. 291), but that is exceedingly problematic, and is not at all attested, and it seems that here we have another

post-positional form, in all probability a derivative from OIA.  $\langle \sqrt{dā} \rangle$  to give (see *supra*, p. 164). This genitive use is not met with in the Eastern languages. Early Assamese, like Bengali, uses the locative oblique হতে  $\langle hāntē \rangle$ , beside the base form হত্ব  $\langle hāntā \rangle$  (not found in Bengali), as an ablative affix, either with the noun base, or with the locative in ত  $\langle -tā \rangle$  e.g., দুই-হতে  $\langle dui-hāntē \rangle$  from two, মন-হতে  $\langle mānā-hāntē \rangle$  from the mind, নগরী-হতে  $\langle nāgarī-hāntē \rangle$  from the city, beside মোত-হতে  $\langle mō-tā-hāntē \rangle$  from me, ললাটত-হতে  $\langle lālāṭā-tā-hāntē \rangle$  from the forehead, etc. In later Assamese, however, হতে, হত্ব  $\langle hāntē, hāntā \rangle$  no longer feature for the ablative. But we have a form হৈত্ব  $\langle hāitv \rangle$ , certainly from this  $\langle hāntā \rangle$ , as a plural affix for rational nouns, to indicate only members of a trade, caste or group (Hēma-candra Barua, 'Asamiyā Vyākaraṇa,' p. 18) : e.g., ছাত্রহৈত্ব  $\langle chātrāḥ-hāitv \rangle$  students, কঁহার-হৈত্ব  $\langle kāhārāḥ-hāitv \rangle$  bell-metal workers, ডোমহৈত্ব  $\langle ḍōmāḥ-hāitv \rangle$  people of the Ḍōm caste, etc. (see *supra*, p. 739). The use of হৈত্ব  $\langle hāitv \rangle$  for the plural is possibly based on an earlier use of হত্ব  $\langle hāntā \rangle$  as a genitive post-position (as in Sindhi, Rājasthāni, and Kāśmīri) in addition to an ablative one, in the Eastern languages : which, in that case, would parallel the development of the Bengali ঝা, ঞ্জা  $\langle -rā, -erā \rangle$  as a plural affix from the genitive ঝ, ঞ্জ  $\langle -rā, -ērā \rangle$ .

In the form হইতে  $\langle hāitē \rangle$  there also has been the influence of the present participle of  $\sqrt{bhū}$   $\langle \sqrt{bhū} \rangle$  ( $\langle bhū \rangle$ ), as both these substantive roots,  $\langle as \rangle$  and  $\langle bhū \rangle$ , have merged into one form in Bengali. The present participle of  $\langle \sqrt{bhū} \rangle = \langle bhavant- \rangle$  hontā, is found to be employed as an ablative elsewhere in IA.—e.g., in Western Rājasthāni and Gujarāṭi as  $\langle hūtau, tāi, tu, thāi, thī \rangle$  (cf. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.,' § 72), and in Khas-kurā, where it occurs as  $\langle bhandā \rangle$ . In Western Apabhraṅsa  $\langle *bhavantaū, hontaū \rangle$  ( $\langle \sqrt{bhū} \rangle$ ) were undoubtedly in use as ablative-forming post-positions, like  $\langle ahanta-, asanta- \rangle$  ( $\langle \sqrt{as} \rangle$ ) in Māgadhī Apabhraṅsa.

These post-positional present participles of Late MIA. are certainly distinct from the Second MIA. ablative affixes  $\langle -hip-tō, -sum-tō \rangle$ , which look like compounds formed of the OIA. inflexions ( $\langle -hip \rangle =$  instrumental plural, and locative singular ; or  $\langle -sum \rangle =$  locative plural ; plus  $\langle -tō \rangle$  < OIA.

-taḥ, -st + -taḥ > ablative affixes), although the suffixes < -hiṃtō, -suptō > and the Apabhraṅśa present participles < hontaū, \*santaū > have been sought to be connected with each other (cf. Hoernle, Gaudian Grammar, § 376).

(39) হইলে, হ'লে < hāilē > hōlē > *on having been*, conditional conjunctive of the substantive verb, is used with the base or the dative in < -kē > to mean 'in that case,' 'on such-and-such or so-and-so remaining.' The negative form নহিলে, নহেলে, ন'লে < nāhilē, nāilē, nōlē > is used also with the base or the dative in < -kē > as a post-position meaning *without*.

A number of *tes*. are also used as post-positions: e.g., < anusāra, anukrama, anuyāyī [onuḥḥai], bhinna, viṣaya, vyatīta, vyatirēka > etc., which are mostly put in the locative or oblique and used with the genitive or the mere base.

The Perso-Arabic form সেবার, সওয়ার, সহার, সওয়া, সফা < sēwāy, sāwāy, sāhāy, sāvā, sāhā > *besides, other than, over and above*, is used in Bengali with the base or the genitive, generally with the demonstrative pronouns, rather rarely with nouns. It has been borrowed from the Hindōstānī, where it is both a preposition and a post-position (Hind. sawā, siwā, siwā-e, sawā-e, < Persian < Arabic siwā [swy] = *extra, additional*). The word বেগার < bēgār > *without* (Perso-Arabic ba-gair) is sometimes found, either as a preposition or as a post-position, exactly like বিনা < binā > (p. 772)

#### [E] ENCLITIC DEFINITIVES OR NUMERATIVES.

510. Bengali like most NIA. languages possesses some post-positional affixes or words which are added to nouns or numerals to define the nature of the object or article referred to. Pronouns other than those of the first and second persons also take these post-positions, which are attached to the words and practically become a part of them, the case-affixes coming after them. These post-positional words, full or attenuated, are commonly described as *articles*. When a noun (or pronoun) is in the singular, the article or definitive comes after it; when in the plural (and pronouns are not used in the plural here), it must be qualified by a numeral, with which the post-positional is combined: where the number is vague or unknown, the definitive is not used. Where the numeral-*cum*-enclitic



precedes the noun, it becomes an attributive adjective, and does not take the case affixes, which are added to the noun : but where numeral-cum-enclitic follows the noun, it is loosely compounded with the latter, and the affixes are attached at the end of the entire group. Thus, *মানুষ* « mānuṣṣ » *man* : একজন মানুষ « ēkṣ-jānṣ mānuṣṣ » *one-person man = a man* ; একটা or একটা মানুষ « ēkṣ-ṭā, ēkṣ-ṭī mānuṣṣ » *a or one man* ; একজন মানুষের « ēkṣ-jānṣ mānuṣṣērṣ » *of a man*, একজন মানুষকে « ēkṣ-jānṣ mānuṣṣ-kē » *to a man* ; but মানুষটা, মানুষটি « mānuṣṣ-ṭā, mānuṣṣ-ṭī » *the man*, মানুষটার, মানুষটির « mānuṣṣ-ṭā-rṣ, mānuṣṣ-ṭī-rṣ » *of the man*, মানুষটাকে, মানুষটিকে « mānuṣṣ-ṭā-kē, mānuṣṣ-ṭī-kē » *to the man* ; দুটা, দুটি or দুজন মানুষ « du-ṭā, du-ṭī, du-jānṣ mānuṣṣ » *two men*, genitive দুটা, দুটি or দুজন মানুষের « du-ṭā, du-ṭī, du-jānṣ mānuṣṣērṣ », but মানুষ দুজনের « mānuṣṣ-du-janērṣ » *of the two men*, মানুষ-দুটিকে, « mānuṣṣ-du-ṭī-kē » *to the two men* ; etc.,

The definitives are used with nouns in the qualifying genitive, e.g., নীচের টার « nichērṣ-ṭā-rṣ » *of the one below*, উপরের খানা থেকে « upārērṣ-khānā-thēkē » *from the piece at the top*, পাশের জনকে « pāśērṣ-jānṣ-kē » *to the one beside*, etc. When the definitive is placed *before* the numeral, which qualifies the noun, instead of *after* it, the sense becomes, on the contrary, vague and indefinite as to the number : e.g., জন দুই মানুষ « jānṣ-dui mānuṣṣ », or মানুষ জন দুই « mānuṣṣ-jānṣ-dui » *about or some two men*, gen. জন দুই মানুষের or মানুষ জন দুইয়ের « mānuṣṣ-jānṣ-duiērṣ, jānṣ-dui mānuṣṣērṣ ». This usage is certainly old in the language : it is found in the Early Maithili of the 'Varṇa-ratnākara' (*supra*, pp. 102-103). The enclitics টা (টা, টে), টী « -ṭā (-ṭō, -ṭē), -ṭī » are not used in this way to precede the numeral, as it is not an entire word any longer. To emphasise the vagueness, the indefinite forms of the numerals (with এক « -ēk ») are also used : e.g., জন দুই or জন দুইয়েক « jānṣ-dui, -dui-y-ēk », খান-দশ or দশেক « khānṣ-dāśṣ, -dāś-ēkṣ ».

The employment of these enclitic words or fragments of words lacks the range and variety of the numerative or qualifying words of many other languages, e.g., Chinese (cf. R. K. Douglas, 'Chinese Manual,' London, 1889, pp. 64-66), and Japanese (e.g., H. J. Weintz, 'Japanese Grammar Self-Taught,' London, 1904, pp. 32-34), although there is some resemblance in the general principle.

Common Numeratives of Bengali, and their Origin:

(1) খান, খানী < khāṇḍ, khāṇā >, diminutive খানী, খানী < khānī, khānī > (originally feminine: see pp. 672-673) = a piece (< khāṇḍa >: see p. 365). In NB., it is used by preference to specialise objects of rectangular or flat form, or objects which have a frame-work. But in the ŚKK., it is used in an expression like নাতিনী খানী < nātini-khānī > *the (little) granddaughter* (p. 11: cf. also note at p. 433 of the ŚKK., where is quoted from Early Assamese কন্যাখানী < kanyā-khānī > *the little daughter*). This numerative was thus established in Bengali by the eMB. period at least. Cf. also বেটিল কুড়িা (= কুড়িয়া > কুড়ে) খান < bēṭhilā kuṛ(h)iā-khānī > *surrounded the cottage* (Kṛttivāsa, ‘Uttara-kāṇḍa,’ p. 58), সাঁতারিয়া আনে ভুগু অর্জুনের শরীর-খান < sātāriyā āne Bṛḡu Arjunēṣ śārīṛ-khāṇḍ > *B. swims and brings the body of A.* (ibid, p. 65), দুইখান হাত < dui-khāṇḍ hāt > *the two hands* (ibid, p. 92); etc.

(2) গাছ, গাছী < gāchḍ, gāchā >, diminutive গাছী, গাছী < gāchī, gāchī > = a long piece, a ‘stick,’ a ‘tree’ (MIA. < gaccha >: see p. 472): used with reference to thin and long articles. This is not found in eMB., and seems to have been established in its numerative function during the lMB. period.

(3) গোটা < gōṭā >, diminutive গুটা, গুটি < guṭī, guṭī > = one piece, one whole, one round object. It occurs also as গোট < gōṭḍ >, and is found in Hindōstānī as an independent word meaning a pebble or stone, a round object, a piece, a man (as in a game). The word is of uncertain origin, but doubtless the Skt. < guṭīkā >, Bengali গুটা < guṭī > a small globe or ball, a pill, a pearl, a pustule, the cocoon of the silk-worm is the same word. The source of it may be the Skt. root < ḡṛ > to sprinkle, moisten, which figures in the ‘Dhātu-pāṭhas’: a form like < \*ḡṛ-ta > to mean a drop could well have given < \*gurta >, whence < \*guṭṭa, \*gōṭṭa >, whence the NIA. forms, as well as the Skt. < guṭīkā >. The Skt. word has been also sought to be connected with < gōla > round and < guṭa > molasses. The word গোটা < gōṭā > was derived from < gōṣṭha-ka > by Hoernle (Gauḍian Grammar, p. 275), but that should give an aspirate in NIA., e.g., < \*gōṣṭhā >, whereas all the actual NIA. forms—Western and Eastern Hindi, Bihārī, Bengali, Oṛiyā and Assamese,

have <-ṭ- > and not <-ṭh- >. The form <gōṭā > figures as a post-positional numerative in Bihārī; e.g., in Maithilī <duhū-gōṭā > *the two pieces*; also in Oriyā, in Bengali, and in Assamese; and consequently it is likely that the numerative employ of this word goes back to Māg. Ap. We have it in Early Maithilī, and it is extremely common in Early Bengali: e.g., ŚKK. বাণী গুটি <bāṣī-guṭi > *the flute*, several times, and Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' বাণ গোটা <bāṇḍ-gōṭā > *the arrow* (p. 28). In NB. গোটা <gōṭā > is quite common as a noun meaning *whole*; its numerative use, however, has become considerably curtailed.

(4) জন <jānḍ > *person*, which can be either *both*, or *ts.*, is used to indicate men and women. The use of this word is found in eMB., and in all likelihood it goes earlier: e.g., Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 2, ভাই দুইজনে <bhāi dui-jānē > *the two brothers*, lit. *brother(s) two-persons*; 'Uttara-kāṇḍa,' p. 66, মাতাপিতা দুইজনে <mātā-pitā dui-jānē > *the two parents* (or *mother and father both*); etc.

(5) টা <-ṭā > (by Vowel Harmony টো <-ṭō > and টে <-ṭē >: p. 401), diminutive টী, টি <-ṭī, -ṭi >: used as the post-positional 'Definite Article,' meaning *an object, a whole*. For derivation and use, see *supra*, p. 686. The dialectal forms <-ḍā, -ḍī > have been noted before. In the Haijong (Maimansing) dialect, apparently it is this <-ṭā > <-ḍā > <-rā > that figures in forms like রাজার <rājā-rā > *the king*, মায়ের <māgu-rā > *the wife*, কথা <kāthā-rā > *the word*, etc. (LSI., V, I, pp. 216 ff).

টা, টী <-ṭā, -ṭī > are the most important definitives of Bengali. The employ of these is already well-established in the Early MB. period: e.g., ŚKK., p. 75 সোনার কটুয়া দুটি বানিকে পুরায় <sonārā kṭuā du-ṭi māṇikē purāyā > *causing the two (round) boxes of gold to be filled with gems*; Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 28, চকুটা <caḱṣu-ṭā > *the eye*; *ibid.*, p. 1, দুইটা ব্রাহ্মণ <dui-ṭi Brāhmanḍ > (*the*) *two Brāhmins*, দুটা হাত <duṭi hāṭṭ > *the two hands* etc., etc.

The <-ṭā > affix is found as টু <-ṭu > after the numeral এক <ekḱ > *one* (=ṭ-+u<-ū: p. 677); and when used post-positionally after a noun, <-ṭu > is extended to টুক <-ṭu-ḱ >, and further strengthened to টুকু <-ṭu-k-u >: <-ṭu, -ṭuḱ, -ṭuku > are all used to denote 'a small quantity

of any thing,' generally of fluids and of substances which are already in small fragments: e.g., একটু জল « êkṣ-ṭu jâlṣ » a little water, but জলটুক, টুক « jâlṣ-ṭukṣ, jâlṣ-ṭuku » the little water; একটু মুন « êkṣ-ṭu nunṣ » a little salt, a pinch of salt, মুনটুক « nunṣ-ṭuk(u) » that pinch of salt. The « -k- » in « -ṭukṣ, -ṭuku » looks like being the nominal or pleonastic affix (see ante, pp. 679 ff), but it may be from « êkṣ » one, as in the dialectal word টুক, টুয়েক « ṭukṣ, ṭuyēkṣ » a little (e.g., টুক, টুয়েক বাদে « ṭukṣ or ṭuyēkṣ bādē » a little later, as in West Rāḍha Bengali: = « -ṭu » diminutive + « êkṣ »).

(6) থান « thānṣ » flat piece, round or rectangular piece (< sthāna): e.g., কাগড় দুখান « kāpāṣṣ du-thānṣ » the two pieces of stuff, etc. Rather restricted in employ.

A few other words are similarly used as definitives. E.g., the Persian words তা « tā » sheet (« tah, tāh » fold, plait: দুতা কাগজ « du-tā kāgājṣ » two sheets of paper), and কেতা « kētā » piece (Ar. « qitā » cutting: নোট দু-কেতা « nōṭṣ du-kētā » two bank-notes). But they partake rather of the nature of English words like head ('five head of cattle'), sail ('ten sail of ships') than of enclitic definitives like the above.

## CHAPTER III

### THE NUMERALS

511. The numerals present one of the difficult phonetic problems of NIA. Their forms show a remarkable uniformity all over the NIA. area, a uniformity which is not in keeping with the several phonetic histories of the various NIA. speeches. The names for the cardinals in the different NIA. languages, instead of going through their proper MIA. forms back to OIA. (i.e., with each group showing independent and distinct forms with characteristic dialectal phonetic history, in general agreement with the phonology of the mass of words in the language), appear rather to be based on some standardised MIA. forms. These standardised forms originally belonged to some particular dialect of MIA., but they were early adopted in a standard dialect, a sort of Hindōstāni of ancient times (when they did not originally belong to it), whence they were imposed upon the vernacular speeches in the different tracts of the country; and the proper native forms in these latter vernaculars were generally superseded, although in some cases they have maintained themselves (e.g., Gujarātī « bē » Sindhī « b'ē » Marāthī « dōn » Bengali दूँ « dui » *two*, Panjābī « wih » *twenty*). From the very close resemblance between the common NIA. cardinals and those of Pali, the latter may be taken to represent the basis or source of the former. Pali is based on the speech of the Midland, with influences from the East as well as the North-West and the South-West: one Pali form for *twelve* is « bārasa », with « b- » for OIA. « dv- », which does not seem to be a proper Midland treatment of this group of consonants: the native Midland form was certainly « d(u)vādasā », also found in Pali, but we do not know when « bārasa » or an earlier « \*bādasā < dvādasā » from an outside dialect imposed itself in Pali, side by side with the native form in « d(u)vā- ». (Cf. p. 58, *supra*.) The form « bārasa », however, became established in the standard form of the Midland speech, and thence passed on to the other dialects, Ardha-māgadhī and Māgadhī included; although these latter continued to use their

proper forms « duvāḷasa, \*duvāḷasa » side by side with « bārasa », at least as a literary survival down to Second MIA. times. Even though the Pali forms give a sufficiently satisfactory ground work for those of NIA., there are certain irregularities in the development of the latter, which cannot be properly explained. Thus, intervocalic « -s- » became « -h- » in all the forms except those of the 9th decade in Western Panjābī and Sindhi: e.g., W. Panjābī « yārā(h), bārā(h) » = 11, 12; « wih, ikki(h), bāi(h) » = 20, 21, 22; « trih, battih » = 30, 32; « cāi(h), cutāi(h) » = 40, 44; « pañjāh, aṭhwañjā(h) » = 50, 58; « bāṭṭh, chēṭṭh » = 62, 66; « ihattar, pañjhattar » = 71, 75; but « assī, ikāsi » = 80, 81, where the sibilant is retained. In the other NIA. languages, in Marāṭhī, Gujarāṭī, W. Hindī, E. Hindī, Bihārī and Bengālī for instance, we find « -h- » for « -s- » regularly only in the 2nd and 8th decades, but irregularly in other cases (e.g., Hindī « bārāh » = 12, « bāḥattar » = 72 but « paḥīs » = 50, « aṭhwan » = 58); while the « -s- » remains in the third, fourth, fifth and ninth decades (e.g., Hindī « bāīs » = 22, « aṭīs » = 38, « byāllīs » = 42, « paḥāīs » = 85): and Oriyā and Assamese preserve the « -s- » in the eighth decade as well (the « s » in Assamese has become [x]). The Pali forms cannot explain all these anomalies among the NIA. speeches, because Pali represents an earlier state of things in MIA. when « -s- » remained a sibilant. The later Prakrits show a mix-up of « -s- » and « -h- » forms which it is now impossible to refer to local dialects of the Second MIA. stage. Forms like those that we find in Pali would seem to have been adopted in most MIA. dialects by the Second MIA. stage: then after the « -s- » > « -h- » change took place in one area (probably in N.-W. India: see *supra*, p. 549), that phonetic development also partially insinuated itself into the forms of the standard speech (some form of Śaurasēnī, in all likelihood), and thence also to the other dialects, but not uniformly.

The origin of the NIA. words for the numerals has been discussed by Bloch (cf. 'Langue Marathe,' pp. 214-223). The question is studied here from the point of view of Bengālī.

512. One =  $\text{𑂔𑂩𑂰}$  « ḅkḅ » [æ:k]: from eMB. [s:ko], OB. [e:ko] < MIA. « ḅkka », a MIA. *ts.* or *sts.* form, occurring side by side with the *thā*

« ēga, ēa » which occur in Prakrit but which are not so common (Jaina Ardha-māgadhī prefers « ēga », however). The Assamese « ē » = *one*, as in « ৰজন « ē-zānṣ » *one person*, « এটা « ē-tā » *one*, « হেজাৰ « ē-hēzārṣ » *one thousand* (= Bengali একজন, একটী, একহাজাৰ « ēkṣ-jānṣ, ēkṣ-tā, ēkṣ-hājārṣ »), shows that the *tbh.* « ēa » was as much a living form in Second and Third MIA. as the *sts.* « ṣkka ». A common and exceedingly important word, for the numeral *one*, it could not remain as the colourless « ēa », and hence the *ts.* form could easily come in to meet the necessity of a distinctive vocable.

In composition, « ēkṣ » remains unmodified (e.g., একুশ ekušṣ < ekuiṣṣ, ekāiṣṣ = 21; একত্রিশ, ত্রিশ ekṣ-t(i)riṣṣ, ekātriṣṣ = 31; একচাল্লিশ ekṣ-cāliṣṣ = 41; একান্ন ekānnā = 51; একষষ্টি ekṣ-ṣaṭṭi = 61; একাত্তর ekāttārṣ = 71; একান(ব)ই ekānāi, ekānābbāi = 91), except in এগার « ēgārā » = 11. Here the voicing difficult is to account for. It seems to be NIA., from a Late MIA. « \*ēkārāha », a standard form, < earlier « ṣkkārāha » which supplanted the *tbh.* « ēārāha ». The « -k- < MIA. -kk- » is preserved in Marāṭhī « akrā »; and Pañjābī « yārā » represents the normal MIA. *tbh.* « ēārāha- ». The Ardha-māgadhī « ēga » would only be confined to literature, and cannot be regarded as being responsible for the NIA. « ēgārā, igārah » etc. The 'Prākṛta-Pāṅgala' form « ēggārāha » seems only to be a Prakritisation of the NIA. word. In forms like « ēk-uṣṣ, ēkṣ-t(i)riṣṣ » etc., an analysis into « ēkṣ + biṣṣ (viṣṣ), ēkṣ + t(i)riṣṣ » was easy, and this analysis seems to have helped to bring in or retain the « -k- »; but there was not much scope for this analysis when « -daśa » became « -raha » in the MIA. « ṣkkārāha, \*ēkārāha, ēārāha » in the dialects, which mostly now have « -g- » or zero for the original « -k- ». In Gujarātī « oḡṣṇis » = 91, « oḡaṇṭis » = 99, « oḡaṇcālis » = 99, « aḡṇō-ṣṣi, oḡaṇyāṣi » = 79, however, it is not a case of voicing: « oḡaṇ- » is not from OIA. « ēkōna- », but is rather from a Skt. « \*apagaṇa (-viṣṣati) », etc. (Pischel, § 444).

In Chittagong Bengali, there is the voicing of « -k- » which characterises this dialect: « ēgṣ < ēkṣ »; also « ēkuā, ēkā > ēguā, ēgā, eggā, oḡgā »; (this « eguā, eggā » gives in Chittagong Bengali the numerative enclitic « -ggā » or « -gōā »: e.g., « du-ggā » = *two pieces*, « tsāir-gōā » = *four pieces*,

etc., which corresponds to « dui-gō, cār-gō » etc., of the Bihārī dialects); « ḡgāis̄ḡ, ḡgōis̄ḡ = ḡkuḡḡ, ḡkāis̄ḡ »; etc.

In other compound forms in Bengali, « -k- » of « ḡkḡḡ » is preserved: e.g., ḡkḡḡḡḡḡ « ḡkḡḡḡḡḡ » (= ḡka-putrikā). The « -k- » is lengthened or doubled in Bengali for emphasis, as in the case of the other consonants: e.g., ḡkḡḡḡḡḡḡ, ḡkḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ « ekkḡ-kālḡ, ekkḡ-bāre » *all at once* or *all at the same time*, etc. (see above, p. 448).

513. *Two* = ḡḡḡ « dui », from MIA. « duvḡ », properly the neuter form = « dvḡ » of OIA., which is already established in the eastern dialect of Aśōka for the masculine as well (e.g., Rock Edict I. Jaugada = « duvḡ majulā = dvāu mayūrāu »). ḡḡḡ « dui » is a genuine Prācya and Māgadhi form as preserved in Bengali. It is found in the other Magadhan speeches as well. Other typical NIA. forms, differing from that of the Eastern tracts, are « dō » (W. Hindī and Panjābī), « dōn » (Marāḡhī), « bḡ » (Gujarātī), « b'ḡ » (Sindhī) and « dḡ-ka » (Sinhalese).

In composition with nouns, the equivalent was « dō- » in MIA. In the Caryās, « dō » also occurs (beside « dui ») as an independent or qualifying form: e.g., « dui gharḡ » (Caryā 2), « dui māra (= mārga: Caryā 26), and « dō bhāḡḡ » (= vartma: Caryā 15). We have also a definitive « duā » as in « phīḡau duā » *let the two be split* or *destroyed*. In genuine Bengali compounds, the form « dō » becomes « du » when followed by a high vowel (see under 'Vowel Harmony,' *supra*, pp. 397-398): thus, ḡḡḡḡḡ « du-mukhō < dō-mukh-ā » *two-faced*, ḡḡḡḡḡ « du-chuḡḡḡ » < ḡḡḡḡḡ « dō-chuḡḡḡ » (see p. 472), ḡḡḡḡḡ « dupurḡ » < ḡḡḡḡḡḡ « dō-pābhārḡ » (dvi-prahara); but ḡḡḡḡḡḡ « dō-pāḡḡ » *a flower*, ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ « dō-ḡḡḡḡḡḡ » *of mixed breed* (dvi + aḡḡa + la-), ḡḡḡḡḡḡ « dō-bhāḡḡ » *interpreter*, etc. A common contraction of the adjectival ḡḡḡ « dui » is ḡḡ' « du »: e.g., ḡḡḡḡḡḡ > ḡḡḡḡḡ « du(i)-ḡḡ » > du-ḡḡ » *two pieces*, ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ « du(i)-ḡḡḡḡḡḡ » *two persons*. In such forms, ḡḡ « du » is regarded as forming compounds, and this fact influences the original « dō- » in many compounds to be changed to « du- »: e.g., ḡḡḡḡḡḡ > ḡḡḡḡḡḡ « du-hāḡḡ » > du-hāḡḡḡḡ, beside ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ « dō-hāḡḡḡḡ » *with both hands* (= *to one's best advantage*), ḡḡḡḡḡḡ « du-dhārḡ » beside ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ « dō-dhārḡ » *two-edged*, etc.



In MB. there is the form *দোহ* « dōhā » *two* (as in *দোহে* « dōhē » nominative and oblique, *দোহাৰ*, *দোহাৰ* « dōhā-rḥ, dōhā-kārḥ » genitive, *দোহাকে* « dōhā-kē » dative) which represents an Apabhraṅśa genitive « \*doṅhā, dōṅṇam ». Variants of this form, with the nasal from the genitive plural of the noun, are *দুইহ* « duihā » (as in the ŚKK.), and *দুহান* « duhānā » (as in the Early Assamese *দুহানো* « duhānō »).

In compound numerals, we find the forms *বা* « bā- » and *ব, বি, বে* « bā-, bi-, bē- » representing the OIA. « dvā-, dvi- »: thus *বাইশ* « bāiśḥ » (dvā-viśati), *বত্ৰিশ*, *বত্ৰিশ* « batt(i)riśḥ » (dvā-triśat), *বিয়াশ্লিশ*, *বেয়াশ্লিশ*, *ব্যাশ্লিশ* « biyāśliśḥ, bēyā-, byā- » (dvi-catvāriśat), *বিয়াশ* « birāśi » (dvy-aśti). The change « dv- > b- », as has been noted before (see *supra*, pp. 508, 782) is non-Māgadhī: native Māgadhī would have shown « \*dōā-, \*dvi- ».

Bengali *দোক* « dōkā » *twain, with a second* is an analogical formation after *এক* « ēkā » *alone*.

In the OB. of the Caryās we have the word « bēni » to mean *two* (Caryās 1, 4, 5). The word in this sense is extremely common in Early Oṛiyā (bēni). It is the *ts.* word « vēni » *plait, plait of two bands of hair*, and the Sanskrit word itself would seem to be based on a MIA. formation from « dvi », with « v- < b- » from « dv- ».

514. *Three* = *তিন* « tinḥ », properly *তৌন* « tīnḥ » < OB. « tini, tiṇi = tīni » (cf. Caryās 13, « tiṇi bhuaṇa » *the three worlds*; also Caryās 7 and 16); Oṛiyā, Assamese and Maithilī = « tīni ». This form is found in most NIA., excepting in the Western Languages—Panjābī and Lahndī, Sindhī and Gujarātī—which have forms in « -r- » (Panj. and Lahndī « traī », Sindhī « trē », Gujarātī « traṇ ») through Dardic influence. The NIA. « tīni » comes from the OIA. neuter « trīṇi », which was generalised in the East for all genders (and, it seems, also in the Midland: cf. W. Hindī « tīn(i) »). This can be seen from Aśōkan inscriptions: thus « tiṇni pānāni » in Dhault and Jaugada I, = « tiṇni, tiṇi pānāni » in Kalsi, for which Girnar has « ti, trī prāṇā » and Shahbazgarhi « tra(yo) praṇa, praṇa-trayo ». OIA. « trīṇi » seems to have passed through a stage « \*tīrṇi » to give Early MIA. « tiṇni, \*tiṇi ». An expected Māgadhī form from « trīṇi », without the intermediate stage « \*tīrṇi » postulated here, would be « \*ṭīni », and also

« \**ṭi*-=*tri*- »: cf. Hindōstāni « *ṭi*-kaṭhī » = *tri*-kāṣṭhikā » *wooden triangular frame to which offenders are tied to be flogged* (= Bengali টিকটিকি « *ṭikṭiki* < \**ṭi*-kaṭh-iki » with confusion with the onomatopoeic word টিকটিকি « *ṭikṭiki* » *house lizard*) in which « *tr*- > *ṭ*- » seems to be a Māgadhism which has survived.

In compound numerals we find ত্র, তি « *tē*-, *ti*- » (< *traya*-, *tri*-): তের « *tērā* » (*trayōdaśa*, \**tridaśa*), তেইশ « *tēiś* » (*trayōviṅśati*), তেত্রিশ « *tēttriś* » (*trayastrīṅśat*), etc., etc. In compounds generally we have তে « *tē*- », changed to তি « *ti*- » by Vowel Harmony: e.g., তেত্রই « *tēhāi* » *third part* (*tri*-bhāgikā), তেপায় « *tēpāyā* » *tripod*, MB. তেওড়ী, তিউড়ী « *tēḍṛī*, *tiṛṛī* » *oven* (*tri*-vṛt), etc. OB. however has « *ti*-śaraṇa » (*Caryā* 13) and « *tia*-dhāu » (< *tri*-ka-+dhātu: *Caryās* 28, 29).

515. *Four* = চার < চৌর, চাইর, চারি « *cār* < *cāir*, *cāir*, *cāri* ». This is the form which is found in almost all NIA., except Sinhalese, which has « *satara*, *hatara* ». The NIA. « *cāri*, *cār* » is apparently to be connected with the OIA. neuter form « *catvāri* ». In the Aśōkan Kalsi dialect, « *cat(t)āli* », occurs already for the masculine; but Aśōkan of Girnar shows for masculine « *catpārō* » (*catvārah*). (This, if it had survived, would have given in NIA., Gujarāṭī, a form « \**cāpar* », through a Second MIA. « \**cappārō* »). Pali has « *cattāro* » (accusative « *caturō* »), « *catassō* » and « *cattāri* » for the masculine, feminine and neuter respectively. From Second MIA. « *cattāri* », we come to the Apabhraṅśa « *cāri* » and the Early NIA. « *ciāri* »: and the apparent loss of « *-tt-* » in these later forms is not easy to explain (see *supra*, pp. 254-255). The loss of the « *-tt-* » may have been due to the form taken by this numeral word in compounds — « *caü* < *catuḥ*- »; and as Pischel notes (*Gramm. der Pkt.-Spr.*, § 439, p. 313), « *cāri* » occurs in Apabhraṅśa in compounds (« *catuṣpāda* > \**caüppāa*+\**cattāri*-*pāa* » giving « *cāri*-*pāa* » ?).

The form « *ciāri* » is attested from Early Oriyā, from Marāṭhī, and from other NIA. languages (see *ante*, p. 106). It can also be well assumed that Bengali also possessed this « *ciāri* », at least side by side with « *cāri* ». The form « *ciāri* » appears to be late, and NIA. There is no proper

explanation of the intrusive (?) « -i- », but an Iranian influence here does not seem to be an impossibility (see *supra*, p. 255; also *infra*, under *Six*).

In compounds, the numeral occurs as চৌ « cāu » = MIA. « caü », OIA. « catuḥ, catus, catur ». The diphthongal form occurs already in OB. : eg. « cau-dīsa » (Caryā 6), « cau-kōṭṭi » (Caryā 37). In the numerals, « cau » has become contracted to « cō-, cu- » : thus চৌদ « cōddā » (« caturdaśa » : the « sādhu-bhāṣā » form চৌদ « cāuddā » is archaic), চৌবিশ « cōbbiś » (caturviṅśati), চুৱাবিশ « cuāliś » (catuṣcatvāriṅśati), চুৱান « cuānā » (catuḥpañcāśati), চুৱাসত « cuāttāś » (catuṣṣaptati), চুৱাশী « curāśi » (caturāśti), চুৱান(ক)ই « curā-nā(bbā)i » (caturnavati). The forms চৌত্রিশ « cāu-triś » (catustrīṅśati) and চৌষষ্টি « cāu-ṣaṭṭi » (OB. « caūṣaṭhi, caūṣaṭṭhi, caūṣaṭṭhi » as in Caryās 8, 12 and 10 respectively : = « catuṣṣaṭṭi ») preserve « cāu » : but they are not the normal Bengali forms as expected—the first has *ts.* influence, and the second seems to have been influenced by literary Prakrit from the OB. period. In MB. and dialectal NB., through the common change of « āu » to « āi », we have চৌপার, চৌপার « cāipārā, cōpārā » < চৌপার « cāupārā » (caü-pahara, catuṣprahara), চৌদ « cāiddā » (= Assamese চৌদ « cāidhyā ») beside চৌদ « cāuddā », etc. (see *supra*, p. 385). Compounds like চৌকাঠ « cāu-kāṭhā » *door-frame*, চৌবুড়ী « cāu-ghurī » *four-in-hand*, চৌদোল « cāu-dōla » *litter, palanquin of state*, চৌধুরী, \*চৌধুরী « Caudhurī < \*Caudhārī » *a little or surname < chief* (= catur + dhara + -ika), চৌমাথা « cāu-māthā » *carrefour, crossing*, are archaic in type, and « cāu » is an atrophied form ; and in MB. and NB., compositions with the Bengali চারি, চার « cār(i) » are more common : e.g., চার-পেয়ে < চারি-পাইয়া « cārā-pāyā < cāri-pāyā » *four-footed*, চার-কলে < চারি-কালিয়া « cārā-kālī < cāri-kāliyā » *of the four ages, etc.*

516. *Five* = পাঁচ « pācā » (OIA. pañca). All NIA. speeches agree in retaining the nasal, except Sinhalese, which has the form « paha < pasa < \*paca ». In compounds with nouns, « pācā » remains unchanged in Bengali : e.g., পাঁচমুঠা « pācā-muṭṭā » *five-crested*, পাঁচ-হাতী « pācā-hātī » *five cubits long*, etc. In the compound numerals, however, the word occurs in four forms in Bengali, as below :

- (1) পঁচ < pañc- > as in পঁচিশ < pañciśś > (pañca-viñśati), পঁচাত্তর < pañcattārś > (pañca-saptati), পঁচাত্তী < pañcāśī > (pañcāśīti), পঁচান(ব)ই < pañcāna(bbā)ī > (pañca-navati);
- (2) পঞ্চ < pañc- > as in পঞ্চাশ < pañcāśś > (pañcāśat), পঞ্চাশ পাঁচশুন < pañcā-pañcāśśat > : there is a dialectal পাঁচশন < pañcś-pānś >), and উনপঞ্চাশ < unā-pañcāśś >; also contracted to < -ñc- > as in † উনপাশ < unāñcāśś > 49;
- (3) পঁয় < pañyś- > as in পঁয়ত্রিশ < pañyś-triśś > (pañca-triñśat), পঁয়তাল্লিশ < pañyś-tāllīśś > (pañca-catvāriñśat), and পঁয়ষাট্টি < pañyś-ṣāṭṭī > (pañca-ṣaṣṭī);
- (4) পন, পাশ, আশ < pañś-, -paññā -āññā > as in পনের < pānērā > (pañca-daśa), and in the fifties—একশ, বাহাশ, তিগাশ, চূরাশ, পঞ্চাশ, ছাশাশ, সাতাশ, আটাশ, < ekāññā, bāhāññā, tippāññā, cuññā, pañcāññā, chāppāññā, sāṭāññā, āṭāññā >.

Of the above, < pañcś < pañcś >, with short < -ñ- > through absence of stress in the word in the formative period of Bengali, seems to be the native Bengali form : and < pañc- > in পঞ্চাশ < pañcāśś > etc., has a restored < -ñ- >, apparently through *ts.* influence : the expected native Bengali form would be < \*pañcāśś > : cf. Hind. < pañcāś >. The forms < pañyś (=pañña) > and < pānś, pāññā, -āññā > are respectively from MIA < pañña > and < pañna (pañña) >, from < \*pañña < pañca >. The change < ñj > ññ, ñ > is found in Maithili in one or two forms (see *supra*, p. 364), but it does not characterise Bengali; and < -ñc- > -ñj- > -nn-, -n- > is equally foreign to Bengali. We find the latter change in the Midland and Eastern inscriptions of Aśoka : e.g., < pañna-ḍasa > (=pañna-ḍasa < pañca-daśa) and < pañna-vīsati > (=pañna-vīsati < pañca-viñśati) in the Delhi-Sivalik pillar, for instance, and < sa-paññā > (=sappaññā[h] < ṣaṭ-pañcāśśat) at Sahasram : where it can well be an imposition from an < -ñc- > -ñj- > nn > (and < -ś- > -h- >) dialect, presumably of the North-West (cf. Jules Bloch, *JA.*, 1912, I, pp. 332 ff.).

517. *Six* = ছয়, ছ < chāyś, chā >, Assamese < chāy > [soḥ], Oriyā < chāā >. MIA. has the form < cha >. The Bengali, Assamese and Oriyā forms, as well as the Panjābī < chē >, Marāṭhī < sahā >, and the forms < chē, chēy-, chiy- > as in the decades (as compared with Hindī and Gujarātī

«cha-» are apparently based on a fuller form in MIA. than simple «cha». The word cannot have originated from «ṣaṭ» of OIA.: «ṣ- > ch-» would be an inexplicable change in Early MIA., and we should expect the sibilant to remain either as «s-» or as «ś-», as in «ṣōḍaśa, ṣaṣṭi» > NIA. *sōlah, sāṭh* : and as a matter of fact the word for *six* does occur with «s-», in Aśōkan Prakrit.

The Indo-European word for *six* was «\*seks, \*sweks». In Indo-Iranian, it became «\*saśś, \*swaśś», the expected OIA. equivalent of which would be «\*saks, \*swaks» > \*sak, \*swak», which could change only to «\*saṭ, \*swaṭ» by analogy (Uhlenbeck, 'Manual of Sanskrit Phonetics', p. 88; Wackernagel, I, p 174): normally it could not certainly be «ṣaṭ», such as we actually find in OIA. In the form «ṣaṣ-» (as in «ṣaṣ-ṭha, ṣaṣ-ṭi»), the second «-ṣ-» is quite regular (< Indo-Iranian «\*s[w]aśtha, \*s[w]aśti» = IE \*s[w]eks-tho, \*s[w]eks-ti: cf. Wackernagel, I, § 20<sup>2</sup>, d). This «-ś- > -ṣ-» in the interior of the word may have influenced the initial «\*s-» to «ś-, ṣ-» (Indo-Iranian «\*s[w]aśtha, \*s[w]aśti» > \*ś[w]aśtha, \*ś[w]aśti > OIA. *ṣaṣ*-, Prim. Iran. \*ś[w]aś-: cf. H. Reichelt, 'Awestisches Elementarbuch,' § 160). The Avestan equivalent of Vedic «ṣaṭ, ṣaṣ» is «xśvaś», which represents the Iran. «\*śwaś» (with the «-w-» of IE. «\*sweks»): the prothetic «x-» in «x-śvaś» is regular in Avestan before initial «ś-» *plus* consonant (Reichelt, *ibid.*, § 174). The forms «ṣaṣ (śaś), xśvaś» beside «\*śvaṣ (\*śwaś)» occurred in the various ancient dialects of Indo-Iranian, as we can see from Sanskrit, from Avestan, and from the various present-day speeches of the Indo-Iranian borderland—Iranian and Dardic: *e.g.*, Baṣḡali «śō», Kalaśa «śōh», Vērōn «uśu» and Šinā of Jalkot «śva (ṣva)», as well as Paštō «śpaś, śpēš, śpag», would seem to be based on a form «\*śwaś» or «\*śvaṣ»; Šinā «śah, śa (śah, śa)» and Kaśmiri «śōh» on «śaś (ṣaṣ)», like the New Persian «śaś», : and the Central Asian Ghalcha forms—Yūdghā «uxšo» and Munjāni «axše» would appear to be based on a form agreeing with the Avestan «xśvaś». But «ṣaṣ, \*śvaṣ» cannot explain the MIA. and NIA. «cha-», and the Khō-wār (Dardic) «choi». Could the typically Iranian «xśvaś» have been borrowed, or blended with the Indian «ṣaṣ», in an old Indo-Aryan frontier dialect, in the

form «\*kṣaṣ, \*kṣak»? This form in «kṣ-» could well be extended to «\*kṣaka», to make it a disyllabic word like «pañca, sapta» etc.: and «\*kṣaṣ, \*kṣaka» could very well be the source of «cha, chaa», with the North-western or Western MIA. alteration of «kṣ» to «ch» (cf. *supra*, p. 469).

Tokharian of Central Asia (*supra* p. 5) shows some peculiar forms for *six* and *sixth*, which may be noted. In Dialect A, it is «ṣak», ordinal «ṣkaṣt» and in Dialect B the forms are «ṣkas, ṣkaste», cardinal and ordinal. The derivation «IE. \*seks > \*ṣaks > \*ṣakas > ṣak, ṣkas» has been proposed (cf. A. Meillet, MSL., XVII, 1912, p. 287). But in this connexion, can an Indo-European «\*skes» (or «\*skwes»), as occurring side by side with «\*seks, \*sweks», be postulated? In that case, this «\*sk-» of Indo-European can regularly give the «ch-» of Indo-Aryan.

In the Aśōkan inscriptions, the words for *six* are «cha» (Rūpnāth: «cha-vacharē»), «sa-» (Sahasram: «sa-vachalē, sa-paññā»), «ṣa-» (North-West and Kalsi), and «saḍu-» (Dehli-Siwalik and Meerut «saḍu-visati»). The occurrence of «cha» and «sa-, ṣa-, saḍ-» side by side is a certain indication that the first is a form independent of the other ones.

The «-h-» in Western Apabhraṅśa «chaha», Marāṭhī «sahā», Sinhalese «saha» is obscure. It may represent the second sibilant in the base form «ṣaṣ», which is seen to occur in Dardic. The forms «chē, chēy-, chiy-» in the compound numerals are easily explained as being from a MIA. «chaa, chaḥa». The Maithilī «chau», earlier «chaḍ, chahu» (as in the 'Varṇa-ratnākara,' *supra* pp. 102-103; also in the same work, «āṭhahu = āṭha » 8, «caubisaḍ = caubisa » 24, etc.), has the affix «-hu» which would seem to be only an emphatic particle.

The words for 16, and the *sixties*, are based on the OJA. (Sanskrit) forms with «ṣ-».

518. *Seven* = सप्त «sātṣ»: regularly derived from OIA. «sapta», and found in all the IA. speeches (Hindi etc. «sāt», Panjābī «satt», Sindhī «sat», Sinhalese «hata, sata»).

In the compound numerals, except in সতের «sātērā» 17, and সাত্বিশ «sātviś» 37, «sātṣ» is unchanged. In Early Bengali, it is likely that the

compounded form was *\*sātā*, with weakening of *-ā-* to *-a-* through absence of stress: cf. Oriyā *sātāśā*, *sātā-cāśā* > 27, 47, Hindi *sātāśi*, *sāt-hattar* > 27, 77, etc. The *-ā-* is due to initial stress, no doubt; but curiously enough, we have *সাতের* *sātēra* and not *\*sātāra* which would be the expected or normal form for Bengali. In *সাঁইত্রিশ* *sāitriś* (or *সাঁত্রিশ* *sāitriś*) there was certainly the influence of *pāy* < *pañña* of *পাঁত্রিশ* *pāitriś* > 35: cf. similar nasalisation in Bengali *চৌত্রিশ* *chautriś* (beside *চৌত্রিশ* *chautriś*) > 34, and Maithili and Hindi *tētis*, *cūtis*, *tētālis*. Other Magadhan speeches have *sāi-* or *sāy-*; e.g., Maithili *sāitis*, *sāitālis*; except Assamese, which has a borrowed and modified form *sāitric* > [*satric*]. The analogical *sāi-*, *sāy-* we find also in Hindi *sāitis*, *sāitālis*, and Panjabi *sāit(r)i*, *sāitāli* > 37, 47. The form of this numeral as *sā* > *saḍ*, *saḥ*, *saḥ*, *saḥ*, *saḍ*, as in Hindi *sar-saḥ* > 66, Gujarāṭī *sāḍ-tris* > 37, which is due to the influence of *aḥ-*, *aḍ-* > 8, is not found in Bengali.

519. *Eight* = *আট* *āṭ*, *আঠ* *āṭhā* in eMB. and OB. (< *aṣṭa-*). This word remains unchanged in compounds as *āṭ*, except in *আঠার* *āṭhāra* > 18, where the old aspiration is preserved. The *ts*. *আটে*, *অটে* *āṭṭā*, *āṭṭā* is also common, by itself and also in the forms *আটো* *āṭṭā-āṭi* > 88 and *আটোন(ক)ই* *āṭṭā-nā(bbā)i* > 98, beside the regular *tōḥs*. *আটো* *āṭṭā* and *আটোন(ক)ই* *āṭṭā-nā(bbā)i*.

520. *Nine* = *নয়* *nāy*, from OB. *\*naya*, and *n* *nā*, *nā* = OB. *nawa* mainly in compounds (OIA. *nava*). Oriyā has *nā*. The numeral *নয়* *nāy* does not occur in the decades, the nines being formed, as in OIA., by prefixing *ūna-* (in Bengali *উন* *ūnā-*). Oriyā *unā-*, *ānā-* less to the next ten: e.g., *উনিশ* *un-iś* > 19, *উনসত্তর* *unā-sattar* > 69, etc. Cf. *ōgaṇ-* in Gujarāṭī, p. 78f. An exception is *নিয়ান(ক)ই* *ni-r-ā-nā(bbā)i* > 99, with altered vowel and intrusive *-r-*. Most NIA. languages agree in having a corresponding compounding of *nine* and *ninety*, Oriyā, however, has *ānā-sātā* (with irregular dental *-n-*).

521. *Ten* = *দশ* *dāś*. The sibilant is preserved in most NIA. except in the Western languages—Lahndī *dāh* beside *das*, Sindhi *ḍ'ah*, dialectal Gujarāṭī *dah*, and Marāṭhī *dahā*; and Sinhalese

also has «daha(ya)» beside «dasa(ya)». In the OB. of the Caryās, we find «daśa» side by side with «daha», of which the former alone would seem to be native Māgadhī.

### 522. *The Tens.*

The phonology is peculiar for Bengali in two ways—by change of OIA. «-ś-» to «-h-» (which is dropped in MB.), and by that of «-d-» to «-r-»: «-daśa > \*ḍaśa, -ḍaśa (cf. Aśokan duvāḍasa, pañnaḍasa) > -ḷasa, -ḷasa (cf. Jaina Ardha-māgadhī duvāḷasa), -rasa (as in Pali) > -raha (as in Second MIA.)». The change of «-d-» to «-ḍ-», which could easily alter to «-ḷ-, -ḷ-» and then «-r-», has not been satisfactorily explained. It certainly occurred in a cerebralising dialect *after* the «ḍ» in «ṣōḍaśa» altered to «ḷ, ḷ», as this «ḍ > ḷ» did not participate in the general change of «d > ḍ > ḷ» to «r» of «ĕkādaśa» and the rest. (Cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 221; see *supra*, p. 488, for the cerebralisation; also p. 549 for «-ś-» > «-h-».)

The final group «-aha» became «-ā» and then «-ā» in Bengali, Oṛiyā and Assamese: and this final «-ā» is also written and pronounced «-ō» in Bengali (*supra*, p. 347); but «-ahḥ» is retained in Bihārī and in Hindi. In Panjābī, it occurs as «-ā» (yārā, bārā etc.) where it is an oblique plural form used absolutely: so in Sindhī «-an» (yārahan, b'ārahan). Marāṭhī has «-ā» (akrā, bārā), which also is apparently a plural form with dropping of intervocal «-h-» (< \*ĕkkārahā, \*bārahā ?). In Gujarātī, the group «-aha», found in Northern India, is dropped (*e.g.*, bār, tēr, caud, pandar, sōḷ, satar, aḍhār): this apparent dropping of two syllables of MIA. is strange, but it is possible that the Second MIA. source-forms of the Gujarātī tens were, not «bārasa, tērasa, cauddasa» (or «bāraha, tēraha, cauddaha») etc., but rather «\*bāras (\*bārah), \*tēras (\*tērah), \*cauddas (cauddah)» etc., with the final vowel already dropped, through an intermediate stage of «\*bārase, \*tērase, \*cauddase» (or «\*bārahe, \*tērahe, \*cauddahe») etc. (See *supra*, p. 752, on the probable pronunciation of genitival «-asya > -assa» as «-ase, -as» in the Malwa country in the Transitional MIA. period.) Sinhalese preserves rather archaic forms, «ekoḷosa, doḷosa, teḷesa, paḥaḷosa,



so|osa, sata|osa, aṣa|osa », where the «-|-» occurs in all the numbers, and not in the form for 16 alone, as in Northern India.

In NIA. «cau(d)dah», the «-d-» is preserved by the preceding «-r-»: MIA. «caūddaha» is palpably an uncerebralised, non-Māgadhī form. The MIA. doubling is kept up in NB. চৌদ, চৌদ «cauddā, coddā», Standard Coll. [çōddo], although we find চৌদ «cauddā» with one «-d-», (beside চৌদ «cauddā») in the SKK. In Assamese চৈধ্য «caidhya» there has been metathesis of the «-h-», aspirating the «-d-»: the «-y-» indicates only doubling.

### 523. *The Twenties.*

The common Bengali word for *twenty* is কুড়ি «kuṛi» = Assamese «kuri», Oriyā «kōṛiē», meaning *score*. Cf. Bengali এক কুড়ি «ēkṣ kuṛi» *one score*, but never এক বিশ «ēkṣ biṣṣ». In Western Hindi the word also occurs in the form «kōṛi», which is the earlier form (see *supra*, pp. 395-396). Gujarātī has it as «kōṛī, kuṇṛī». Computation is, or normally used to be, by twenties in Bengal: at the present day, this is still the old-fashioned way: thus 25 = এক কুড়ি পাঁচ «ēkṣ kuṛi pāṅṣ» *one score and five*, 38 = এক কুড়ি আঠারো «ēkṣ kuṛi āṭhārō» *one score and eighteen*, 62 = তিন কুড় দুই «tinṣ kuṛi dui», 86 = চার কুড়ি পাঁচ «cārṣ kuṛi pāṅṣ», 100 = পাঁচ কুড়ি «pāṅṣ kuṛi», etc. Counting by twenties is also common in Assam: and the fact that the numerals for the third decade in Assamese show in their spelling চ «c» indicating the [s] pronunciation, rather than শ or স «ś, s» which would be the expected form (with normal change in pronunciation of the original sibilant to the guttural spirant [x]: একইচ, বাইচ, তেইচ, চৌবিচ, পঁচিচ, ছাব্বিচ, সাতাইচ আঠাইচ, also উনইচ «ēkaicṣ, [ekois], bāicṣ [bais], tēicṣ, cānbicṣ, pācicṣ, chābbicṣ [sabbis], sātāicṣ, [xatais], unāicṣ» 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 19, rather than \*একইশ, \*বাইশ «\*ēkaish, \*bāish» [ekoix, baix] etc.) indicates that the forms in «-icṣ» = «-vīsa» were borrowed from some Western dialect, Maithilī or Hindi, into Assamese. In Bengali, the word বিশ «biṣṣ» 20 is by no means common: it occurs only in a few expressions like উনিশ-বিশ «uniṣṣ-biṣṣ» 19 and 20 = *minute distinction*. Counting by twenties is also found in Bihar, and also further west in Hindustan.

It is to be noted that the highest unit for counting among the Kōls is twenty (Santali « isi », Muṇḍārī « hiṣi, isi », Kurku « isā » : the IA. « bis », and « kōṛi » also are used : *hundred* is  $5 \times 20 = [mōṛṣ̄ isi:]$  in Santali,  $[mōṛṣ̄ hiṣi]$  in Muṇḍārī, « mono isā » in Kurku, « molloi koḍi » in Savara : borrowings of the NIA. word « sai, sau < śatam » are also found). Vigesimal counting is found in many languages—*e.g.*, in Dardic (cf. Grierson, 'Piśāca Languages,' p. 37), in French. But it seems that in the case of Bengal, Bihar and the Upper Gangetic plain, probably also in the North-Western frontier (the Dardic tract), Kōl influence was responsible for this habit of computation, rather than that counting by twenties characterised some form of OIA. The word « kōṛi, kuṛi » occurs in Tamil as « kōḍi ». Although any cognate form has not been found in the Kōl speeches, it is still exceedingly likely that « kōṛi, kuṛi » in its origin is a Kōl word, and not Dravidian or Aryan.

The OIA. « viṅśati » gave MIA. « viśati (Aśōkan and Pali), vi(n)śai, viśai, viśaiṁ (Second MIA.) ». The Pali « viśā, viśa », IMIA. « viśa » are from an OIA. « \*viṅśāt » on the analogy of « triṅśāt, catvāriṅśāt, pañcāśāt ». In the compounded forms, the labial « -v- » (where not doubled to « -bb- ») has been vocalised in Bengali and other Magadhan ; and besides, the vowel « -i- » has been dropped wherever suitable in Standard Bengali, but it is preserved in dialectal Bengali (as in Chittagong), in Oṛiyā, in other NIA. generally : *e.g.*, উনিশ « unīśṣ̄ » < « \*unōiśṣ̄, unāiśṣ̄ » 19, একুশ « ēkuśṣ̄ » < « ēkāiśṣ̄, \*ēkaviśa » 21, সাতাশ « sātāśṣ̄ » < « sātāiśṣ̄, \*eatāviśa » 27, etc. চাৰ্ব্বিংশ « cābbiśṣ̄ » properly for চৌৰ্ব্বিংশ « cōbbiśṣ̄ » (caūbbiśa, caturviṅśati) and ছাৰ্ব্বিংশ « chābbiśṣ̄ » (< śaḍviṅśati », with « ch- » from the numeral for six) are archaic forms, influenced by Prakrit, which retain the group « -bb- » (under normal conditions expected to change to a single « -b- ».)

#### 524. The Thirties.

The native *tbh.* form \*তীশ \*তিশ « \*tīśṣ̄ » has been supplanted in Eastern Magadhan (Bengali, Assamese, Oṛiyā) by the *sts.* তিশ « triśṣ̄ » or তিৰিশ « tiriśṣ̄ » ; in Assamese, as the spelling in চ, ত্ৰিচ « triśṣ̄ » = [tris] shows, this supplanting has been recent. In the compound numerals for the fourth decade, the *tbh.* « \*tīśṣ̄ » is frequently heard in

Bengali : e.g., বহীস < bāṭṭisā > 32, ছহীস < chāṭṭisā > 36, etc. (beside the more common বহিশ < bātrisā >, ছহিশ < chātrisā > etc.) : cf. OB. < batisā, batisa > (Caryās 17, 27), MB. জেতিশ < cāntisā > (see *supra*, p. 228); Assamese < bātisā > = [botixa]; and Oṛiyā preserves in the *tōh*. < -tisā > side by side with the *sts*. < -tirisā > in the fourth decade.

The < -r- > forms of Gujarāṭī (tris, trīs) and Panjābī (tri, trīh) may be due to the numeral for *three* (traṇ, trai). Sindhī has < ṭṭhā >. Other NIA., e.g., Hindi, Marāṭhī, keep to the *tōh*. < tis > (Sinhalese < tiha, tisa >).

### 525. The Forties.

*Forty* is চব্বিশ or চব্বিশ < cāllisā, cāllisā >, sometimes চলিশ < cālisā > = < catvāriṣat >. The last form with one < -l- > is the genuine *tōh*. form : this single < -l- > is found as the cerebral < -l- > in other NIA. The doubling of the < -l- > is quite optional even now, and is apparently recent in Bengali, absent as it is in Assamese, in Oṛiyā, and in other NIA. The change of < -r- > to < -l-, -l- > in this word shows that it is Prācyā or eastern in origin (< cattāliśa), but it spread all over the NIA. area. The group < -tvā- > > Early MIA. < -ttā- > has been dropped as in < cāri > 4, but Sinhalese preserves the dental (< hataḷiha = sataḷisa < MIA. cattāliśa > : there is also < sāliśa >, which is late). The dropping of the < -tt- > is already found in Second MIA., in Jaina Ardha-māgadhī. In the compound forms for the fifth decade, < -c- > remains in একচলিশ or চলিশ or চব্বিশ < ēkṣ-cāl(l)isā, -cāllisā > 41, (c)ছচলিশ < chēcāllisā, chā- > 46, সাতচলিশ < sāṭṣ-cāllisā > 47, and আটচলিশ < āṭṣ-cāllisā > 48; it is dropped in বিয়াচলিশ < biyāllisā > 49 (< \*bāyāllisā > etc. : cf. Oṛiyā < bāyāllisā >) and চুয়াচলিশ < cūāllisā > 44 (< \*cō-āllisā, \*cau-āllisā); and it is altered to < -t- > in তেতাচলিশ < tē-tāllisā > 43 and পরচলিশ < pāṣ-tāllisā > 45. In Māgadhī, we would expect the < -c- > to remain (see *supra*, p. 468). The form < -tāllisā > is found in other NIA., and it is obscure : can it be due to some dialectal shortening of < cattāliśa >, through loss of the initial syllable?

### 526. The Fifties.

. For 49 and 50, we have পঞ্চাশ and উনপঞ্চাশ, † উনপাশ < pañcāśā, unā(pa)ñcāśā >, where the full < ṅ > is due to *ts*. influence (see p. 789). In the compound forms OIA. < -pañcāśat > occurs as পর পাশ, অন্ন আশ < -pañna

> -pānnā, -ānnā, -ānnā », dialectally **পান** « -pānā », with one « -n- », in Bengali. The forms of dialectal Bengali, of Oriyā (e.g., « ēkābānā, bābānā, tēpānā, chāppānā » etc.), of Assamese (e.g., « bāuwān; cāuwān; sātāwān » etc. beside « bāuwānnā, cāuwānnā, sātānnā »), of Maithilī (ekāwan, bāwan, tirpan, cāuwan, paupan » etc.), of Hindōstānī, and of other NIA. speeches would show that the double « -nn- » is a late development within Standard Bengali itself. OIA. « pañcāśat » in the form « \*pannāsa > \*pannāha > pannā », already found in the Eastern speech of Aśōkan, became established in some standard form of Early MIA. In Second MIA., it occurs as « paññāsaṁ, paññāśā, paññā, -paññāṁ, -vaññāṁ » (in Jaina Ardhamāgadhī. The contraction of « -śāt » to « -śā, \*āha > -ā, -āṁ » thus occurred already fairly early in Prācyā (Western Prācyā): although the change « -ñc- > -nn- » is inexplicable for this dialect. The change seems to have been through « \*pañjāśat, pannāha » (see *supra*, p. 789), and not through « \*pañcāśāt, \*pañcāt, \*pañcat », as Pischel suggests ('Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 445, p. 317). The NIA. « -pan, -wan » in composition comes from this contracted MIA. « -pannāṁ, -wannāṁ », Aśōkan « -pannā »: the uncontracted form of MIA., viz. « -pannāsa, \*-pannāha » would have given NIA. « \*panā », in composition « \*-wanā », which is not found.

In Bengali **বাহান্ন** « bāhānnā » 52 we have euphonic « h » (p. 341; for « \*bāwānā, bāwānā », cf. Oriyā « bābānā »). In **তিপ্পান্ন** « tippānnā » 53 the doubling is due either to the influence of **ছাপ্পান্ন** « chāppānnā », or to the Hindōstānī *sts.*, with « r » — « tirpan », by assimilation in Bengali of the « -r- » with the following consonant (see *supra*, p. 541): the native Bengali form, now obsolete, seems to have been like the Oriyā « tēpānā ». A form **তিয়ান্ন** or **তৈয়ান্ন** « tiyānnā, tēyānnā », also native Bengali, occurs. **চুয়ান্ন** « cūānnā » 54 is for « \*cō-ānā, \*cāu-ānā »: cf. Assamese « cāu-wān ». The dialectal **পাঁচপান** « pāñc-pānā » (Central and East Bengal) represents the genuine Bengali form, and not the Standard **পাঁচান্ন** « pāñcānnā ». The other numerals show no anomaly, except the doubling of the « -n- ».

### 527. The Sixties.

The word for *sixty* is **ষাট** = « ṣāṭ » in Standard Bengali, **ষাট্ট** « ṣāṭṭ » **ষাট্ট** « ṣāṭṭ » in Eastern and other dialectal Bengali, = Assamese « ṣāṭhi »,

Ōriyā « ṣāṭhiṣ », and it is regularly derived from OIA. « ṣaṣṭi ». The form with ṣ, ṣṭi « ṣāṭhiṣ » is also found. In the compound numerals, in Bengali the ṣ « -ṣ- » is doubled: একষট্টি « ṣkṣ-ṣāṭṭi » 61, বাষট্টি « bā-ṣāṭṭi » 62, পঁয়ষট্টি « pāyṣ-ṣāṭṭi » 65 etc. Ōriyā has the *tkk.* form « -ṣaṭhi ». The final « -i » in the compound forms, again, is anomalous: contrast উনষাট্টি « unā-ṣāṭṭi » 59, with proper loss of final « -i » ( see *supra*, pp. 307 ff).

### 528. *The Seventies.*

OIA. « saptati » certainly first changed to « \*saptaṭi » by spontaneous cerebralisation, and then in MIA. (as the source of the NIA. forms) to « \*sattaṭi, \*sattaṭi, sattari » quite early. In Pali occur both « sattati » and « sattari ». It is very likely that there was the influence of « sattaraha » = « sapta-daśa » in bringing about the change of the « -t- » > -ṭ- > -ḍ- » to « -r- ». The double « -tt- » is anomalous for Bengali; it is found also in Bihārī, in Hindī, in Marāṭhī. It is quite normal in Panjābī, and the double « -tt- » may have been imposed from the Panjab dialects on Hindī and on the rest. Gujarātī has one « -t- » (agnōṭēr=69, sitēr=70, ikōṭēr=71, b[ō]hōṭēr=72, etc.). It would seem from the Ōriyā and Assamese forms that in East Magadhan at least, the normal NIA. form with one « -t- » was the rule. But Bengali (in common with the Bihārī dialects) seems to have adopted the Western forms in « -tt- ». In compound forms, « sattari » changes to « -hattari » in most NIA. This, again, seems not to have characterised Magadhan, at least East Magadhan: the sibilant is preserved as a sibilant in Ōriyā (unā-stōri, ṣkā-stōri, bā-stōri, etc.), and undergoes the normal change to [x] in Assamese, although written শ « s » (bā-sātār, tē-sātār, cāu-sātār etc.): cf. also Bengali উনষাট্টি « unā-sāṭṭārṣ » 69, with the sibilant and not « \*unā(-h)āṭṭārṣ ». Bengali thus in all likelihood agreed with its immediate sisters Assamese and Ōriyā in having « -s- » and single « -t- » throughout in the eighth decade. The « -h- » (in what may be called the Western, non-Magadhī or 'new forms' for the eighth decade of Bengali) is preserved in dialectal Bengali, e.g., † « ṣkṣ-hāṭṭārṣ, pāṣṣ-hāṭṭārṣ, sāṭṣ-hāṭṭārṣ, pāṣṣ-hāṭṭārṣ », but in the Standard Colloquial it is dropped as an intervocal sound, except in বাষাট্টি « bāṣāṭṭārṣ » 72.

529. *The Eighties.*

The OIA. « *aṣṭi* » quite regularly gives *বাশি* « *āṣi* » in Bengali, with change of initial « *ṣ-* » to « *ś-* » (see *supra* p. 314). The doubling of the « *-s-* » in Panjābī and Hindōstānī « *asṣi* » is peculiar, and seems to have originated in the Panjab: it was this doubling which possibly preserved it from changing to « *-h-* » in the Panjab dialects (cf. OIA. « *kṛtā, \*ditā, pītā* » > « *\*kitta-, \*ditta-, \*pitta-* » > Panjābī « *kitā, dītā, pītā* »). The Sinhalese « *aṣṭi, aṣṭva* », with intervocal sibilant preserved, would seem to be based on a MIA. « *\*ass-* » rather than on « *as-* » (cf. W. Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen,' § 21, 22). The Sindhi « *āṣi* » would equally be based on an earlier « *\*aṣṣi* ». It seems that a form with doubled « *-s-* » characterised the IA. speeches of the North-West and the South-West from MIA. times: « *\*aṣṣi(ṭh)* »; and it is also extremely likely that there was a nasalised form of it, « *\*aṣṣi(ṭh)* » (through spontaneous nasalisation: see *supra*, pp. 368 ff.), which gave by epenthesis the Marāṭhī « *aṣṣi, āṣi* » and Gujarāṭī « *āṣi, hāṣi* » (cf. Old Western Rājasthānī « *aṣṣi* »: L. P. Tessori, 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.,' § 80).

In the compound forms, Panjābī and Hindōstānī show an intrusive « *-r-* » in « *ti-r-āṣi* », which is apparently due to the analogy of « *curāṣi* », where it is original (= *catur-aṣṭi*). Bengali has this « *-r-* » form, *তিরশি* (by Vowel Harmony *তিরশী, † তিরিশি*) « *tirāṣi, tirāṣi, † tiriṣi* »; and the « *-r-* » has been further extended to *বিরশি, বিরেশী, † বিরিশি*, « *birāṣi* » *birāṣi, † biriṣi* ». Maithilī also has « *bērāṣi* » beside « *bēṣi* ». The « *-r-* » forms for 82, 83 do not seem to be proper for Māgadhī, but rather due to Western influence: cf. Oṛiyā « *bāyāṣi, tēyāṣi* », but *পুরশি* « *curāṣi* » 84 is quite proper (« *cōrāṣi* < *\*cāur-āṣi* »). For 89, Bengali has a contracted *উনশি* « *unāṣi* » beside a fuller *উনশী* « *unā-āṣi* ».

530. *The Nineties.*

The word for *ninety* has two forms: *নব* « *nai* », and *নব্বই, নব্বুই* « *nābbāi, nābbui* ». The former is the native Māgadhī form: OIA. « *navati* » > *\*navāi* > *\*naai* > *\*nawāi* > *nāi* > *nai* », Assamese « *nai* ». The second one with geminated « *-bb-* » is not genuine Bengali: cf. Hindī « *nawē, nawwē* », Panjābī « *nabbē, nawwē* », Sindhi « *navē* <

\*navvai », Marāṭhi « navvad » with MIA. « -d- » preserved (< \*navvaddi ?). Bihārī « nabbāi », Oṛiyā « nābē < \*nabbāi » are similar Western forms. In Pali, the form is « navuti »; and the Ardha-māgadhī « nauīh » and Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī « nauī » are based on an Early MIA. form with « -u- » like the Pali one. Gujarāṭī « nēvū » and Sinhalese « anū(va) » alone represent these attested MIA. forms in « -u- ».

As in the case of the *Eighties*, we find the intrusive « -r- » in বিমান(ক)ই > bi-r-ā-nā(bbā)i > 92, তিমান(ক)ই « ti-r-ā-nā(bb)āi » 93, নিমান(ক)ই « ni-r-ā-nā(bbā)i » 99, on the model apparently of চূমান(ক)ই « curā-nā(bbā)i » 94 (caturnavati). On the analogy of the « -ā- » in the *Eighties* (ākāśī < ākāśīti, pācāśī < pañcāśīti, sātāśī < saptāśīti, āṣṭāśī < aṣṭāśīti), the *Nineties* all over the NIA. area show an intrusive « -ā- »: একান(ক)ই « ek-ā-nā(bbā)i » Marāṭhi « ekyāṇṇav » 91, Hindi « nawānawā » Gujarāṭī « nayāṇū » 99, etc.

531. *Hundred* is « ʃ » « śā, sō », in combination generally pronounced « sō » (e.g., একশ [ækʃo], সত্ত্বাশো [ʃōḍaʃo] = 125, ছশো [duʃo], পঁচশ [pāʃʃo] etc.): a regular development out of OIA. « śata- » (śaa, OB. \*śawa, MB. \*śā). Oṛiyā is also « śā », and Assamese [xo:]. The diphthongal forms « sai, sau » (< sayā, sawā) as in Bihārī, Hindi and Panjābī are now unknown to Bengali, as also the nasalised forms as in Marāṭhi (śē) and Gujarāṭī (sū), preserving the « anusvāra » of MIA. (pp. 358-359, *supra*). The form শর « śāyṣ » = « sai » of Hindi etc., however, occurred in Early Bengali: thus in the proverbial lines—

নর পক্ষা বিশে শর । তার অর্ধেক বাঁচে হর ॥

বাইশ বলদ, তের ছাগল । শুনে গেছে বরা পাগল ॥

« nārā gājā biśē śāyṣ, tāṛṣ ārdhēkṣ bācē hāyṣ ;

bāiśṣ bālṣdā, tērā chāḡṣlā : guṇē gēohē Bārā pāḡṣlā »

*A man, and an elephant, hundred and twenty; half of that lives a horse;*

*An ox twenty-two, a goat thirteen: so has computed the mad-cap Barū (= Varāha-mihira),*

where বিশে শর « biśē śāyṣ » = *hundred with twenty* (« biśē » = either « biś-ā » by Vowel-Harmony, or « biś-iyā », adjective from « biśṣ » 20, with « -ā »

affix, p. 658 *supra*, or « -iyā » affix, p. 674), is an idiom corresponding to the Hindōstānī « bisā sau » (J. T. Platts, 'Hindustani Grammar,' p. 53). The form « sau » also occurred in OB : cf. Mayang (of Manipur) « āk-hau-gō » *hundred*, where « hau » < « sau ».

532. The word for *thousand* is a Persian borrowing, হাজার « hājār » (< hazār, Avestan hazayra), in Assamese « hēzār », which has superseded the native word (from OIA. « sahasra ») in all NIA. Was it because the native IA. word had fallen into disuse in the spoken forms of Late MIA. and Early NIA. when the Persian language came into India with the Turki and Tājik invaders? It is not unlikely that a composition like « daśa-śata » had restricted or made obsolete the single word « sahasra » *sahassa*, śahaśśa » etc. in IA., making it possible for the Persian « hazār » to meet the want of a single term in the popular language. The Sinhalese « dahasa » *1,000*, which seems to be better explained as a composition of « daśa + śata » rather than as a modification of « sahasra = sahasra » (Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 222), and the use of « das sau » for *1,000*, etc. in Hindōstānī (cf. Platts, 'Hindustani Grammar,' p. 53) and in other NIA. would support this assumption. The native Indian (*tbh.*) word seems to be present in a few compounds, e.g., শাহমল « śāśā-māla » a *surname* (= sahasra-malla ?), সাহস নাম « sāhāsā-rāma » a *personal name* (= « sahasra-rāma »? : the *ts.* form is also found as a name).

533. For *100,000*, লাখ « lākḥā » < « lakṣa » is native Indian. For *10,000,000* the word is কোটি, কোটি « kōṭī, kōṭi », of unknown origin, which occurs also in Sanskrit. The forms কোড়, কোয় « krōṛā, krōṛā » (= Anglo-Indian *crore*) are in common use in Bengali : the corresponding form in Hindī is « karōṛ » : « krōṛā, karōṛ = krōṛa » seems to be a false Sanskritisation of a vernacular « \*kōṛa, kōṛi » agreeing with the *ts.* « kōṭi » : cf. Caryā 2, « koṭi-mājhē ōku-hiahi » *among ten millions, in the heart of one only*. In the feeling of Bengali speakers, « krōṛā » is the more learned form, a better Sanskrit word than « kōṭi » : we find it in compounds like কোড়পতি, কোড়ের « krōṛā-pāti, krōṛāśwārā » etc., side by side with কোটিপতি, কোটির « kōṭi-pāti, kōṭiśwārā ».



### 534. *The Fractional Numbers.*

The following are common to all NIA., and are easily explained. (Cf. S. K. Chatterji 'Prācīn Bāngalā "śhuṭha, śuṭa" Ō Sārddha-saṅkhyā-bhācā Śabdābhāṭī' in the VSPdP., 1930, pp. 113-117).

½ : পো, পোআ, পোয়া < pō, pōā > < MIA. < pāwa-, pāa- >, OIA. < pāda- > The change of < -āwa- > to < -ō- > is against the general phonetic development of this group in Bengali: see *supra*, pp. 349-350: the form expected should have been < \*pā >: cf. Oriyā < pā > *quarter*, < pāē > *one quarter* (cf. also Bengali পাই < pāi > *pie, pice* = < pādika >). This alteration certainly indicates extraneous influence (cf. Hindi < pāw >; cf. also Bengali conjunction তো < tō > = MIA. < tāva >, OIA. < tāvat >).

¼ : the common Bengali word is অর্ধ < ādhā > *half*, অর্ধা < ādhā > *half portion*, Oriyā < ādhā > *half*, < ādhē > *one-half*; OB. < adha=ādha >: < OIA. < ardha >. The absence of cerebralisation (we would expect < -rdh- > to change to < -ṛdh- >) shows that it is a non-Māgadhī form. The native Māgadhī equivalent seems to occur as অর্ধ < āṛḥ > in a number of compounds, e.g., অর্ধ-পাগল < āṛḥ-pāgāḥ > *half-mad*, অর্ধ-বীক < āṛḥ-bāikā > *half aslant*, অর্ধ-মাদলা < āṛḥ-mādāḥ > *half-drum shaped, not fully oblong*, অর্ধে গেলা < āṛḥ gēlā > *swallow half chewed*; cf. besides দেড় < dēṛḥ > 1½, সাত্বে < sāṛḥ > *plus half*, আড়াই < āṛāi > 2½. The Gujarātī < aṛdhō > ½ is peculiar, and may be a blend of < aḍḍha > and < addha >.

⅓ : তেহাই < tēhāi > (tri-bhāgika): rather archaic.

1½ : দেড় < dēṛḥ >, earlier < dēṛhā > as in Oriyā, = MIA. (Māgadhī) < diaḍḍha >, OIA. < dvyardha >. Colloquially, we find occasionally ডেড় < dēṛḥ > in Bengali, and there are forms in other NIA. also which show cerebralisation of the initial dental: e.g., Hindi < dēṛ(h) > beside ḍaṛhā, ḍōṛhā, Panjābī < dēṛh, dēōṛhā, dūṛhā, dūṛh > beside < dōṛhā >.

2½ : আড়াই < āṛāi >, Oriyā < āṛhāi > (with earlier < -ṛh- >), = MIA. < aḍ ḥatiya > (cf. Aśōkan < aḍḥatiya >: Sahasram), a true Māgadhī form showing also haplogy of < -t- > < OIA < ardha-tṛtiya >. A MIA. form < \*aḍḍha-titiya > gave Gujarātī < aṛī, haṛī >; and the Marāṭhī < aḍic > represents another (Early) MIA. form like < \*aḍḍha-titiya > (= Second MIA. < \*aḍḍha-iijja >, whence < \*aḍḍhijja > < \*aḍhija > < aḍic >).

3½ : Early MB.  $\text{शु॒ष्ठ}$  « śhuṣṭā » (as in the ŚKK., pp. 55, 153), Late MB.  $\text{शु॒ष्ठ}$  « śuṣṭā, śuṣṭā » : from OIA. « ardha-caturtha », through MIA. « \*aḍḍha-catuṣṭha » > \*aḍḍha-yaduṣṭha » > \*aḍḍha-aṣṭṭha » > aḍḍh'uṣṭha » ; then by dissimilation of one the cerebral groups, « \*ahuṣṭha », and finally « śhuṣṭha » in OB. (The form « aḍḍhuṣṭha » occurs in Jaina Ardha-Māgadhī, and it has been falsely Sanskritised into « adhyuṣṭa »). This word has now become obsolete in Bengali, but its cognate forms are found in the Bihārī dialects, in Hindi, and in other NIA. (Cf. Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, §§ 413-416 ; Kellogg, Hindi Grammar<sup>2</sup>, pp. 159, 161).

Plus ¼ :  $\text{সৱা}$  « sāṅā, sāwā », Oriyā « sāuyā = sāuā » : < MIA. « savāa- » = OIA. « sapāda- ». It is an adjective, found in all other NIA. (Hindi adjective « sawā » = « sapāda », noun « sawāi » = « sapādikā »).

Plus ½ :  $\text{সৱে}$  « sārē », also in Oriyā ; = Hindi « sārḥē ». From OIA. « sārḍha- » > MIA. (Māgadhī) « \*śaḍḍha- », NIA. « śaḍḍha- ». The absence of the « -ṛh- » in Oriyā shows that it is not a native form of it. « sārḥē » is an oblique or plural form, < « \*śaḍḍhahi » : cf. also Gujarātī « sārā », the expected singular nominative form of which would have been « \*sārō ».

A quarter less :  $\text{পৌনে}$  « pāunē » ; also « pāunē » in Oriyā. The source is OIA. « pādōna- » a quarter less. The alteration of « -ādō- » > MIA. « -āō- » to « -āu- » (cf. p. 351 *supra*), and the presence in the Oriyā form of the dental « -n- » instead of the expected cerebral « -ṇ- », indicate that the word is not proper Bengali and Oriyā, or Eastern Magadhan. « pāunē » is an adjective, qualifying the number following it, which is reduced by a quarter:  $\text{পৌনে দুই}$  « pāunē dui » = 2 minus ¼ = 1½ ;  $\text{পৌনে আট}$  « pāunē āṭṭā » = 7½ ; etc. Its use with  $\text{এক}$  « ēkṭā » is recent, and is found to denote only the hour, e.g.,  $\text{পৌনে একটা}$  « pāunē ēkṭā » quarter to one. The « -ē » in « pāunē » seems to be the plural « -ahi » (*supra*, p. 724) : cf. also Gujarātī « pōṅō » ¾, but « pōṅā bē » 1½, with « -ā » indicating plural. For ¾, the native Bengali is  $\text{তিন}$   $\text{পা}$  « tin-pō(ā) » = Oriyā « tini pā ».

535. Adjectives are not declined in Bengali, although in the oldest period we find concord between a subject and its predicate (adjective or verb) in so far as the latter takes up the feminine affix if the former is feminine (see *supra*, p. 721). In the Caryās, however, we find that the numerals

sometimes take case-affixes corresponding to the nouns they qualify: e.g., « tiniñ páṭṭṣ » (see *supra*, p. 743); « śkṣ śara-sandhāñṣ » with *one's aiming of the arrow* (Caryā 28); « daśam-i duāra-ta » in *the tenth door* (Caryā 2).

### 536. The Ordinals.

The use of the *tbh.* ordinal forms has been greatly curtailed in Bengali. They are now restricted, to indicate the days of the months, and besides occur in one or two stereotyped expressions. The *ts.* ordinals have entirely replaced them in the « sādhu-bhāṣā », and these have found a permanent place in the Colloquial also. As there is no native affix in living use to form ordinals, and as *tbh.* ordinals beyond 32 (the largest number of days for a month) are not much used, the language is helpless in expressing ideas like *84th* or *105th*, and must borrow Skt. words—unfamiliar-looking enough for Bengali—like « caturaśtī-tama » and « pañcaviñśaty-adhika-śata-tama ». It has been sought to naturalise the Skt. affix « -tama » in Bengali, by using it with *tbh.* numerals (e.g., চুরাশী-তম « curāśī-tamā » *84th*, এক-শ-পঁচিশ-তম « ek-śa-pāciś-tamā » *105th*), but such hybrids are extremely artificial, and have not succeeded.

In the Colloquial, however, the *genitive of the cardinal numeral* expresses its ordinal: e.g., দশের পাতা « daśērṣ pātā » *the tenth page*. Also the word qualified by the cardinal is put in the genitive in a cumbrous construction in some cases, as follows: the cardinal numeral + the word in the genitive + the word itself: e.g., ষাট দিনের দিন « ṣaṭṭṣ dinērṣ dinṣ » *the sixtieth day*, তিন-শ বারের বার « tin-śābarērṣ bārṣ » *the 300th occasion*; etc.

The Forms for the Ordinals occurring in Bengali are:

*First* = NB. পরলা < পহেলা « pāyḷā < pāhēlā », MB. OB. « pahila- » (cf. Caryās 12, 20). The source of this form, which occurs in all NIA., is an OIA. « pra-tha + -ila », becoming in MIA. « \*paṭhilla, \*pathilla > \*paḍhilla, \*pahilla ». The Skt. « prathama » is a blend of « pra-tama » (cf. Avestan fratama) and « pra-tha » (with ordinal « -tha », as in « catur-tha, ṣaṣ-tha, sapta-tha »). Equivalentents of « prathama », as well as of an elaborate « prathama + ila » occur in the Prakrits. The Bengali form « pahila » is non-Māgadhī in origin, as shown by the absence of cerebralisation.

*Second, Third.* The Bengali words in use are দোৱা and তেৱা  
 « dōeṣṣā, tēṣṣā », which are probably new Magadhan formations with the  
 cardinal bases plus an affix « sar-ā » (No. 57, p. 700). The OIA. forms  
 were « dvitīya (dvitya) » and « tṛtīya ». The former apparently gave (i) a  
 MIA. « \*dutiyya, \*dūijja, \*du(y)ajja », whence we have the Early Bengali  
 দুই (ŠKK.) > দোৱা > দো < duāḥ > dōyāḥ > dōḥ > and Hindi « dūj » ;  
 and (ii) a MIA. « biīyya, būijja », whence Marāṭhi and Gujarāṭi « bīj » ;  
 besides (iii) the form « docca, ducca » (< dvitya), which is not represen-  
 ted in NIA. The latter (i.e. the OIA. « tṛtīya ») through MIA. « \*titiyya,  
 tūijja, \*ti(y)ajja » gave Bengali তিই (ŠKK.) > তে < tiāḥ, tēḥ », besides  
 Hindi, Marāṭhi and Gujarāṭi « tīj ». The change of « -īya » to « ijja, -yajja,  
 -aja » (through a doubling of « -y- », which first took place in Early MIA.),  
 is not Prācya, or Śaurasēni: at least it is certainly non-Magadhan (see  
*supra*, p. 476). In Bengali দুই, তিই occur in the ŠKK., but they were  
 replaced by *tes*. « dvitīya, tṛtīya », except in the expressions দো-ব'ৰে, <  
 তে-ব'ৰে < dōḥ-bārē, tēḥ-bārē < bār-ivā » = a bride-groom for the second  
 and third time.

*Fourth:* चौथा « caūṭhā » (by Vowel Harmony चौथो « caūṭhō »),  
 MB. (ŠKK.) चूथै « caūṭhā » ; in (Śaurasēni) Apabhraṅśa as written in  
 Bengal, it occurs as « caūṭhṭha = cauṭṭha » (cf. 'Dōhā-kōṣa' of Saraha,  
 p. 117 of 'Baudha Gān Ō Dōhā'). In Maithili also we have « caūṭh ».  
 The cerebral « -ṭh- » indicates that it is derived from a Māgadhī  
 « \*caūṭṭha, caduṭṭha » < « catuṭṭha < caturtha ». Other NIA. speeches  
 show the un-cerebralised « caūṭh », and Bengali has borrowed this form  
 (চৌ « caūṭh ») from Hindōstāni and Marāṭhi, meaning the *fourth part of*  
*a sum of money in a transaction, and a fourth of the revenue.*

Upto the ordinal for 4, NB. shows diverse ordinal affixes, « -tha + ila ;  
 -sara ; -tha » ; plus the definitive or adjectival « -ā » affix (No. 6, p. 658).  
 For the ordinals for 5 to 18, we have a generalised OIA. ordinal affix  
 « -ma » + NIA. « -i > -ī > -ikā, -ika ». Thus *fifth* is पाँचै < \*pāñcī  
 < \*pāñcī < « \*pañcamikā, -ikā » for OIA. « pañca-ma » ; *sixth* = छठै  
 < \*ṣaṭṭhī, \*ṣaṭṭhī < chāṭi < \*chāṭi, \*chāṭi < MIA. « \*chaamia < cha-  
 mikā » ( « chā + ma » for « ṣaṣ-ṭha » of Skt. ) ; *seventh* = সাতই < \*sātī

« s̄stui < \*s̄stāi > < MIA. « sattamika », for Skt. « sapta-ma »; so to  
 সাততমই < \*সাততমই < s̄ph̄rui < \*s̄ph̄rāi > *eighteenth*, representing a MIA.  
 « \*aṭṭhārasamika » (of. Pali « aṭṭhārasama » = Skt. « aṣṭādaśā »: the  
 Skt. in the ordinals from *11th* to *19th* simply shifts the accent to the last  
 syllable, « -daśā », which takes the masculine, feminine and neuter affixes  
 as an adjective). The ordinal « -ma » (> Late MIA « -ṃa ») has lost its  
 nasalisation in Standard Bengali, except in ছুই « ch̄ui » *sixth*: in Hindōstāni  
 the nasal is retained as « -wā (= ৩৩) »; and the nasal also is found in other  
 NIA., either as « -m- » or as a mere nasalisation of the vowel.

From *19* onwards, the affix is ইয়া « -iyā », contracted to এ « -ē »,  
 an adjectival form (= No. 26, p. 674): thus \*উনিশিয়া, উনিশে « \*uniśiyā  
 > uniśē », dialectal উনইয়া « unaiśyā » *19th*; so পঁচিশে « p̄ciśē » *25th*,  
 চল্লিশে « c̄alliśē » *40th*. Indication of the ordinals by a definite affix is  
 exceedingly rare beyond the fourth decade.

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## CHAPTER IV

### THE PRONOUN

537. The Pronoun in Bengali takes the same case affixes and post-positions as the Noun, but it has, unlike the Noun, a definite oblique form to which the affixes and post-positions are added. This oblique form is generally the old genitive, as in Late MIA. There has also been an extension of the new genitive in « -ra » to form a new oblique or plural in MB. and NB.

#### [A] THE PRONOUN FOR THE FIRST PERSON.

538. OIA. « sham » *I* was extended to « \*aha-ka-m » with the pleonastic « -ka- », and in 'Old Māgadhi' « ahakaṁ » was the word for *I*. Aśvaghōṣa employs it in the 'Old Māgadhi' of his dramas (H. Lüders, 'Bruchstücke,' p. 86). In the Prakrit (Māgadhi) of 'Bhāsa,' the form is « ahakē », with the characteristic Māgadhi affix « -ē » (Sukthankar, 'Studies in Bhāsa,' JAOS., Vol. 40, pp. 248-259); and « ahakē » occurs in the Māgadhi of the Second MIA. period, as in other Skt. dramas, as « hakē, hagē » and « haggē », the last being certainly an emphatic form. The loss of the initial syllable is at least as old as the 3rd century B.C., long before the time of Aśvaghōṣa and Bhāsa. In the eastern inscriptions of Aśōka, we have . hakaṁ : so that « ahakaṁ, ahakē » in the former writers, and « ahaṃ < ahakaṁ » in Jaina Ardhamāgadhi would appear to be literary and archaic forms. By 300 A.D., it would appear that two forms were to be found in Māgadhi, « hakaṁ (\*hagaṁ), hakē (hagē) » for the OIA. « sham ». Against these, New Bengali shows nothing. But in the Old Bengali of the Caryās, there is the form « hāu » = *I*, apparently for « \*hāu, \*haū », which occurs four times: « tu lō ḍōmbī, hāu kapālī » *thou, oh, (art) a ḍōm woman, (while) I (am) a Kōpālīka* (Caryā 10); « hāu sutēli » *I slept* (18); « hāu nirāsi » *I am 'Sans-Esperance'* (20); and « hāu acchilē » (= \*achilē? \*achila?) »

*I was* (35). OB. « hāu » can be compared with Gujarāṭī « hū » and Brajbhākhā « hāu » *I*. Of the two Māgadhī forms « hakaṁ, hake », the former can only give OB. « hāu » (see *supra*, p. 359); while the latter could be represented in OB. only by a form « \*hāi, \*hai » (< \*haē < hage). It is just possible that in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, « \*hāi » was current, side by side with « \*haū ». The nasalised form, however, ousted the other one, and in the struggle the former was in all likelihood strengthened by Western Apabhraṅśa which also had « haū ». At the same time « \*hāi » itself may have influenced the formation of the verb substantive first person — « asmi, \*asāmi » \*asami » \*ahimi » \*ahiwi » \*hāiwi » \*hai » haī », and of the affix « -i » for the first person present of the verb. By initial stress, however, Māg. Ap. « \*hāū » could become « hāu » in OB.

In MB., « hāu » as the old nominative fell out of use, and the old instrumental took its place: but « hāu » seems to have (given or at least influenced) the affix for the first person to the bases for the past and future tenses of the verb in Bengali and Assamese (see *infra*, under Verb: 'Personal Affixes').

539. The OIA. instrumental « mayā » occurs in Second MIA. as « maē, maī », in (Western) Apabhraṅśa as « maī ». The nasalisation in Apabhraṅśa (also preserved in NIA., *e.g.*, Hindi and Panjābī « maī », Gujarāṭī « mā », Sindhi « mū ») would indicate an influence from the instrumental affix for the noun (-ēna > -ē: maī < \*may'ēna = mayā). The OB. equivalent is « maī » (= ? « maī »: the nasalisation can well be omitted in Bengali writing, see *supra* p. 362), which is found in Caryās 16, 18, 27, 29, 30, 35 (thrice), 36, 39; and a contracted form « ma » also occurs (Caryās 10, 13). This is as yet instrumental in OB., being used in the passive construction with the past or future (in « -il-, -ib- ») of a transitive verb: *e.g.*, Caryā 35—

« śta-kāla hāu acchilē (= āchilē ? āchila ? ) sva-mōhē :  
 śbē maī bujhila                      sadguru-bōhē »

*For such a long time I was in my own ignorance :*

*Now by me it has been understood through the good master's instruction.*

The nominative «hāu», however, became obsolete, and the instrumental «mai (maī)» assumed its function. The confusion between the active and passive constructions, with gradual disuse of the latter, was both a cause and an effect of the interchange of the instrumental and the nominative, or of the use of the former for the latter (see also pp. 166, 742).

The oblique base «mō» (see below, § 541), with the instrumental «-ṣ» from the noun gave a new instrumental «mōṣ, mōṣ», which is found as early as OB.: cf. Caryā 10, «tōhōra antare mōṣ ghalili hādēri māli» for *thy sake the chaplet of bones has been cast off by me*. This quite early became confused with «mai (maī)»; and «mōṣ, mai» in MB. occur in a bewildering variety of spellings (see § p. 811) as forms of practically one word.

In NB., this instrumental-nominative is found as মুই «mui» (= Assamese «māi», Oṛiyā «mū»); it occurred in Bihārī as «mē», but there it is now obsolete). The Bengali মুই «mui» is almost archaic, and then it is found only among certain lower classes in different parts of Bengal: consequently it is considered as a vulgar form now (cf. the phrase কুই-কুই করা «tui-mui kārā» = *use insulting or inferior language*, which does not have the sense of affectionate intimacy indicated by the French «tutoyer»).

540. The ordinary form for *I* is আমি «āmi» which was originally the plural of «hāu, maī». It comes from a common MIA. «āmhē» = OIA. (Vedic) «asmē» for «vayam»: «asmē > \*āmhē > \*āmhi, \*āmbhi > \*āmhi, \*āmbhi»: the NB. equivalent of which ought to be \*আম্ «ām», with loss of final «-i» (see *supra*, § 151: we have «-ām» no doubt as an affix for the verb, where, however, there was influence of other forms: see *infra*, under Verb: 'Personal Affixes'). In the Caryās, we find «āmhē, āhmē, āhmē (= āmhē), āmbhē»: thus, Caryā 4 «āhmē bīrā» = Skt. comm. «virō'ham» (properly = «virāḥ vayam»); «āmhē sāṅṅe dīḥē» = «asmābhiḥ sarjñayā dṛṣṭam» (Caryā 1); «āhmē dēhū» = *I give*, lit. *we give* (Caryā 19): «āmbhē na jāṅṅhū» = *we know not* (Caryā 22). The form in «-i» is not found in the Caryās, although the MIA. «āmhē» is expected



to give < \*āmhi > in OB. : and it is seen, the form in < -ē > is used both for the nominative and the instrumental. In the ŚKK., we have both **আমি, আবি** < āhmī, -i=āmhi > (only 6 times) and **আমে, আবে** < āhmē, -ē=āmhē > (some 30 times) : and there is not the least distinction between the two forms. The group < -hm=-mh > represents an aspirated < -m- >, an inheritance from MIA. which continued down to Early MB. times, to lose its aspiration by the 16th century. Oṛiyā has only the < -ē > form, < āmbhē >. The < -ē > form would seem to represent the Late MIA. instrumental : < asmābhiḥ > \*amhahī > < āmhē, āmbhē > ; and the < -i > form, the original nominative (see *supra*, p. 309). But already from before OB. times, there was a confusion between them, with the result that < -ē > practically ousted the < -i > in OB. and MB., (as we can see from OB., and from the preponderance of < -ē > forms in the ŚKK., as well as from Oṛiyā), but later this < -ē > itself seems to have become < -i > or to give place to the latter.

The transference of < āmhi, āmhē > from plural to singular took place in OB., as we can see from the Caryās. It became identical with < māi, mui, mōē > etc. in Early MB. Doubtless, the plural when first used for the singular was characteristic of polite or formal speech : cf. Oṛiyā < mū > inferior, and < āmbhē > polite, formal, and respectful. The old plural sense of < āmi > is still preserved in Assamese, where < āmi > always = *we*, never = *I*. Cf. also Western Hindi < haū > (Brajbhākhā), < maī > (Hindōstāni and Brajbhākhā), plural < ham > ; Gujarāṭī < hū >, plural < amē > ; Panjābī < maī >, plural < as(s)ī > ; Marāṭhī < mī >, plural < āmhi > : which still continue faithful to the OIA. in point of number. The Bihārī dialects have now made the original singular obsolete, the plural < ham > being the one used for *I*. The proper plural use of < āmi > however is occasionally found in MB., as late as the 16th century : e.g., in the 'Caitanya-Bhāgavata' of Vṛndāvana-dāsa, we find forms like **আমি দুই পাতকীর** < āmi dui pātākīr > of us two sinners, **আমার উদ্ধারে** < āmarā uddhāre > through our salvation, **আমি দ্রোহ কৈলু** < āmi drōhā kailū > we did offence (p. 258, ed. Atul Kṛṣṇa Gōswāmī).

541. **হুই, আমি** < mui, āmi > are the nominative forms of Bengali, and their history is given above. There are the oblique forms **আ** < mō- >

and **आमा** « *āmā-* », to which the inflections and post-positions (accusative-dative « *-ē* », « *-rē* », « *-kē* », genitive « *-rā* », locative « *-tē* », instrumental « *dwārā*, *diyā* » etc.) are added to form the various cases. « *mō-* » is the OIA. genitive « *mama* », which (through Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa and OB. « *\*maṃa* ») occurs already in OB. Another form is « *ma-* », found in OB. side by side with « *mō-* ». Following the oblique forms of the other pronouns (see *infra*) and the old genitive of the nouns, which optionally preserve the « *-ha* » (see *supra*, p. 752), « *mō-* » took up the « *-ha* » from OB. times, and was thus extended to « *mō-ha-* ». Inflected forms on the basis of this « *mō-(ma-)*, *mō-ha-* » oblique in the Caryās are: « *mō-ē* » instrumental (Caryā 10); « *mō-ra* » (Caryās 20, 33, 49), « *mōhō-ra* » (Caryā 20) = genitive forms qualifying masculine or neuter, and « *mō-ri* » = genitive qualifying feminine noun (Caryā 36); and « *mōha-kakhu*, *ma-kū* = *mō-kū* » dative (Caryā 35). In MB., beside **मो** « *mō-* », the extended forms of this oblique base are **मोह**, **मोहो**, **मह**, **महो** « *mōhā-*, *mōhō-*, *māhā-*, *māhō-* ». The instrumental form « *mō-ē* » occurs in the spellings **मोए**, **मोँ**, **मोँ**, **मोँके**, **मोँके**, **मोँके**, **मुँके**, **मुँह**, **मुँ**, **मोई** « *mōē*, *mōē*, *mōñā*, *mōñē*, *mōñā*, *mōñi*, *mufi*, *mūhi*, *muyī*, *mōi*, » etc., which are all used for the instrumental-nominative = **मुई**, **मई** « *mui*, *māi* » (see *supra*, p. 809). The inflected forms as usual are **मोर** ( **मोहर** ), **मोके**, **मोडे** « *mō-rā* ( *mōhā-rā* ), *mō-kē*, *mō-tē* » etc. Besides there is the locative oblique in « *-ē* < *-hi* » ( **मोहि**, **मोँ** *mōhi*, *mōē* > **मोर** *mōyā*, **मोँके** *mōñā* etc.), which is used in MB. for the dative-accusative. The original genitive use of « *mō* » seems to have existed in OB. (cf. « *tō* < *tava* » below). In eMB., « *mō* », although the oblique base, itself came to be used for the nominative, through confusion with « *mōē* » and **म**, **मु** < **म**, **मु** >.

The form **आमा**, **आमा** « *āmā-* = *āmhā-* (as in the ŚKK.), *āmā-* » represents the OIA. base « *asma-* », in MIA. « *amha-* ». It was strengthened by an « *-ā* », apparently through the influence of the « *-ā*, « *-sha* » of the noun. In Oṛiyā, it occurs as « *āmhā-* », as in « *āmhā-rā*, *āmhā-ku* » etc. That the extension of « *āmā-* » > *āmhā-* > \**āmhā*, \**āmā-* » to « *āmhā-*, *āmā-* » is due to a genitive « *-ā* » is seen from the

frequent use of the base « āmhā- », without the genitive « -rā », for the genitive in the ŚKK. and other MB. works; and the fact that post-positions are added direct to the « āmhā- » base, as if to the genitive, is to be noted.

542. With the old plural « āmhē, āmhi > āmi » becoming first honorific and then ordinary singular (the honorific singular sense still obtains in Oṛiyā at the present day), new plurals were formed, as in the case of the noun, from the Early MB. period, either by adding nouns of multitude like « sām̐hā (sābā), sākālā », or by extending the strong form of the genitive in « -rā »: thus, in the ŚKK., we have আক্ষে সবে « āmhē sām̐hē », beside আক্ষারী « āmhārā » (see *supra*, p. 735); in the 'Caitanya Bhāgavata,' 16th century, nominative মূই-সকল « mui-sākālā », আমি-সব « āmi-sābā », oblique, আমা-সব « āmā-sābā »; beside মোরা, আমরা « mōrā, āmārā ». For the genitive, the use of « -dērā » seems to have been established by the end of the 15th century (*vide supra*, p. 731). The « -rā » and : -digā, -dērā : affixes are in common use in NB. at present, but : -sākālā, -sābā » are also occasionally found in NB. But « -gāṇā, -gulā, sāmūhā » and the rest do not occur. The position for Bengali is thus the following :

	Singular Forms.		Plural Forms.	
	Old Singular = vulgar, archaic, dialectal.	Old Plural > Honorific Singular > Ordinary Singular.	Regular Plural from Old Singular = poetic, dialectal.	New Double Plural.
Nominative	মূই mui	আমি āmi	মোরা mō-rā	আমরা āmārā-rā (+ সব sābā etc.)
Oblique	মো mō-	আমা āmā-	মোদিগ mō-digā- মোদের mō-dērā-	আমাদিগ āmā-digā- আমাদের āmā-dērā-

Double plural forms are found elsewhere in NIA., retaining the

honorific sense where the original singular is preserved and the original plural continues to be used as a plural: thus—

	Old Singular.	Old Plural.	Double Plural (Honorific).
Bengali	মুই mui (vulgar)	আমি āmi (sg.)	মোরা, আমরা mōrā, āmārā
Assamese	মই (sg.)	আমি (pl.)	আমালোক
Oriyā	mu, mū (vulgar)	আম্ভে (sg.)	আম্ভে-মান্ধে
Magahi	[lost]	हाम (sg.)	हाम-अनि, हाम-अर-अनि
Maithili	मैं (obsolete)	हाम (sg.)	हाम-सब, हामर-सब
Bhōjpuriyā	मैं (obsolete)	हाम (sg.)	हामअनि-क, हाम-अर-अन
[Khaskurā	मा (sg.)	हामी (pl.)	हामी-हारु]

In Western Hindī, Panjābī, Sindhī, and Marāṭhī, as well as Sinhalese, where the old singular and plural forms are preserved intact, there is no room for the double plural: the Hindōstānī « ham-lōg » *we*, with a frequent enough use of « ham » = Bengali « āmi » for the singular, is due unquestionably to Eastern influence.

543. An oblique form like « majh-, mujh- » (as in Marāṭhī, Rājasthānī-Gujarātī and W. Hindī) is not found in Bengali and in other Magadhan speeches: Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa apparently did not possess a form like « majjhaṁ, majjhu » (as in Prakrit and W. Apabhraṅśa), which is found in the ablative as well as in the genitive, but which originated from the OIA. locative « mahyam ». But in the Brajabuli dialect (see *supra*, pp. 103-104) we commonly find a genitive form मज्जु « mājhu » (occasionally also oblique), which is a Western Apabhraṅśa imposition on Bengali, doubtless in the formative period of the language (cf. *supra*, pp. 113-116), at a time when « majh- < majjhu, majjhaṁ » had not altered its vowel to « -u- », as in « mujh » in W. Hindī (on the analogy of « tubhyam » \*tuhyam > tujjhaṁ, tujjhu > tujh »). The form मज्जु « mājhu » now and then appears in Vaiṣṇava poetry written in pure Bengali, and that is due to imitation of the Brajabuli style. The MIA. genitive force of « majjhaṁ » is still retained in the Marāṭhī « mājhā, mājhī, mājhē ».

It is a remarkable fact that the genitive of the personal pronoun throughout a great part of the NIA. area should show the adjectival

form with the «-ra (< kēra, kara, kāra)» affix, both in the first and second persons : e.g., in addition to the Magadhan speeches, we have E. Hindi « mōr, hamār (tōr, tohār) », W. Hindi « mērā, mērau, mēri ; hamārā, hamārau, hamāri », Panjābī « mērā, mēri » Gujarātī « mārō, māri, mārū ; amārō, amāri, amārū », Rājasthānī « mhārō, amhārō » etc.; also in the Pahlāyī languages ; and in the Gipsy dialects outside India. These are based on Western Apabhraṅśa forms like « mahāra, amhāra » (cf. Pischel. 'Gramm. der Pkt-Sprachen' § 434 ; Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe' § 210 ; Beames, Comp. Gramm., II, p. 312).

In the Bengali poetic diction, the form মম « māmā » for the genitive is quite common. This certainly is to be regarded as a MIA. form preserved by literary tradition and strengthened by the Skt. « mama ».

544. The rage for Sankritising Bengali which was in vogue late in the 18th and early in the 19th centuries when the speech was under the guardianship of the *pandits*, finds its expression in the curious form অম্মদাদি « āsmādādi » we, occurring commonly in the genitive অম্মদাদির « āsmādādir » our, pronounced [əʃʃādadir], in which the Skt. base is made to oust the *thk.* one. In this artificial 'restoration' of the genuine Bengali আদাদের « āmādār » the source of «-dēr » as «-ādi » has instinctively been hit upon.

545. Typical Dialectal Forms for the First Personal Pronoun in New Bengali (all forms cannot be given : only some characteristic ones have been introduced) :

S.W. Bengali.

West Rājha.

Nom. মূই mui—বোরবেনে mōrḍ-mēnē,

বোয়ে mōnnē, আদারে āmōnnē

Gen. বোর mō-rḍ—বোরমনকার mōrḍ-

mānḍ-kārḍ, বোরমেনকার mōrḍ-mēnḍ-

kārḍ, বোরেকার mōnnē-kārḍ

Dat. বোকে mō-kē—আদারেকে āmōnnēkē

Other Cases—বোদিয়া mō-diyā, বোটিহু

mō-ḥhinu, etc.

Nom. মূই mui—মূইরা « mui-rā »

Gen. বোরর, মরর mōhā-rḍ, māhā-rḍ—

বোয়ের mō-dērḍ

Dat. বোকে mō-kē—আদের mō-dērḍ

Other Cases—বোদিয়া mō-diyā, বোহ'তে

mō-hōtē, বোতে mō-tē, বোদেরকে

mō-dērḍ-tē, etc.

East Rājha (Standard Colloquial),  
also Varēndra (North Central).

East North Bengali  
(Dinajpur).

<p>Nom. আমি āmi—আমরা āmṛ-rā Gen. আমার āmā-rā—আমাদের āmā-dērṣ Dat. আমাকে āmā-kē, আমার āmā-y &lt; āmā-ē—আমাদের āmā-dērṣ, আমাদিকে āmā-di-kē Loc. আমার āmā-y, আশাতে āmā-tē, —আমাদিগেতে āmā-digē-tē, আমা- দেরতে, āmā-dērṣ-tē, etc., etc.</p>	<p>No. আমি hāmi—হামরা hāmṛ-rā Gen. হামার hāmā-rā—হামাদের hāmā-dērṣ Dat. হামাক, হামাকে hāmā-kṣ, hāmā- kē—(plural, same as genitive).</p>
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North Bengali.

<p>Nom. হুই mui, মই māi, মৌ mō, আমি hāmi Gen. মোর mō-rā, হামার hāmā-rā Dat. মোক mō-kṣ, হামাক hāmā-kṣ Other Oblique: মো mō-, মোর mō-rā-, হামা hāmā- (Loc. মৌৎ mō-tṣ, হামাৎ hāmā-tṣ)</p>	<p>হামা hāmā, হামরা hāmṛā, হামাঙলা hāmā-gulā হামাঙলার hāmā-gulā-rā হামাক hāmā-kṣ —হামাঙলা hāmā-gulā</p>
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West and South-West Vanga.

South-East Vanga (Chittagong).

<p>Nom. হুই, আমি mui, āmi—মোরা mō-rā, আমরা āmṛ-rā Gen. মোর mō-rā, মর mā-rā, আমার āmā-rā—মামরার amṛrā-rā, মোরগে mōrā-gō, আমাগে āmā-gō Dat. আমারে āmā-r-ē—আমরারে amṛrā-r-ē</p>	<p>Nom. অঁই āi—অঁরা ā-rā, অঁরা āy-rā, অঁরা ā-rā Gen. অঁরার āy-rā-rā, অঁর ā-rā- অঁরার ā-rā-rā-rā, অঁরার āy-rā-rā-rā Dat. অঁরে āy-r-ē, অঁরে ā-r-ē- অঁরারে ā-rā-r-ē, অঁরারে āy-rā-r-ē</p>
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The origin of the above dialectal forms is plain in every case. The S. W. Bengali মোর = mōnnē is contracted from \*mō-mānē, and \*āmā-

mānō-kārṣṭ » gives আন্যেকার « āmānnēkārṣṭ ». Contiguity with Maithili is seen plainly in the forms with initial « h- » in North Bengali ( « asma- » amha- » \*hamma- » hām, ham- », as opposed to the normal development in Bengali « amha- » āmh- » ām- » ). The « -m- » has been reduced to a simple nasalisation in Chittagong, through an intermediate « -ṃ- » which is also heard as « -ṣ-, -ṃ- ».

[B] THE PRONOUN FOR THE SECOND PERSON.

546. The Forms for the Second Person (in the Standard Speech) are—

	Old Singular (=New Singular, contemptuous or affectionate, for juniors and familiars).	Old Plural (>New Singular, inferior and familiar).	New Plurals.	
			Inferior and contemptuous.	Ordinary and familiar.
Nominative	তুই tui	তুমি tumi	তোরা tō-rā	তোমরা tōmṣ-rā (+ সব, সকল sabbṣ, sakkālṣ etc.)
Oblique	তো tō-	তোমা tōmā-	তোদিগ tō-digā- তোদের tō-dērṣ	তোমদিগ tōmā-digā-, তোমাদের tōmā-dērṣ

The above forms present an exact parallel with those for the first person: only the old singular (with its new plural in « -rā ») is used freely, in all its forms, to express familiarity or contempt, by all classes in society: unlike « mui, mō- », it has not become archaic, or confined to the lower classes only.

547. OIA. « tvam » thou gave the MIA. « tuṃ », in addition to other forms. This « tuṃ » seems to be the source of the OB. « tu », which occurs also (through contamination with the oblique) as « tō ». Oṛiyā has preserved this as « tu »: Early Maithili and Eastern and Western Hindi as « tū ». It is quite possible, however, that the OIA. original of the (Magadhan and Śaurasēni) NIA. « tu, tū », without nasalisation (as opposed to the nasalised forms like the Marāṭhī « tī », Gujarātī « tū », Rājasthānī « tī », Panjābī and Sindhī « tī ») was a form like « \*tū »,

as in Avestan (beside «tvēm»), instead of the Vedic and Sanskrit «tvam» (=tū+am).

In OB., «tu, tō» are the nominative forms, and they are found in the Caryās either independently (as e.g., Caryā 18, «Kānhē gāi, tu Kāma-caṇḍālī» *Kṛṣṇa sings, thou art a 'Karma-caṇḍālikā'*; Caryā 6, «suṇa hari[n]ā tō» *hear thou, O Deer*; Caryā 41, «jaī tō mūḍhā acchasi, pucchatu sadguru pāwa» *if thou art ignorant, ask thou at the feet of the good master*), or loosely agglutinated with the verb in the imperative (e.g., «pucchatu» *ask thou*, in Caryās 5, 41; «bāha-tu» *row thou*, Caryā 8; «bujha-tu» *comprehend thou*, Caryā 32).

548. This OB. nominative form «tu» has become obsolete in MB. and NB. The form तू *tū* «tui», from the old instrumental, corresponding to «mui» of the first person, has taken its place. The typical representative of OIA. «tvayā» in MIA. is «taē»; in the Apabhrāṇśa the word shows nasalisation, which is due to the influence of the noun (taī < \*tvay'ēna = tvayā). In the Caryās, we find «tāi = taī», which still retains its old case-value: e.g., «tāi binu» (=tvayā vinā: Caryā 4): «tāi biṭāliu» (=tvayā viṭālitam: Caryā 18). There is also in OB. a new instrumental formation on the basis of the oblique «tō» (tō-ē = tō-ē), which become confused with the original «taī, tuī» in Early MB. The OB. «tāi» occurs in Assamese as «tāi»: in the change of the vowel to «u» in Bengali «tui», there was in all likelihood the influence of the oblique «tō».

549. The oblique तौ *tō* «tō-», the nucleus to which the case terminations and post-positions are added, represents the OIA. genitive «tava». In OB., «tō» is found in its proper genitive sense: «tō muha» *thy face* (Caryā 4); «kin tō mantē, kin tō tantē, kin tō rē jhāṇa-bakhānē» *what is (the good) of thy spells, thy scriptures, and thy meditations and expoundings* (Caryā 34: «kin = kim» is a Sanskritism or Prakritism). It is found as accusative-dative (an extension of the genitive) in «tō puchami» *I ask thee* (Caryā 10). This form is also extended to «tō-ha-, tō-hō-» (cf. «mō-ha», p. 811, *supra*): genitive «tōhō-ra» (Caryā 10), «tōhāra» (Caryā 29), genitive feminine «tōhōri» (Caryās 10, 18), «tōhāri = tōhōri»



(Caryā 28), « tōhōrē dōsē » with *thy fault* (= \*tava-karēṇa dōṣēṇa : Caryā 39); dative « tōhōrē » (Caryā 18): beside genitive « tō-rā » (Caryā 41), dative « tōrē = tōrē » (Caryā 18). The instrumental based on this oblique is found in Caryā 10 : « ā lō Ḍombī, tō-ē sama karibē (=kariba) ma (=mai) sāṅga » *O Ḍōm woman, I shall have union with thee*. This instrumental « tōē = tō-ē » and the older « tai » reacted upon each other, and became merged into one form, and in Early M.B. the vowel in « tai » was altered through this process.

In eMB. (ŚKK.), we have a form with nasalised vowel, 𑒧𑒻 « tō̃ », of fairly frequent occurrence. This is used as a nominative, singular. It seems it was originally a plural form: the genitive plural in « -na » as an honorific came to be attached to the singular « tō, tō-ha », in formations like « \*tō-na, \*tō-hā » in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, for the regular plural « \*tumbhāna(ṁ), \*tumhahā » etc. The old honorific sense of it was lost in Early MB. That this was the case for this « tō̃ » can be seen from the Early Maithilī plural base for the second person—singular « tū », plural « tō̃-sabh, tō̃h-sabh » (= « \*tō-na, \*tō-hā » plus « sabh »): cf. also the Bhōjpurīyā and Magadhī plural « tō-ha-ni = tōha-+na+ -i »; this « tō̃, tō̃h, tō̃h-an-i » are thus quite distinct from the older « tumh- » = MIA. « tumba » < OIA. « yuṣma- ». The instrumental of this « tō̃, \*tō-hā » would be « \*tō̃-ē, \*tō̃-ē, \*tō̃h-ē », which would easily merge in the other singular instrumental « tō-ē » noted above: and we actually have an instance of a dative 𑒧𑒻𑒫𑒪𑒫 « tō̃hā-kā » in the ŚKK. This was thus an additional strengthening (with the loss of any plural > honorific sense it might have possessed at the beginning) of the recent « tō-ē » (= tō + ē). In eMB., « tai, tō-ē, tō̃-ē » were all confused: specially when the nasal was very unstable. Quite a large number of ways of writing these are found in MB. MSS. (e.g., 𑒧𑒻, 𑒧𑒻𑒫, 𑒧𑒻𑒫, 𑒧𑒻𑒫, 𑒧𑒻𑒫, 𑒧𑒻𑒫, « tāi, tōyā, tōē, tōē, tōē, tōnā, tōnā, tōnē, tōnē, tōni, tuṇi, tūni, tui »), and all these have finally resulted in the inferior or contemptuous, or extremely familiar form of NB., 𑒧𑒻 « tai ».

550. Corresponding to 𑒧𑒻𑒫𑒪𑒫 « āmi », NB. has 𑒧𑒻𑒫𑒪𑒫 « tumi » = Early MB. 𑒧𑒻𑒫𑒪𑒫, 𑒧𑒻𑒫𑒪𑒫 « tumhi, tomhē », OB. « tumbhē ». The New

Bengali form represents a combination of the MIA. nominative (=tumbē) and instrumental (= \*tumbahi, tumhēhi). The instrumental use occurs in OB. : *e.g.*, « tumbē hōiba » = « yuṣmābhir bhavitavyam » (Caryā 5), « tumbē jāiba » (« jāibē » in printed edition) = « yuṣmābhir yatavyam » (Caryā 23). In Oriyā the form<sup>r</sup> is « tumbhē », in Assamese « tumi », = plural.

For the oblique, we have the base তোমা « tōmā- » (Early MB. তোমা « tōmhā- »), paralleling আমা « āmā- », which is derived from the OIA. plural base « yuṣma- ». The forms তুমি, তোমো, তুম্বে, তোবা, তোম্বা « tumi, tōmhē, tumhē, tōmā-, tōmhā- » quite early, in the First MIA. period had taken up the « t- » from the singular « tvam, tvayā, tubhyam » etc., so that we have « tumbē, tumha- » instead of « \*yumbhē, \*yumba ».

The Aśōkan eastern form « tuphē » (= ? tupphē ? tumphē) is not represented in NIA., any more than « aphē » (= ? amphē ? apphē, = asmē).

551. Through the influence of Śaurasēni Apabhraṅśa in the OB. and Early MB. periods, and of the Brajabuli dialect, we have some peculiar Western forms in the language of Vaiṣṇava lyrical poetry : *e.g.*, তুহু « tuhū » *thou* (= Western Apabhraṅśa « tuhū », derived by Pischel from « \*tva-kā-m », 'Gramm. der Pkt.-Sprachen,' p. 296 ; but it may properly be an emphatic form, « tu » + particle « hū, hu », cf. Eastern Hindi and Bihārī, as well as Brajabuli, « hama-hū » *we also*, « saba-hū » *everybody*) ; তুয়া « tuā » *thy* (= literary i.e. early Maithilī « tua » : MIA. « tuva », Western Ap. « tuha » : OIA. « tava ») ; তুহা « tujhā » *thy* (Western Ap. « tujjhu », Second MIA. « tujjha » : « \*tuhyaṁ » = OIA. « tubhyam », cf. « mahyam ») ; and besides, the extended base « tō-ha, tu-ha » is also much used through the example of Maithilī or Brajabuli (as well as Brajbhākhā), in Vaiṣṇava lyrics ; *e.g.*, তোহে, তুহে, তোয় « tōhē, tuhē, tōy » accusative, locative and dative ; তোহারি, তুহারি « tōhāri, tuhāri » genitive.

552. In the Magadhan speeches, we have the following developments of the old forms for the second personal pronoun, paralleling those for the first personal pronoun :

	Old Singular	Old Plural	New Plural
Bengali	তুই tui	তুমি tumi (sg.)	তোরা, তোমরা tōrā, tōmārā
Assamese	tāi	tumi (pl.)	tā-hātē, tōmā-lōkē (hon. pl.)

	Old Singular	Old Plural	New Plural
Oriya	tu	tumbhē (respectful sg.)	tumbhē-mānē (hon. pl.)
Magahi	(obsolete)	tū, tū (sg.)	tōh-ani tōh-ara-ni,
Maithili	tū (obsolete)	tū, tūh (sg.)	tū(h)-sabh, tōharā-sabh
Bhōjpurīyā	tū (archaic)	tū (sg.)	tōha-ni(-kā), tōh-ar-an
[Khaskurā	ta (sg.)	timi (pl.)	timi-haru]
[Hindōstāni	tū, tāi	tum (pl.)	tum-lōg]

553. Typical Dialectal Forms for the Second Personal Pronoun :

S. -W. Bengali	West Rāḍha	Varendra
Nom. তুই tui, তুমি tumi —তোরে tōnnē, তোমারে tōmānnē	Nom. তুই tūi—তোরা tō-rā, তুমরা tumā-rā, তোমরা tōmā-rā	Nom. তুই tui— তমরাহ tāmā-rāh
Gen. তর tā-rā—তমার tāmā-rā, তদের tā-dērā, তোদের tōnnērā	Gen. তোর tō-rā—তোমার tōmā-rā, তোদের tō-dērā, তোরাদের tōrā-dērā, তোগোর tō-gō-rā	Gen. তোর tō-rā— তমহার tāmā-rā তুমার tumā-ghārā
North Bengali	West & S.-W. Vanga	East Vanga (Chittagong)
Nom. তুই tui—তুমরা tumā-rā	Nom. তর tāy, তুমি tumi —তোরা tō-rā, তোমরা tōmā-rā	Nom. তুই tui, তুই tui < tumi—তোরা tō-rā, তৌরা tō-rā < tōmā-rā
Gen. তোর tō-rā—তমহার tāmā-rā, তুমার tumā-rā, তুমার tumā-ghārā.	Gen. তোর tō-rā, তর tā-rā —তোমার tō-rā-rā, তোমার tōmā-rā, তোমার tōmā-rā-rā, তোর-গো tō-rā-gō	Gen. তোর tō-rā—তৌমার tōi-rā < tōmā-rā, etc.

[C] THE PRONOUN FOR THE THIRD PERSON.

The Pronoun for the Third Person (or) 'General Demonstrative': সে, তাহা nominative « sē », oblique « tā(hā) », etc.

554. The Typical Bengali forms as in the Standard Colloquial and the « sādhu-bhāṣā » are the following :

	Singular		Plural	
	Old Singular.	Old Plural > Honorific Singular	New Plural > Ordinary	Double Plural = Honorific
Nominative	সে sē, [neuter ত(হা) tã(hã)]	তিনি tini; তেই tēhã, তিই tihã (archaic)	ত(হা)রা tã(hã)rã (+সব, সকল sãbãṣ sãkãlãṣ etc.) ; সে সব sē + sãbãṣ etc.	তী(হা)রা tī(hã)rã (+সব, সকল sãbãṣ sãkãlãṣ, etc.)
Oblique	তাহা tãhã-, তা tã-	তীহা tīhã-, তানা tãnã-, তেনা tenã-, তা tã-	ত(হা)দিগ tã(hã)- digã-, তাহাদের tã(hã)dērãṣ	তী(হা)দিগ tī(hã)- digã-, তী(হা)দের tī(hã)dērãṣ

555. The OIA. nominative of the pronoun for the third person (the base of which was « ta- ») was « sa, saḥ ». In Māgadhī Prakrit it became « sē », and the Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa form was in all likelihood « \*śi », which seems to be preserved in the Assamese সি « si » (for শি « śi »), pronounced [xi] or [çi]. But in Bengali, and in Oṛiyā, and also in the Bihārī group, the pronoun occurs in the nominative as সে « sē (śē) » instead of the expected « \*si (śi) ». The « -ē » vowel may be due to an extended form « \*sa-ka-ḥ » (cf. ahakaṁ = aham): which would give in Māgadhī « \*śakē » > śagē » > \*śaē » > \*śai » > śē » (cf. pp. 741-742, *supra*); or it may be due to the influence of the instrumental form « tē » (< tēna). The OIA. feminine « sã » seems to have continued (as « śã ») in Māgadhī down to the Apabhraṅśa period, when it fell into disuse, and the masculine came to be used for the feminine. Already during the Second MIA. stage, the masculine « sē » came to be employed for the neuter (like the neuter affix « -am » > -am » of the noun taking up the masculine « -ē » < -aḥ » affix: *supra*, p. 622) (Pischel 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 423). In Bengali, as in other Magadhan, there is as a consequence no distinction of gender, « sē (śē) » being used for masculine, and feminine and also for neuter. For the neuter nominative, however, the form ত(হা) « tã(hã) » is

more common. It is really the oblique extended to the accusative and then to the nominative; the accusative employ we find in the Caryās: e.g., « tã dēkhi » *having seen that* (7), « tã suni » *having heard that* (16).

556. The oblique singular ত(হা) « tã(hã)- » is really the genitive in « -ã, -ãha » discussed above, § 502 (pp. 751-752). The genitival use « -ã, -ãha » occurred in OB., as we can see from the Caryās. The oblique « tãh-ã » is by extension of « tãha » with the definitive « -ã » affix. By adding the usual affixes and post-positions, we have forms like genitive তাহর, তাহার, তাহের, তাক « tãhã-rã, tãhã-rã, tãh-ērã, tã-kã », accusative and locative (or new oblique) তাহে, তার « tãh-ē > tãyã », locative তাহাতে « tã(hã)-tē », instrumental তাহা-দিয়া, -দ্বারা « tã(hã)-diyã, -dwãrã », etc.

557. The OIA. plural forms (masculine « tē », feminine « tãh » neuter « tãni ») seem to have continued down to Second MIA. (respectively as « tē; tão; tãpi, tãim »). But they have not been inherited in NIA. Already in the Second MIA. stage, the nominative forms « sē, sē » of the singular were extended to the plural, in Ardha-māgadhī and Māgadhī (Pischel, § 423). In OB. we find « tē » in Caryā 22: « jē sacarācara tiasã bhamanti, tē ajarāmara kimpi na honti » *those (Yōgis) who wander through all the world and also through heaven, they do not become in the least ageless and deathless: this « tē » may be a Sanskritism; but it can well be a nominative plural, derived from an instrumental « \*tēhi, tēhi ».* A similar nominative « tē » occurs in Eastern Hindī and Western Hindī. This « tē » (or « tē » ?) nominative of Old Bengali seems to have lingered on till Early Middle Bengali, and then it was dropped from the speech, new forms taking its place: we have one instance in ŚKK., p. 313: গোপীকুলের তোম্বে কৈলিঁ আপমান....., তে সন্ধে চোরায়িল বাণী তোহ কাহ « gōpi-kulērã tōmhē kailiṅ āpãmānã, tē sãmhē cōrãyilã bãṅi tōrã Kãnhã » *you have insulted the Gōpis, they have stolen your flute, O Kṛṣṇa.*

The expected form of the OIA. « tē » in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa and in OB. would be « \*ti », and in an emphatic position it might remain as « tē ». Side by side with « sē, tē », the instrumental and the genitive plural were undoubtedly used for the nominative in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa

and in OB. (\*tēhi, \*tāhi, \*tēhi; \*tāna[r̄n], \*tāhā; \*tān-i), paralleling the usage for the noun.

558. MB. and NB. honorific singular forms come from the plural instrumental and genitive of Apabhraṅśa and OB. In MB., the honorific nominative is তেহ্, তিহ্ « tēhā, tihā », which palpably receives its « ē, i » vowel from the instrumental, and its nasalisation may be due to the influence of the genitive. It is not impossible, moreover, that the « -ē- » of the OIA. genitive « tēsām » should have persisted through some dialectal undercurrent here. The forms তেহ্, তিহ্, or তেহ্ (besides তেহৌ) « tēhā, tihā, tēha, tēhō » were continued down to the middle of the 19th century, in the « sādhu-bhāṣā ». The ŚKK. has registered তেহ্ « tēhā » is one place (p. 19), and তেহৌ « tēhō » in another (p. 67): in the ŚKK., the honorific sense is not strong, and we find that the ordinary সে « sē » is joined to তেহৌ « tēhō » merely as an emphatic form. (e.g., চৌদ চৌ যুগ আয়ু লকার রাবণ । তেহৌ সে মজিআ গেল শীতার কারণ ॥ « caudā cau jugā ayu Laṅkāra Rāvaṇa, tēhō sē mājiā gēla Śītāra kāraṇā » *fourteen four-yugas his life, Rāvaṇa of Laṅkā: even he went to perdition through the reason of Śitā*). The form now actually in use is তিনি « tini », both in the colloquial and in literature, which is not met with except in Late MB. : this « tini » is from an earlier colloquial form « \*tēni » (cf. honorific oblique base তেনা « tēnā- », beside তাঁ « tā »), in the Standard Colloquial area : « ē > i » by Vowel Harmony), which looks like a blend of the genitive and instrumental. Assamese has preserved the old « tihā, tēhā » in the form of « tēo ».

The oblique তাঁহা « tāhā- » is easily explained. The persistence of the « -h- » may be due to the influence in singular তাহা « tāhā- ». There has been a great deal of cross influence in the development of these forms. There are in the Standard Colloquial area the dialectal obliques তেনা « tēnā- » and তানা « tānā- » (the latter more of a 'folk' form), which retain the vocalism of the instrumental and genitive, and the full « -n- » of the nominative form « tini » and the genitive-oblique « tānā ». The genitival use of তান « tānā » (< « tāna = tēsām » : see *supra*, p. 306) is found in East Bengali : cf. also Oriyā « tāṅ-kā(rā) » (= « tēsām-kara-, -kr̄ta »), and Maithilī « tan-i-k »,

Bhōjpurīyā « tinh- kē ». The full « -n », or nasalisation, from the genitive plural, came to be associated with the plural (and honorific) base, and hence we find in MB. the honorific genitive তাহান « tāhā-nā » ( < tāha- ), Early Oriyā « tāhā-nā ». Bengali তী « tī- » can be either from « tāna », or it is merely a new formation by nasalising the singular « tā- = tāha ».

With the Bengali « tāhā-, tēnā-, tini, tī(hā)- » etc. are to be compared the Maithili « tan-ik », Magahi « tinh- », Bhōjpurīyā « tinh » ; and Awadhī ten(h) », Baghēli « tenh », Chattisgarh « tin » ; Western Hindi tin(h) » — plural or honorific forms, all with similar genitival « -n- ».

559. The old plural becoming singular honorific, new plurals were formed on the basis of their respective genitives in « -ra ». These came in use during the Early MB. period (see *supra*, pp. 734-736).

560. Early Bengali preserves relics of some of the older case forms. The instrumental « tāna > tī » is preserved in the sense of *therefore, consequently* in the ŚKK., as তে, তে « tē, tē » : e.g., p. 38, করলো বড় ব্রত আর করবত, তে বা কুখিনী মোঞে « kārālō khaṇḍā-brātā āra jāramā-tā, tē bā duḥkhini mōḥē » in my previous birth I did an unfulfilled penance, may be for that I am miserable (now); p. 218, বুলি তে আতি বতনে « buli tē āti jātanē » for that I say with great care; p. 367, বাপ নন্দবোব মাআ বশোনা, তে কুন্দী মামী আকারে « bāpā Nānda-ghōṣā, māā Yāsōdā, tē tumbi māmī āmhārē » (my) father is N., my mother Y., therefore you are my maternal uncle's wife; p. 359, গেছান বাণে ছেদিলে মদন বাণ, তে আর না ভোলো ভোঙ্কার বোবন « gēānā-bāṇē chēdilō Mādānā-bāṇā, tē āra nā bhōlō (= bhōlō) tōmhārā jāubānā » with the arrow of wisdom I have shattered the arrow of Love, therefore I do not forget myself through your youth. There is also the phrase তে কারণে « tē kāraṇē » = « tēna kāraṇēna » which occurs more than ten times; and an extension of « tē » occurs as তেএ, তেএ, « tēē, tēē » e.g.; এবে তোকে দেখিএ রূপনে । তেএ মোর বাঢ়িল আশে « ēbē tōkē dēkhiē rūpāṣē, tēē mōrā bāḥhilā āṣē » I see thee now to be so beautiful, therefore my hope has increased (p. 45); দেই দধি চুপ চুত ভাঙত আছএ । পসার সাজিতে তেএ কাহু ক কুআএ « jēi dādhi dudhā ghṛtā bhāṇḍā-tā śchāṣē, pāsārā sājitē tēē Kānhu-kā juṣē » the curds, milk and ghee that remain in the pots, K. should make a display for sale with that (p. 179); and as তেউ « tē-ū » ( < tēna + MIA.

hu = khalu) (p. 29). In later MB., this instrumental is very common as a conjunction, in the form তেই « tēi » *therefore* (= tēna+hi). The form « tēi » is archaic and poetic now, and তে কারণে, তে কারণ « tē-kārāṇē, tē-kārāṇṣ » also occur in NB. poetry.

The locative in « -hi », « tahi » (see *supra*, pp. 745-746) occurs in OB. : e.g., « tahi caḍi nācaī » *they dance, mounted on that* (Caryā 10). Its use became obsolete as a locative in MB., where it was adopted as noun of place = *there*, to which the case affixes were added. The ŚKK. has বম্বনার তীরে কদমতরু তলে তহি বসি কাহ বাএ বীশে « Yāmunārā tīrē kadāmā-tāru-tālē tahi bāsi Kānbā bāē bāśē » *by the bank of Yamunā, under the Kadamba tree, sitting there K. plays on the bamboo flute* (p. 306), beside যুগমদ কুচযুগ গগন মাঝার। তহিত নক্ষত্রগণ গজমুতীহার ॥ « mṛgā-mādā kucā-yugā gāgānā-mājhārā, tāhi-tā nākṣātrā-gāṇā gājā-mutī-hārā » *your two breasts (smearred) with musk-paste is the vault of the sky, the necklace of elephant (big) pearls is the mass of stars thereon* (p. 154), where « tāhi-tā » has a pleonastic locative « -tā ». In ordinary MB., তহির, তহির « tāhi-rā, tāhī-rā » are not rare, meaning both *of that place* and *his, its*. Oṛiyā also possess « tāhī-rā » beside « tā(hā)-rā » as genitive of « sē ». In Early MB. and in Late MB., the form তথি, তথী « tāthi, tāthī » *there* (< locative of MIA. « tattha » = OIA. « tatra ») is similarly used : তথির « tāthi-rā » *of him*, তথিত « tāthi-tā » *in him*, etc.

561. The distinction of gender is now lost in all Magadhan, but a feminine form for the third personal pronoun has been preserved in Assamese and in South-Eastern Bengali (Chittagong) : and traces might still exist in the other dialects. Thus in Assamese beside the masculine « si », plural « si-hātē », there is a feminine « tāi, tāyē », plural « tāi-hātē » ; and Chittagongese shows a feminine তাই « tāi » (plural « tāi-rā »), beside the masculine হিতে, তে « hi-tē » (< \*si + tē = sē + tē), tē » (plural « hitē-rā, tārā » : Basanta Kumar Chatterji, VSPdP., 1926, p. 112). This feminine « tāi » (the nasalisation in the Chittagong « tāi » is irregular, and might be through the infection from honorific forms) seems to be based on the Second MIA. instrumental, dative and genitive « tāē » (< OIA. instrumental « tayā »), occurring in Māgadhī as well as in other dialects (Pischel, § 425).



The absence of distinction of gender for the personal pronoun of the third person is a defect in the language, and there have been unsuccessful attempts to do away with this defect by employing the Sanskrit « sã » for the feminine nominative, and the base « tasyã- », from the Skt. feminine genitive « tasyãḥ », for the feminine oblique : তস্যার « tasyã-rã » of her, তস্যাকৈ « tasyã-kẽ » to her, etc. In some 18th and 19th century documents the « tasyã- » oblique has been found<sup>1</sup> (Chandra-Sekhara Kãli, VSPd., Kãrya-vivaraṇi for 1316, pp. 45, 46 ; and 'Hõmiõpyãthik Bhaishajyãballir Siddhi-prada Lakṣaṇa-cay,' Vol. I, 8th edition, Calcutta 1921, pp. 11 ff.)

562. Some Western (Śaurasēni) forms figure in OB. and in MB., especially in the Vaiṣṇava lyrics. (See *supra*, pp. 103, 115.) সো « sõ » instead of the native সে « sē » is found in the Caryãs (e.g., 10, 22, 27, 33, 41) : it is the nominative, but is found as an accusative also, e.g., Caryã 21, « kariha sõ niccala » *make him motionless* ; Caryã 45, « chẽwaha sõ taru » *cut down that tree*. This form is fairly common in Vaiṣṇava lyrics and is often demonstrative adjective, as in OB. Thus « sõ » is thrice as numerous as « sē » in the Caryãs, a fact which is explicable through Śaurasēni literary influence as well as through the MS. being copied in Nepal. The genitive of « sõ » in Western Apabhraṅśa has the forms « tassu, tasu » and « tãsu » (=tassa, tasya), beside « tahõ ». In the Caryãs we have « tasu » (instead of the native « tã, tãha, tãh-ẽra »), as in « tasu anga » *its limb* (27), « maṇa taru, pañca indi tasu sãhã » *the mind is a tree, the five senses are its branches* (45). Maithili of literature also possesses this form. In MB., Brajabuli as well as ordinary poetic Bengali, it occurs as ত্যু « tãchu », with « -ch- » for « -s- » (*ante*, pp. 474, 551).

<sup>1</sup> In Early NB. letters and documents, for feminine forms like দেবী, দাসী, ঈবতী 'dēbī, dāsī, Śrī-matī,' the genitive and other cases are on the basis of the Skt. genitive in ' -yãḥ ': দেব্যার, দ্যাকৈ, ঈব্যাকৈ 'dēbyār, dāyã-r, Śrī-matyã-kẽ,' besides the regular 'dēbī-r, dāsī-kẽ, Śrī-matī-kẽ' etc. A curious result of this practice has been that in Bengali epistolary and legal language, these ' -yã ' oblique forms have become established as nominatives, especially with names of widows, and in this way a distinction is made of widows from unmarried girls or women with husbands living.

563. Typical Dialectal Forms for the Third Personal Pronoun :

South-West Bengali

West Rājha

<p>Nom. সে, তিন sē, tin—তারমেনে tārṅ-mēnē, জানমেনে jānṅ-mēnē, তারে tānnē, তাঁরে tānnē. Gen. তার, তান tārṅ, tānṅ—তারমেনকার tārṅ-menṅ-karṅ, তারেকার tānnē-kārṅ, তাদাকার tānnā-kārṅ.</p>	<p>Nom. সে তাই sē, t̄ai—তাহরা t̄ahā-rā, তাহারā t̄ahā-rā. Gen. তাহার t̄ahā-rṅ—তাহারদের t̄ahārṅ-dērṅ. (The Remote Demonstrative is also commonly employed)</p>
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North Bengali (Rājbañśi)

West Vanga

(Dacca, Maimansingh)

<p>Nom. সে, তাঁ, তাঁর, তানি sē, t̄ā, t̄āy, tāni—তাম(া)রা tām(ā)-rā. Gen. তার, তাহে, তামার t̄ā-rṅ, t̄ā-r-hē, t̄āmā-rṅ—তামার t̄āmā-rṅ, তামারার t̄āmṅrārṅ.</p>	<p>Nom. সে, তাইন, তিনি sē, t̄ain, tini—তারা, তানরা, তাহানরা t̄ā-rā, t̄ā(hā)-r-ṅ. Gen. তার, তান, তাহান t̄ā-rṅ; tānṅ, t̄ahā-nṅ—তারার t̄ā-rā-rṅ, তাগো t̄ā-gō, তানরার t̄ānṅ-rā-rṅ, (The Remote Demonstrative is employed in Haijong)</p>
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East Vanga (Sylhet, Kachar)

South Vanga (Bakharganj)

S. E. Vanga (Chittagong)

<p>Nom. হে, তাইন, হে, তানি hē, t̄ain—হেরা, তারā hē-rā, t̄ā-rā. Gen. হের, তার hē-rṅ, t̄ā-rṅ—হেরার, hē-rā-rṅ, তারার t̄ā-rā-rṅ.</p>	<p>Nom. হিতে, হেতিন, তে hi-tē, hē-tiu, tē; (fem.) তাঁই t̄āi—তারা, হিতেরā t̄ā-rā, hi-tē-rā, তাঁইরা t̄āi-rā. Gen. হেতার, তার, তান hē-tā-rṅ, t̄ā-rṅ, tānṅ, তাঁইর t̄āi-rṅ—তারার t̄ā-rā-rṅ, তানার tānnā-rṅ, তাঁইরার t̄āi-rā-rṅ.</p>
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S.-W. Bengali has the characteristic «-mēṅṅ» affix for the plural contracted to «-ṅ-». The West Rāḍha ভাই «tāi» may originally have been the feminine form noted in p. 825. North Bengali uses the base তী «tāi» (beside a fuller তানি «tāni») for the nominative; and the form তামার «tāmārṅṅ», plural তাম(া)রা «tām(ā)rā» are honorific, with «-m-» for «-ṅ-» or «-h-» of other forms of Bengali — a phonetic peculiarity which characterises this dialect: as early as c. 1555 A.C., in a letter from the Kōc king Nara-Nārāyaṇa of North Bengal to the Ahom king Su-khām-phā, we find ইমারাক পাঠাইতেছি «imā-rā-kṅ (=ihā-digā-kē) pāṭhāitē-chi» *I am sending them*, তামার মুখে «tāmār-ra-rṅ (=tāhā-digārṅ) mukhē» *from their mouth* (Report of the Third North Bengal Literary Conference, p. 37; VSP., II, p. 1672).

The use of the «-rā» plural for the oblique as well is noticeable in the North and East Bengali dialects. As the forms «imārā-kṅ» and «tāmārārṅ» mentioned above show, such oblique use was established by the 16th century.

The nominative «sē» becomes «hē» in many of the East Bengali dialects; and in South Vāṅga, «hē» changes «tini» to «\*sini > hini», «tēnā-rṅṅ» to «\*sēnārṅṅ > hēnārṅṅ»; and «sē > hē» is used for the oblique as well: e.g., East Vāṅga «sē-rṅṅ > hērṅṅ» *his*, «sē-rā > hērā» *they*, «sē-rārṅṅ > hērārṅṅ» *their*. The Assamese accusative «siyē» [xie, çie] shows a similar though restricted use of the nominative base for an oblique case.

The Chittagongese nominative «tē» seems to be due to the influence of the oblique base in «ta-». A peculiarity of this dialect (and of S.-E. Vāṅga generally) consists in the double forms «hi-tē, hē-tin = sē + tē, sē + tini».

In the Mayang dialect, the base «tā» is used for the nominative (genitive «tā-rṅṅ» singular, plural nominative «tānō», plural genitive «tānō-rṅṅ»).

564. The nominative সে «sē», emphatic সেই < সেই «sēi < sē-hi», is used as a demonstrative adjective, = *that*, for all genders. A noun

of multitude agglutinated to « sē, sei » indicates the plural. The qualified word takes the case inflections, e.g., সে লোক, সেই লোক « sē, sei lōkḥ » *that man*, সেই-সকল লোকের « sēi-sākalḥ lōkēḥ » *of those men*, etc.

[D] THE PROXIMATE OR NEAR DEMONSTRATIVE.

565. The typical Bengali forms in the Standard Literary and Colloquial are :

	Singular		Plural	
	Old Singular	Old Plural = Honorific	New Plural	Double Plural = Honorific
Nominative	এ ঠে (earlier এহা ēhā), neuter ইহা ihā	এই ēhā, ইহঁ ihā, ইনি ini	এরা ērā, ইহারা ihārā (এসব, এগুলো ē-sābḥ, ē-gulā)	এঁরা, এঁরাৱাঠি(ঙ)রা, এনারা ēnārā, ইহঁারা ihārā
Oblique	এ, ইহা ঠে-, ihā- (earlier এহা ēhā)	এঁ, এঁরা, এনা ঠে- ঠে-, ঠেনা-, ইহঁ ihā-	এদিগ ēdigā-, এদের ঠেদে-, ইহাদিগ, দে ihādigā-, -dēḥ	এঁ-, এঁ(রা)দিগ, দে ঠে(ঙ)দিগā-, -dēḥ, এনাংদের ēnādēḥḥ, ইহঁদিগ, -দে ihādigā-, -dēḥ

566. In Vedic and Sanskrit there are two pronouns to indicate the near demonstrative = *this, this here*: [i] the pronoun « ē-ta- », (nom. sg. masculine « ē-śah », feminine « ē-śā », neuter « ē-tad ») which is a combination of a base « ē- » (= Avestan « aē- », < Indo-Iranian « \*ai- » < Indo-European « \*ei-, \*oi- ») plus the third personal bases « \*to- » (« \*so- »); and [ii] the composite pronoun which is in the nom. sg. masculine « ayam », feminine « iyam », neuter « idam », and which is made up of the four defective pronominal bases: « a- » (as in Sanskrit « a-smāi, a-sya, a-syāi; ā-bhyaḥ, ā-sām », etc.), « an- » (as in « an-ēna,

an-ayōḥ »), « i- » (« i-y-am, i-d-am »; in *guṇa* forms « \*ai-, ē- », as in « ay-am », Vedic « ēnā = \*ai-nā, ayā = \*ai-ā », ḅbhiḥ, ē-ṣām, ē-ṣu = \*ai-bhis, \*ai-ṣām, \*ai-ṣu », etc.), and « im- » (as in « im-am, im-ām, im-āḥ, im-ān » etc.). In OIA. dialects other than those which formed the basis of the literary speeches (Vedic and Sanskrit), it is not impossible that each of these bases, namely, « a-, an-, i- (ai- > ē-, ay- ), im- » existed in their entire declensions.

The basis or root form of the Bengali proximate demonstrative is « ē- », dialectally « i-, i- »: the affix « -ha » of the oblique is genitival, and the nasalised forms, or forms in « -n- », were originally plural genitives. The older form for the nominative seems to be « ē ». The Caryās know « ē » (e.g., Caryā 6, « ē bana cchāḍi » *abandoning this forest*; 28, « ē bana hiṇḍai » *wanders in this forest*; 33 « ē tailōē » *in this threefold universe*; 39, « ē jaga » *this world*), beside « ēha » (Caryā 43, « ēha sahāva » *this nature*), and « ēhu » (Caryā 22, « ja ēhu jaati » for « \*jē ēhu jugati »: cf. Comm., « ēṣā hi yuktiḥ »). The eMB. of the ŚKK. also shows « ē », in the forms like এ, এআ, এহা, এহে, এহি, এনি, এহাএ, এহাক, এহাত, এহার, এহো « ē, ēā, ēhā, ēi, ēhi, ē-si, ēhā-ē, ēhā-kā, ēhā-tā, ēhā-rā, ēhō » occurring some four score of times, while a solitary « i- » form occurs in ইহার « ihārā ». In the NB. Standard Colloquial « ē » also is the word, « ihā » belonging to the literary language and to the dialects.

The source of the Bengali « ē » would thus seem to be the OIA. base « ēta- ». The *guṇa* form of the defective pronoun « i- », as « \*ai- > ay-, ē- » can of course be equally the source of a NIA. « ē ». But MIA. remains do not register a fully declined « i- » demonstrative: Aśōkan Prakrits and Pali both show that the base « im- » was the one most widely current in the First MIA. period, with the simple « i- » and « a- » bases considerably restricted in use. The same thing is noticeable in Second MIA. as well. The « i-, im- » bases seem to have continued in the Western Apabhraṅśa of literature, specially in the form « ūya- », beside « ēya-, ēa- = « ēta- ». In the Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, however, it seems that only the base « ēta- > ēa- » (genitive « ētasya > \*ēaha ») was current,

which gave the Bengali « ē, (ēhā) ». The base « ima- » of MIA. is not represented in NIA. in which its expected development would be « \*iwa- ».

Saurasēni Apabhraṅśa as written in Eastern India (in the Buddhist Dōhās shows numerous instances of the nominative « ēhu » (= ēṣah). What exactly was the nominative of the « ēta- » base in Māgadhi Apabhraṅśa cannot be determined. The Māgadhi Prakrit forms are « ēśē, ēśā, ē(d)am ». The « -ś- » apparently dropped through influence of the neuter and of the oblique. The genitive « ēha » was strengthened to « ēhā » in Early MB. The genitive plural « ētānām (= ētēśām) > ēāṇa(m) » is the source of oblique honorific bases « ēnā-, ēhā-, ē- » etc. The NB. honorific nominative ইনি « ini » presents a parallel case with তিনি « tini » (p. 823) : Early Bengali employed ইহঁ, ইহঁো, এহঁো « ihā, ihō, ēhō », which we occasionally find written in MSS. as ঐহ, ঐহো, এহো « ŋihā, ŋihō, ŋēhō ».

The alternation of « i, ē » is a commonplace thing in NIA. phonology. The « i » forms developed in Bengali quite early : the solitary ইহার « ihā-rā » in the ŚKK. shows that it goes back to the 14th century at least, and ইহার, ইহারে, ইহাকে « ihā-rā, ihā-rē, ihā-kē » etc. are common enough in MB. The Late MB. prose preferred these « i- » forms, whence the NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » took them up. Oṛiyā preserves the earlier broader vowel, like Standard Colloquial Bengali : « ē, ēhā, ēhi ». In MB. and dialectal Bengali we find a form ইহান « ihāṇ », honorific genitive singular, = « ihā » + « -na » of the plural. In Assamese we have singular nominative « i », oblique « iyā- », plural « i-hāt- » : the honorific is « ēo » = MB. « ēhā » ; and there is a feminine form in Assamese, « ēi », corresponding to « tāi » *she* (*supra*, p. 825), which seems to be based on the MIA. feminine genitive « ētāē, \*ēdāē, \*cāē », agreeing with « tāē » for « tasyāḥ ».

The Bihārī dialects show « I, i » for the nominative, and « ēh-, ē-, ēhi- » for the oblique ; and corresponding to « ēhā-, ihā- » of Bengali are to be found in Maithilī « hina-k < \*inha-ka » (honorific oblique), and Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā « inh- » (plural base).

567. The OIA. «*ēta-*» base is found to be represented in most other NIA. Typical forms are given below :

	Nominative		Oblique	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Awadhī	ī, yū (=ēhū)	in, ē	ē-, ēh-, ēhi-, yāhi-	in-
Hindōstānī	yah, yōh, yih ( < *ēaha )	same as Singular	is-	in-, inh-
Brajbhākhā	yah, yih ( < *ēaha )	yē, yaū	is-, yā- (= *ēaha)	ini-, in-, inhaū-
Panjābī (Eastern)	ih, ēh	ih, ēh	ēs-, is-, ih-	ēh-, inh-
Lahndī	ē, ēh, ī	ē, ēh, nēh, in, ī, ih	is-, ih-, ī-	inhē-, inhē-
Sindhī	hi, hē, hī <sup>u</sup> , hī <sup>a</sup>	hi, hē	hina-	hine-, hinane-
Rājasthānī	yō, yā (ō, ā)	yai, yē, (ē, āi)	ai-, in(i)-, ī-, aṇi-	inā-, anā-, in-, yā-, ā-
Gujarātī	ē	ēō	ē-	ēō-
Marāṭhī	hā [m.], hī [f.], hē [n.]	hē, hyā, hī	hyā- (yā-), hī-(ī-)	hyā- (yā-)
Khaskurā	yō	ina, in(i)	yes-, yas-	ina-, in(i)-

Of the above forms, the oblique singular in «*-s-*», as in Western Hindi (Hindōstānī, Brajbhākhā), Panjābī and Lahndī, as well as in Khaskurā (and the Western Pabārī dialects), is based on the OIA. «*ētasya*» (genitive of the «*ēta-*» base), which seems to have become «*\*ētissa*» in First MIA. (cf. «*ētisa*» in Aśōkan the Shahbazgarhi: a similar change of the original vowel to «*-i-*» we note in the instrumental «*\*ētina* < *ētēna*», which figures in the Second MIA., Māgadī and Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī, as

« ēdinā » and « ēiṇā » respectively): « \*ētissa < \*edissa > \*ēissa » would be the development in Later MIA. It is quite likely that like « kissa, kiśśa, kiśa » = OIA. « kasya » which from the Early MIA. period was specialised from its genitive employ, and became almost an independent form (cf. Bengali কিসে, কিসের « kisē, kiśē-rā » *by what, of what*: see *infra*, under 'Interrogative'), « \*ēissa » also was specialised, first as an ablative, and then as an oblique. This « \*ēissa » could easily be the source of the NIA. « is-, ēs-, yes-, yas- » etc. In East Bengali (Dacca) when one is at a loss for a word the expletive ইসে « isē » is frequently used (= *namely, this or, what*): this « isē » seems to be the equivalent of the W. Hindi « is- » in Bengali (cf. the similar use of « ēthi » in Bhojpuriyā: p. 834). The normal genitive form in « -ha » gave the oblique in the other NIA. dialects, and in many cases this oblique was shifted to the nominative. The nominative plural « yai, yē, ē », as in Western Hindi, in Rājasthāni and in Panjābī, possibly represents the instrumental « \*ēēhi = ētāhīm = ētāiḥ ». In Gujarātī « ē » has taken up the sense of the remote demonstrative, and « -ō » is its normalised plural affix. The nasal « ṇ » (or nasalisation of the vowel derived from the nasal) in the Rājasthāni oblique singular comes from the OIA. pronominal base « ēna- » *he, she, it*, which was continued in MIA. (Pischel, § 431); but it is not preserved elsewhere in NIA. In the Apabhraṅśa source of Rājasthāni-Gujarātī, the « ēta- » and « ēna- » bases were merged into this demonstrative (Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.', § 89). The Sindhī oblique *e.g.*, « hina » is probably similarly to be explained. The prothetic « h- » in Sindhī is peculiar, but it may be by metathesis, from the genitive oblique « \*śaha > \*ēha > hē, hī »: « u, a » are recent masculine and feminine affixes. The Marāṭhī forms present some obscurities (cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' pp. 162, 208): but can it be that in the formation of Marāṭhī « hā » etc. there was a blending in Mahārāṣṭrī Apabhraṅśa of forms like « śha- » (= śśah, śtasya) and « śa-, āya- » (= ayam), such as we find in the Western Apabhraṅśa? Gujarātī also has « ā » *this*, which is derived from « āya-, āa- » as found in Jaina Apabhraṅśa of the West, = Second MIA. « aya- » < OIA. nom. masc. « ayam ».



Sinhalese has the bases « ū, ē (ē) » for the third personal pronoun : of these, « ū » corresponds to the Remote Demonstrative of Bengali, and is cognate with it (see *infra*), and « ē (ē) » is traced by Geiger to « ayam » of MIA. The proper demonstrative bases of Sinhalese are « ma- » *this*, which is derived ultimately from the OIA. and MIA. « ima- », and « ara » *that*, representing the OIA. stem « āra- » *far* ('Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,' pp. 66, 67).

568. The differences in gender have not been inherited in NIA. In Bengali and other Magadhan, a possible instrumental « \*ēṣī, \*ēṣī » (=ētēna) seems to have merged into the nominative and oblique, and also a possible plural instrumental > nominative, such as we find, for instance, in the Brajbhākhā « yai, ē, yā ». An expected locative in OB. and MB. would be « ēhī, ēhī » : this seems to occur in NB. as এই « ēi », as in এই যে « ēi jē » *here it is*, এইখানে « ēi khānē » *here*, এই হেথায় « ēi hēthāy » *here at this place*, etc.

Corresponding to the form তথি « tāthi », OB. seemed to have possessed « \*āthi ». We have « āthi » in Oriyā, in the oblique, as an equivalent of « ēhā » ; and « āthi » occurs in Bhōjpuriyā as an expletive like ইসে « isē » of dialectal Bengali. Connected with this possible OB. « \*āthi » we have the form ইথে « ithē » *in this* in MB. (from the ŚKK. downwards).

569. Dialectal Forms for this pronoun agree in general with those for the Third Personal pronoun.

S.-W. Bengali has nominative এউ « ēu », really an emphatic form, = « ē+hu ». The expected plural forms of the type of « ē(u)nē, ē(u)mēnṣ-kārṣ, ē(u)nnē-kārṣ » do not feature in the LSI.

West Rāḍha agrees with the Standard Colloquial in having এ « ē », but the vulgar dialect has a preference for ই, ঈ, « i, ī », owing to contiguity with Bihārī ; and the full forms ইহার, ইহাকে, ইহারদের, ইহাদিগে « ihā-rṣ, ihā-kē, ihārṣ-dērṣ, ihādigē » etc. occur in it.

In North Bengali, ই « i » as well as এই, এও « ēi, ēo » figure for the singular, and ইমরা, ইমরাক, ইমরার « imṣrā, imṣrā-kṣ, imṣrā-rṣ » etc. for the plural, corresponding to আমরা « tāṃṣrā » etc. (p. 828).

In East Bengali, we have এ < ē > in the singular, plural এরা < ē-rā >, genitive plural এৱাৰ এৱগো < ērārṣ, ērṣ-gō >, and ইনি < ini > is singular, with plural এৱানৱা, এৱানৱাৰ < ēānṣ-rā, ēnā-rā-rṣ > etc. for the honorific. The full < -n- > rather than the nasalisation is preferred.

570. Like সে, সেই < sē, sēi >, এ < ē >, with its emphatic এই < ēi < ēhi > is used as a demonstrative adjective.

[E] THE REMOTE OR FAR DEMONSTRATIVE ও, উহা < ō, uhā >.

571. The forms in Bengali are—

	Singular		Plural	
	Old Singular	Old Plural	New Plural from Singular	Double Plural from Old Plural
Nominative	ও ō (earlier ওহা ōhā)[neuter উহা uhā]	উনি uni (earlier উই uhā, ওই ōhā)	ওৱা ōrā, উহাৱা uhārā (ওসব, ওগুলো ō-sābṣ, ō-gulā >	ওঁৱা ōrā, ওনাৱা ōnārā, উইঁৱা uhārā
Oblique	ও ō-, ওহা ōhā- উহা uhā-	ওঁ ō- (ওহা ōhā-), ওনা ōnā-, উইঁ uhā-	ওদিগ ōdigā-, ওদের ōdērṣ, উহাদিগ uhādigā, etc.	ওঁদিগ, -দের ōdigā, -dērṣ, ওনা-দের ōnādērṣ, উইঁদিগ uhādigā, etc.

572. In Indo-Iranian, there were the following demonstrative bases which gave the remote demonstrative in the Indic and Iranic languages: [i] a base < \*ava- > (= Indo-European < \*owo- >: Old Church Slav < ovŭ >), giving the Iranian pronoun < ava > *that* as in Old Persian and Avestan (which has become < ō, ū > in New Persian = *he, that*, as opposed to < ē-, i- > *this* < Old Pers. < ai-ta- > = Skt. < ē-ta- >, and < iñ > *this* = Skt. < ē-na- >). In Indo-Aryan, this base seems to have been current dialectally, although in the Rig-Veda alone it is preserved only in the genitive and locative dual form < avōḥ >; [ii] a base < am-ū (am-ū), am-i > which is characteristic of Vedic and Sanskrit. It is obscure in origin, and seems to be an extension of < a-m >, the accusative of the simple pronominal base < ā- > (= Indo-European < \*ō, \*ō >), with < u > and < i > particles,

into « am-u-, am-I- » which was established as a pronoun (cf. Vedic « tam-u, idam-u; also cf. « imam » < « im », accusative of a pronoun « i », plus particle « -am ».) This base « amu, amI » is not found outside India. [iii] For the nominative masculine and feminine, Indo-Iranian had the forms « \* sã-u, \* sã-u », a combination of the third personal nominative pronouns « sã, sã » plus the particle « -u », beside a neuter « tad- u ». (These are found in the Old Greek as « ho-u-, \*hã-u-, \* tod-u- < tou- » as in « hou-tos, hau-tẽ, tou-to ».) The masculine « \* sã-u » and the feminine « \*sã-u » apparently were used one for the other. In Iranian these became « \*hã-u, \*hã-u », and Old Persian generalised the masculine (as « hauv ») for both genders, and Avestan the feminine « hãu ». In Indo-Aryan also, the feminine form was taken up for both the genders; and there was prothesis of the pronominal base « ä- », giving « ä-sã-u ». (The proper masculine form from Indo-Iranian « \*(ä-)sã-u » would have been « \* asõ » in Sanskrit.) For the neuter, a new formation « ad-as » (= neuter pronominal « a-d », cf. « ta-d, ya-d » etc., and a suffix « -as ») was created in OIA.

Leaving aside the nominative « asãu, adas », it is clear that in OIA. « amũ-, amũ-, amI- » formed the base for demonstrative, with a possible « ava- » base which is not noticed in Vedic and Skt. except in the dual form « avõh ».

The base of this pronoun in Bengali is « õ, õhã », and not « u », which is later, and dialectal (cf. the case of « ë, ëha » and « I » of the near demonstrative). The ŠKK., however, shows « õ » only in the genitive গহর « õhã-rã » (twice), and it is « ü, u » in the nominative (thrice). The West Rãḍha dialect even now prefers « u » to « õ ». There is no instance of this pronoun in the Caryãs. The ordinary demonstrative « sã, tãhã » seems to have been more popular than the « õ (u) » demonstrative in OB. and MB. This was certainly the case in some other forms of Magadhan, e.g., Assamese and Orijã, which use « sã, sãi » (in Assamese = [xi, xei]) and « sãhi », and do not possess the « õ » form. In the case of some of the pronominal derivatives, Bengali, too, prefers the bases « sã-, tã- » to « õ, õ > ä »: thus, লেখান « sã-khãñḥ » beside গহান « õ-khãñḥ » there, NB. তবে

« tābē » rather than MB. अबे « ābē » *then*. In the Saurasēni Apabhraṅśa, however, as well as in the Avahaṅṭha of the 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala' and of Vidyāpati and others (cf. p. 91), « ō » is found: e.g., Hēma-candra (verse 45, under Apabhraṅśa) « jāi pucchahu ghara vaḍḍāi, tō vaḍḍā ghara ōi » *if thou askest about big houses, then big houses are there* (« ōi » = « \*avē », locative of « \*ava »: Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 432); verse 97, « ō gōri-muha-nijjiaū baddali lukku mianku », *that moon, more beautiful than even Gaurī's face, is hid in the cloud*; 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala' (ed. Bib. Ind.), p. 139, « ō bakkala, ō pasu, ō pāsāna »; p. 348, « saṣi ō » (=śaṣi saḥ); Vidyāpati (Kirtti-latā) — « bāla-canda, Vijjāvai-bhāṣā, duhū nahī laggāi dujjaṇa-hāṣā: ō Paramēsara-Hara-sira sōhai, i niccaya nāra-maṇa mōhai » *the scorn of bad men cannot touch these two — the young moon and Vidyāpati's language: that adorns the crest of the Supreme Deity Hara, this certainly pleases the mind of gallants*; etc. In the Apabhraṅśa which is connected with Gujarātī, as in the Jaina writers, the « ō » demonstrative does not occur: neither is it found in Marāṭhī.

The source of NIA. « ō » (and its variants in the different languages, as below) would seem to be the OIA. base « \*ava », which looks like having been current in the spoken dialects, although ignored by the literary speeches—Vedic, Sanskrit, Pali and the various Prakrits—and came to its own only in Late MIA. literature through occurrence in the popular poetry in Apabhraṅśa. The base « amu- » is quite popular in Pali, it is common enough in Second MIA.: its development in Late MIA. and NIA. would have been « \*aū-, \*aū- »: this may have existed in Late MIA., but it gave place to the colloquial « \*ava- > ō- ». The « ava, ō » pronoun has always been a living one in Iranian, and it occurs in Dardic (e.g., Šinā): it can well have been a living one in some OIA. and MIA. dialects.

The oblique, honorific and secondary plural forms run parallel to those for « ē », and there is the alteration between « ō, ū (u) » similar to that between « ē, i (i) ». In the Bihārī dialects, « ū, ũ » are the nominative, and « ōh-, ō-, uh- » are found for the oblique: and corresponding to the honorific « uni, unā- » etc. of Bengali, Maithilī has « huna-k < \*unha-ka », and Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā have « unh- ».

573. The «ava-» base is thus represented in some of the other NIA. speeches :

	Nominative		Oblique	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Awadhī	ū, wai	on, un, ō	ō-, ōhi-, ōh-, wahi-	on-, un-
Hindōstānī	wah, wōh, wuh	wē	us-	un-
Brajbhāskhā	wah, wuh, wō	wē, wai	wis-, wāhi-, wā-	un(i)-, win(i)-, unhaū-(winhaū-)
Panjābī	uh, ōh	uh, ōh	us-, uh-, ōs-	ōh-, unh-
Lahndī	ō, ū, ūh	ū, ū, ō, ōh, ūhē	us-, uh-, ū-	unhā-, unhē-
Sindhī	hū, hō, huā	hū, hō, hōē	huna-	hune-, hunane-
Rājasthānī	wō, u, wōh, wā	wāī, vī, wai	wai-, ū-, un(i)-, wāī-	un-, unā-, wāī-, wā-
Khaskurā	u	una, uni, un	us-	una-, uni-, un-

The oblique singular «-s-» forms of Western Hindī, Panjābī and Lahndī, and Pahlāī (Khaskurā), are apparently based on the old genitive «\*avasya» > MIA. «\*avussa», paralleling «ētaśya > ētiśsa», «kasya > kiśsa». The plural nominatives, Western Hindī «wē», Lahndī «uhē», Rājasthānī «wai, wāī, vī», would be from an instrumental nominative plural, «\*avahi, hī-» > «\*avēbhīh». The «-ŋ-, -n-» in the Rājasthānī and Sindhī singular oblique would appear to be by the analogy of the Near Demonstrative. Gujarātī and Marāṭhī do not possess a form corresponding to this «\*ava-» > ō, ū». Sinhalese has «u», equally derived from «ava» (Geiger : see *supra*, p. 834).

574. There is a NB. locative adverb ે «ōi» *there*, which represents either a Māgādhī Apabhraṅśa «\*ōi» < «\*avē» as in Hēma-candra, *supra*, p. 837), or the locative in «-hi» (\*ōhi = OIA. ava + -dhi). ે «ōi» is

commonly written অই « ai », but that does not alter its « ö » pronunciation. There is no « -thi » form in Bengali as a substitute for the oblique (cf. তথি, ইথে « tãthi, ithë », *supra*, pp. 825, 834), which we see in the Bihãri dialects (e.g., Bhõjpuriyã « õtthu, õthuõ » *that*, Maithili « uthi, uthi »).

575. Dialectal forms for « ö, u » run parallel to those for « ë, i », with only substitution of the back vowels proper to this pronoun, and it is unnecessary to describe them. In many of the dialects, for instance in parts of West Rãdha as well as E. Bengal, as a characteristic phonetic habit, অ«ã» is substituted for অ«ö».

576. The emphatic ওই « öi » < ওহি « õhi » (frequently written অই « ai ») = *that, that there*, is used as a demonstrative adjective.

577. There is a superficial resemblance between the NIA. demonstrative bases and those of Dravidian, which has the bases « i- » for the proximate, « a- » for the remote and a less common « u- » for the intermediate demonstrative (or « iv-, av-, uv- »: C. P. Venkatarama Ayyar, 'Madras University Dravidic Studies,' I, 1919). But that resemblance is only accidental: the NIA. forms can be easily traced back to OIA., and Dravidian influence here is extremely problematic. The Kõl demonstrative pronouns are more complicated in their construction and employment (cf. Santali, in LSI., IV, pp. 43-44), and here the question of influence is even more unlikely. The question of Tibeto-Burman influence seems to be still more remote.

[D] THE RELATIVE PRONOUN.

578. The forms are—

	Singular		Plural	
	Old Singular	Old Plural Honorific	New Plural	Double Plural = Honorific
Nominative	যে jë [neuter বা(হা) jã(hã)]	জেই jëhã, জিই jihã, যিনি jini	বা(হা)রা jã(hã)rã	বা(হা)রা jã(hã)rã
Oblique	বা(হা) jã(hã)-	বা(হা) jã(hã)-, যেনা jënã-	বা(হা)দিগ jã(hã)- digã-, বা(হা)দের jã(hã)dërã-	বা(হা)দিগ jã(hã)- digã-, বা(হা)দের jã(hã)dërã-

The pronoun is written with य < y = j > in NB., but in OB. and MB. य < j > was preferred, although य was also used in MB. through Skt. influence (the OIA. source of the word in Skt. < ya- > being well-known).

579. The source of this pronoun is the OIA. relative < ya- >. The nominative य < jē > = Māgadhī < yē >, OIA. < yaḥ >, has developed like < sē > from < sa, saḥ >: Assamese has < ji > [zi]. A plural nominative < jē > (< \*yahi = \*yāhi >, MIA. instrumental plural: cf. W. Hindi < jē > plural of < jō >) may have merged into the singular. The honorific is based on the plural genitive < yāna(m), yāna(m) > = < yēṣam >: the < ē, i > vocalism in जेह, जिह, जिनि < jēhā, jīhā, jīni > may be due to the nominative. The oblique is the strengthened form of a genitive < jāha >. In Assamese, the neuter oblique has the < i > vowel, being based on the nominative (masc. nom. < ji >, oblique < jā- >: neuter nom. < ji >, oblique < ji-hā >).

Oṛiyā and Bihārī in the main agree with Bengali: thus—

	Old Singular	Old Plural = Honorific	New Plural
Oṛiyā	jē, jāhā-	jēū, jāhā-	jē-mānē
Maithilī	jē, jāhi, ja-	jani-k (genitive)	jē-sabh
Magahī	jē (jaun), jēh-	jinh- (oblique pl.)	jinh-ak-an-i
Bhōjpuriyā	jē (jawan, jaun), jēh-	jinh- (oblique pl.)	jinh-kā

Eastern Hindi (e.g., Awadhī, Chattis-garhī) shows < jē > in the nominative, representing the vocalism of Ardha-Māgadhī. The form < jaun > (cf. < taun > for the 3rd personal pronoun) agrees with < kaun > (see *infra*, under 'Interrogative'). The OIA. < ya- > is preserved in other NIA., excepting Sinhalese, which has adopted the Dravidian device of employing adjectival relative participles instead of the relative pronoun, and this pronoun has consequently dropped off.

580. OB. forms :

Nominative : < jē jē āilā tē tē gēlā > *those who came went away* (Caryā 7) ; < jē jē gēlā > *he who (or those who) went* (Caryā 15) ; < ja ēhu jaati > (= < \*jē ēhu jugati >, following the Commentary : Caryā 26) : < jē bham-anti > (plural, < \*jahi, \*yēbhiḥ > : Caryā 22) ;

Accusative : « jã ōthu 'cãhãma » (the printed text has « vãhãma » : cf. Commentary, « yam paŷãmy atra » : Caryã 21) : « jã lai acobama » (Comm. = « gñhitvã tiññhãmi » : Caryã 29) ;

Instrumental : « jẽ ajarãmara hõi » (Caryã 3) ; « jẽna (archaic) tuñal avanã-gavanã » (Comm. = « tẽna yãtãyãtam truñyati » : Caryã 21) ;

Genitive : « jã, jãhãra » (see *supra*, p. 752) ;

Locative : « jahi » (Caryã 31).

Besides, there are numerous (some dozen) instances of the Western Ap. nominative « jõ » in the Caryãs, and one or two instances of the corresponding Western genitive « jãsu » (in one case, as « jasu » in Caryã 40, it is used for the locative). This « jõ » figures in Brajabuli poetry, and « jãsu, jasu » occur there as बहू « jãchu » (see *supra*, pp. 473-474).

The locative « jahi » is used as the oblique base in MB., esp. in the genitive, e.g., बहिर « jãhirã » : cf. Oñiyã neuter « jãhi » = masculine and feminine « jã(hã) ». Corresponding to « tãthi » (see p. 825), MB. has बधि « jãthi », as in locative बधित « jãthi-tã », genitive बधिर « jãthi-rã » (see *supra*, p. 297).

581. The dialectal forms correspond to those for the demonstratives. The relative, with its emphatic form बहै « jẽi (< jẽhi) », is used as an adjective.

[G] THE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN.

582. The following are the forms for the masculine and feminine :

	Old Singular	Old Plural > Honorific	Old Plural	Double Plural = Honorific
Nominative	के kē [adj. कोन् kōñṣ]	केहै kehã, किनि kini	का(हा)रा kã- (hã)-rã	का(हा)रा kã(hã)-rã
Oblique	का(हा) kã(hã)-	का(हा) kã(hã)-	का(हा)दिग kã- (hã)digã-, का(हा)देर kã(hã)dērṣ	का(हा)दिग kã(hã)- digã-, का(हा)देर kã(hã)dērṣ- (केनादेर kēnãdērṣ)



The neuter has a separate form :

Singular Nominative कि, की ki, kī (adj. = कौन् kōnṣ) ;

Oblique कि ki, किले kisē (from base « kīsa- ») ;

Genitive किले किले किले किले किले ;

Plural : कि-सब, कि-सकल, कौन्-कुल ki-sābṣ, ki-sākālṣ, kōnṣ-gulā, etc.

**583.** The nominative के « kē » is the form which characterises all Eastern speeches, Eastern Hindī included. Assamese also shows « kē » instead of the expected « \*ki » < Māgadhī « kē », and Oṛiyā also has « kē ». The neuter « ki », from common OIA. « kim » (not « kad », corresponding to « tad, ētad, yad »), is a characteristic form, and this apparently brought about the introduction of « kē » for the masculine.

कौन् « kōnṣ » was originally indefinite, and in its emphatic form कौन, कौनो, कौनो « kōnā, kōnō, kōnāō < kōnā-hō » the indefinite sense still survives. The pronoun is found as « kauṅ, kōṅ, kaun, kōn » in most NIA., and has its parallel in the other bases, like « taun, jaun ». It occurs in Western Apabhraṅśa as « kavaṅu, kavaṅa- ». Hoernle derives « kavaṅu » from an Apabhraṅśa quantitative pronoun « kēvaḍu » ('Gaudian Grammar,' p. 291): but this is inadmissible. Pischel traces it to an OIA. diminutive or pejorative base « kava- » (from the old pronoun « ka- », and from « ku- » *bad* as well) which we find in Skt. forms like « kava-patha » *bad way*, « kavōṣṇa » *slightly warm* ('Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 428). The « -ṅ- » remains obscure still. But « kaun, jaun, taun » apparently form one group : and there is no pejorative sense in this indefinite form. It seems likely that the source of the « -vaṅa, \*-vuṅa, -un » forms is the OIA. indeclinable « punaḥ » : « kaḥ punaḥ », apparently regarded as one group from Early MIA. times, « \*ka-puna- » > Second and Late MIA. « \*kavvaṅa- > kavaṅa ». It is a noteworthy fact that « kaun, kōn » is found only in the nominative in the Northern Indian languages, although the oblique use is found in Gujarāṭī and Marāṭhī : thus the genitive of कौन् « kōnṣ » in Bengali is कार « kārṣ », in Hindōstānī « kis-kā », but in Gujarāṭī it is « kōṅ-nō » and in Marāṭhī « kōṅā-cā ». In the ŚKK., the forms are कौण, कौण « kōṅṅā, kōṅā », beside कौमण « kōmāṅā = kōṅāṅā », and emphatic कौणोहो, कौहो

« kōṅṅ-hō, kōnhō ». It seems that in the Early MB. of the ŠKK. there was a confusion between the uncontracted কমন, কমন « kāmāṅṅā, kāmāṅṅā = kāmāṅṅā » and the interrogative pronominal adjective কেমন, কেমন, কেমনত « kē-māṅṅā, kē-māntā, kē-mātā » (see *infra*). Early Middle Bengali কোণ « kōṅṅā » has its counterpart in Oṛiyā « kōṅṅā-si » *only, some*; and the equivalent of « \*kāmāṅṅā » of MB. (in MB. it is always an adjective) in Oṛiyā is « kāmāṅṅā, kāmāṅṅā » = *what*.

584. The oblique « kā(hā)- » is based on the « -ā(ha) » genitive; and the honorific is the genitive plural, MIA. « kāṅṅa(m) » for OIA. « kēsām », with vocalism from the nominative.

The neuter base কিস « kisa- » goes back to the Early MIA. genitive « kissa » (which is already present in Pali) or « kiśśa » (as in Māgadhī) (= OIA. *kasya*). The « -i- » vowel seems to have been due to the influence of the neuter base « ki- » (« \*kisyā > kissa, kiśśa »: cf. Pali locative « ki-smiṅ, ki-mhi », beside « ka-smiṅ, ka-mhi »). During the Early MIA. period, this form extended its sense to the ablative (in addition to the dative), and became stereotyped into the neuter nominative as well, in the sense of *what*: and « kissa, kiśśa > kīsa, kīśā » was loosely compounded with a following noun (especially in the ablative), in Second MIA. (cf. Pischel, § 428). It seems that on the analogy of « kissa », other forms like « \*tissa, \*ētissa, \*yissa » etc. were built up, which ultimately gave the oblique singular forms of the pronouns in Western Hindi and Panjābī. Of these, the base « kīsa- » alone occurs in Standard Bengali: it is found in OB. independently, without an affix: e.g., Caryā 6, « acchahū kīsa » *in what am I*; Caryā 29, « kāhērē kiṣa (= kīsa) bhāṅī māi dibi piričhā » = « *kasya kim uktvā mayā siddhāntaḥ pradātavyaḥ* » as the Commentary explains; *ibid*, « Lui bhāṅai, bhāṅība (= bhāwiba) kiṣ (= kīsa) » = « *Lūyī-pādaḥ siddhācaryō hi vadati, mayā... kim bhāvyaṁ* ». In the ŠKK, we have post-positional forms, like কিসক, কিসকে, কিসে (also কীষে), কিসের, কিসেরে « kīśā-kā, kīśā-kē, kīśē (kīśē), kīśērā, kīśērē ». The base form occurs in Oṛiyā as « kīśā »; Assamese has it as « kīhā » (< kīśā), neuter pronoun (beside a neuter « jihā » < « jīśā = *yasya* »). The Bihārī dialects do not, however, show the « kīsa » base. The oblique of « ki » is « kīśā- » in NB.

but in eMB. we have also the oblique use of « ki » (e.g., কিকে « ki-kē » in the ŚKK).

585. The honorific is based on MIA, « kāṇa(r̥h) = kēṣām » : the genitive কাহান « kāhā-nā » is found in MB. In Maithili, it is the honorific base, « kan-ikṣ ». The « -n- » oblique occurs as usual in other NIA. as well.

586. The locative कहिँ, कहि « kahī, kahi » of OB., and MB., is found in NB. in the form कहै « kâi » *where* : in the Standard Coll., कहै « kâi » is used in response to a statement or question, but in E. Bengali, it is a general word for *where*. The use of « kâhi » as the oblique base is found in MB. : e.g., कहिर « kâhi-râ » of *where* = *whose* ; also in Oriyâ, e.g., « kâhī-râ ». The other locative adverb कथि « kâthi » is found in MB., also as an oblique base : e.g., (ŚKK). कथिर « kâthi-râ » *whose*. As « kathi », it also forms the locative base of the neuter in the Bihâri dialects (especially Maithili).

In NB. there is the form कय « kây » (in the standard language also as क' « kâ ») *how many*, which is from OIA. « kati ».

587. The forms in OB. :

Nominative indefinite masculine « kē-hō » (Caryâ 18) ; neuter « kâhi kariai » *what is done* (Caryâ 1 : locative-oblique used for nominative, « kâha ») ;

Accusative : neuter « kiṣa, kiṣ = kīsa » (Caryâs 6, 29) ; « kâh-ē » (Caryâ 6) : « kâ » (Caryâ 39) :

Genitive : fem. « kâhari » (Caryâ 10) ;

Dative : « kâhêrê » (Caryâ 29) ;

Locative : « kahī » (Caryâs 7, 31, 49) ; « kâhi » (= « kâha » + locative affix : Caryâ 43).

As an interrogative particle, « ki » occurs in OB. in some instances, e.g., Caryâ 33 « dubila dudhu ki bēṅṭē ṣāmāi » (see *supra*, p. 263) ; « bhāga (= bhāṅga) taraṅga ki sōsai sâara » *can broken breakers suck up the sea ?* (Caryâ 42). An archaic « kiṃ » is found in some instances (22, 34, 41). Besides there are the common Western forms—nominative « kō » (16, 29), indefinite « kōē, kōi » (as in 42, 43), genitive « kâsu » (23).

The dialectal forms do not call for any special comment.

[H] THE INDEFINITE PRONOUN.

588. কেহো, কেহ, কেউ « kēhō, kēhā, kēu » occurs only in the singular. It is a nominative Māgadhi form, coming from OIA. « kaḥ api » > Māgadhi « \*kē' pi » > \*kē' vi > \*kē-va > « \*kē-wa, kē-o » > « kēha, kēhō » (with influence from the emphatic particle « hu, hō »): cf. Oṛiyā « kēi » (= \*kēvi). Assamese has « kēo, kēo », Magahi « kēu », Maithili « kēo », Bhōjpurīyā « kēhū, kēū »; Eastern Hindi as a Prācya speech shows the « ē » vowel: « kēū, kēhū ». Western Hindi has the proper Śaurasēni « kōi (< kō'vi, kō'pi »). The word « kēhō » occurs in Caryā 18 : « kēhō kēhō tōhōrē biruā hōlāi » *some call thee deformed*.

The oblique form of « kēhō, kēu » is « kā(ha)- » or « kā(hā)- » + case-affix or post-position + « hō, ō », or « kā(ha)-, kā(hā)- » + « hō, ō » + case-affix or post-position: e.g., « kāhā-+rā+ō » > MB. (ŚKK.) কাহো « kārhō, kārō », NB. কারো, কার « kārō, kārū » *whose*; « kāhā-+ō+ -kē » > MB. কাহোকে « kāhōkē » > NB. কাউকে « kāukē », beside literary কাহাকেও « kāhā-+ -kē+ō » > colloquial কাকেও « kākēō » (and ŚKK. কাথো « kākho » < « kāhā-+ -kā+ hō ») *whom*. For the plural forms, the « -ō, -hō » comes at the end of the inflected word: কারাও « kārā-ō », কারেরও « kārēr-ō », etc. The NB. genitive has a peculiar form in the colloquial, কারুর « kārur » (either = « kā-r-u » + additional genitive « -r »; or = « kā(hā)-+ō+ -rā » > কাউর « kā-u-r », with euphonic « -r- » : « kā-r-u-r »).

589. The neuter indefinite is কিছু « kichu » which is found in other Magadhan (in Oṛiyā, however, as « kichi »). The OIA. « kim + -cid » occurs as « kiñchi, kichi » (= kicchi) in the Central and Eastern inscriptions of Aśōka, with the aspirate « ch », as opposed to stop « kiñci » of the South-West (Girnar). This aspiration, so old, is peculiar: was it due to the influence of a possible masculine indefinite « \*kacchi < kaścid »? The NIA. « kichu » also has the emphatic particle « hu »: « kiñchi-hu » (or « kiñci-hu »?) > « kichu ». (cf. Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 465). The Oṛiyā « kichi » may represent the emphatic « hi » (< \*kiñchi = kiñci + hi). The loss of nasalisation is very ancient. In Western Hindi, the form is

« kachu, kuch » (= « \*kañ » used as neuter, +- « -cid, +hu=khu, khalu » ?), also « kichū ».

590. The relative যে « jē », যা « jā » is combined with কেহ কেউ, « kēhā, kēu » and কিছু « kichu » respectively to mean *whosoever, whatsoever*. This combination would seem to be recent in Bengali. The earlier way would be by periphrasis: e.g., যে হৌক সে হৌক « jē hōukṣ ṣē hōukṣ » = NB. যে কেউ হোক « jē-kēu hōkṣ » *whoever it may be*; or by adding the emphatic particle: e.g., যেউ « jē-u », যেহো « jē-hō », as in the ŚKK.

[I] THE REFLEXIVE AND HONORIFIC PRONOUN.

591. OIA. « ātman » *self* changed to « atta- » in Early MIA. (Udīcya, Madhya-dēśa, Prācya). From « atta- » we would expect a neo-Māgadhī « \*āta »: but this « atta », in Māgadhī as well as Ardha-māgadhī and Śaurasēni, appears to have been overlaid by a cognate form « appa- » from South-Western MIA. (cf. « atpā » in Aśōkan Girnar: *ante*, p. 508). Pali shows only the basic Midland « atta- »; and « atta- » is continued in the Second MIA. in Māgadhī and the rest, but by the Second MIA. period, the South-Western form established itself in the North and the East. The Second MIA. forms were; singular nominative « appā », instrumental « appañā », genitives « appañō », pl. « appāṇa », besides other ones (cf. Pischel, § 401). The nasal of MIA. has been preserved in NIA. in most cases, owing no doubt, to the base being regarded as being, in a vague way, « appāṇa- ».

In the Caryās, we have the following instances of the reflexive use of « ātman » > apā, āpaṇa, āpaṇa »:

3: « āīla garāhaka apaṇē bahiā »

*The customer came, journeying all by himself;*

6: « apaṇā māñśē harinā bairī »

*Because of its own flesh, the deer is a foe;*

22: « apaṇē raci raci bhava-nirvāṇā,

michē lōa bandhāvāē apaṇā »

*Creating again and again being and extinction by himself,*

*For naught man binds himself;*

31 : « na jāṇami apā kahī gai paiṭhā »

*I know not where the self having gone has entered ;*

32 : « apanē apā bujha tu nia-maṇa »

*By thyself understand thou in thy own mind ;*

39 : « disai para-apyāṇā (= appāṇā) »

*Other and self are seen.*

In the Caryās, as can be seen from the above instances, « apā (= āpā) » is the nominative, « apanē » instrumental, « apanā » genitive and accusative. The OB. nominative « apā (= āpā) » is an extended form of « \*āpa » = IMIA. « \*āppā », Second and Early MIA. « āppā » = OIA. « ātmā ». The oblique forms are regular OB. derivations of the MIA. « appāṇa » stem. The OB. nominative « āpā, apā (= \*āpā) » is now rather obsolete in NB., the « -n- » oblique having encroached upon the realm of the nominative: « āpṣ », without « -n- », meaning *self*, is preserved in the nominative in Oṛiyā (āpē). Instances of the old form অপ *« āpṣ » self*, however, are found in Bengali: e.g., অপ ভালো তো জগত ভালো « āpṣ bhalō tō jagatṣ bhalō » *if self is good, the world also is good* (cf. Hindī. « āp bhalā tō jag bhalā »); অপ চাইতে পরের উপর দরদ « āpṣ cāitē pārēṣ upārṣ dārād » *anxiety for another more than for oneself*; cf. also আপি আপি « āpi-āpi » *all by oneself*, in baby language (cf. Oṛiyā « āpē-āpē »). But in Eastern and Western Hindī, it has been extended to mean the honorific pronoun as well: e.g., Awadhī, both nominative and oblique, singular « āpu » plural « āp » = *your honour*, beside nominative « āpu », genitive « āpan », oblique « apanē » = *self, of self*; Hindōstānī nominative and oblique singular « āp » *your honour, his honour*, plural « āp-lōg, āp-lōgṣ- », beside reflexive « āp », oblique « apnē », genitive « apnā, apnē, apnī ».

592. The extension of the sense from the Reflexive to the Honorific (Second) Personal Pronoun is a recent thing in NIA. It is absent in MIA. It is not found in OB. and eMB., nor in the older literatures in the other NIA. tongues. In Early Bengali documents (e.g., in the letter of c. 1555 A.C. from the Kōc king of North Bengal to the Ahom king of Assam, *supra*, p. 828), তুমি, তোমার « tumi, tōmārṣ » are used as respectful or honorific forms, not আপনি « āpani » as in NB. or « āpuni » as in Assamese.

The Bihārī dialects employed, and even now employ, words like « ahā, ahā, abah; ais; raṅ; rauwā » (see *infra*), and Eastern Hindi also employed « raṅ », for the honorific of the 2nd person : these words correspond to the NB. मोशह, मशर, मशर « mōśi, māśyṣ, māhāśyṣ » and the Urdū « janāb, ḥuḡūr ». The use of the reflexive for the honorific second person is not an Eastern NIA. innovation : nor is it characteristic of the North-Western, South-Western, and Southern NIA. : e.g., Panjābī (Eastern and Western) uses « tu(s)I », the ordinary plural, for the honorific, and « āp » is an imposition from Hindōstānī ; so Sindhi has « tavhī » (? = \*tuśī < \*tussa- < \*tuṣma-, yuṣma-), and the reflexive « pāṅ » (= appaṅ < ātman-) is used as an honorific, as in the genitive « pāḥa-jō », to mean *yours* as well as *yours and mine* ; and in some of the dialects of Rājasthānī, and in Gujarātī, the reflexive base « āpā, āpaṅ » is used, not to mean *you*, but *you and we* (Gujarātī, however, has « āp » as an honorific second person = *your honour*, declined like a regular noun, but in the plural and in the second person : this use of « āp » is possibly the result of Brajbhākhā or Hindōstānī influence through the Rājasthānī dialects : to denote *self*, New Gujarātī has the base « pōta- » < \*pōpa » < OWR. « apōpa » < Apabhraṅśa « \*appahu-appa- » : cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 92) ; and Marāṭhī employs the base « āpaṅ » as an honorific for all the three persons, as well as to denote the inclusive personal pronoun (1st and 2nd persons), like Rājasthānī and Gujarātī. Sinhalese partly agrees with the South-Western speeches in using the form « api, apa » (appa-) for the plural of the 1st personal pronoun, only it does not include the 2nd person. (The reflexive in Sinhalese is « tamā », a *sts.* form from « ātman » : Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,' pp. 67, 69). Honorific use of the reflexive seems to be absent in the Himalayan (Pahārī) speeches ; and it is not found in Gipsy dialects outside India.

The Eastern, Northern, Western, South-Western, and Southern NIA. speeches thus do not seem to have developed in themselves the extension of the Reflexive for the Honorific of a special pronoun : in the last two groups, the reflexive was used as an inclusive 1st personal pronoun. On the other hand, we find that the Midland speech, Western Hindi, uses the reflexive

base for the honorific of both the 2nd and 3rd persons. It is exceedingly likely that the Eastern and other speeches borrowed this use of the reflexive from the Midland dialects, and the Magadhan speeches especially restricted it to the 2nd person only, as they possessed an honorific form for the third. Probably this borrowing is not older than two centuries from now.

593. The forms for the base আপন «*āpan-*» in Bengali are:

	OB.	Early MB. (ŠKK.)	NB. (Standard Coll.)
Nom.	apā (āpā), apanā, appanā	আপনে, আপুণী, আপুণি āpanē, āpuni, -i	আপনি āpani, আপুনি āpuni
Acc.	apanā	আপনে, আপনাক, আপনা, আপন āpanē, āpanā-kā, āpanā, āpanā	... ..
Ins.	apanē	(as Nominative)	আপনি āpani
Gen.	apanā	আপন, আপনা, আপনার āpanā, āpanā, āpanā-rā	আপন, আপনার, আপন- কার āpanā, āpanā-rā, āpanā-kārā
Dative	...	(as Accusative)	... ..
Oblique base	...	আপনা āpanā-	আপনা āpanā-

The nominative «*āpani*» as an honorific has its final vowel through analogy of «*tini, ini, uni, jini*» etc.: otherwise we would expect «*āpanē*», and this form does occur dialectally. The plural is made in NB. by adding «*-rā, -digā, -dērā*» etc. to the oblique, as in the other pronouns. There is a base form, e.g., আপন পর «*āpanā-pārā*» *self and others*. The genitive আপনা «*āpanā*» (beside «*āpanā*») has the definitive «*-ā*».

594. There is the form আপল «*āpālā*» used in the plural, = *among themselves, mutually*, which is found also in W. Hindī and other NIA. The form is obscure, but it can be from a MIA. genitive «*\*appassa*» (< *\*ātma-sya* = *ātmanah*), as Beames suggested (Comp. Grammar, II, pp. 330-331). It is used in Bengali in the locative as well as the genitive, but in a locative expression only: e.g., আপলে «*āpālā*», আপলের মধ্যে «*āpālā mādhya*» *among themselves (ourselves, yourselves)*. Can it be affiliated to a MIA. locative plural «*appasu* = *ātmasu*», as a solitary survival of a loc. pl. form in NIA. ?



595. A blend of «*āpa*» and the Skt. «*ātma-*», pronounced [ātto], has given the MB. and NB. আঁপ «*āptā*» of *self*, which has quite a currency in some compounds, e.g., আঁপ-জন «*āptā-jānā*» *relations*, আঁপ-স্বামী «*āptā-sukhī*» *seeing to one's own happiness*, আঁপ-নারী «*āptā-nārī*» *one's own wife*, আঁপ-গরজে < গরজিয়া «*āptā-gōrjē* < -gārāj-iyā» *selfish* (Perso-Arabic *garā*, cf. Pers. xvud-garzi), etc.

596. Among dialectal forms for this pronoun may be noted only the S.E. Vanga (Chittagong) আঁওনে, আঁওনা «*āñōnē, āñōnā*», or আঁনে, আঁনা «*āñē, āñā*», with rather long «*ñ*», which show the nasalisation of the NIA. «*-p-*» : «*-p-*» > «*-w-*» > «*ñ*».

597. The *ts.* word নিজ «*nijā, nijā*» is used in NB. to denote *self*. It is found as a *tōh.* «*nia*» in the Caryās in some 3 places, but the *ts.* «*nijā*» is established in the ŚKK. (over a dozen times).

598. The Bihāri forms «*rāur-, raur; rāuwā; āis-, ais-; āhā-, ahā-*» may be noted. These are used as honorific terms of address, and also as equivalents of *your honour*. «*rāur*» is found in Eastern Hindī, and is very common in Bhōjpuriyā: it is from a MIA. «*lāūla*», occurring, e.g., in the 'Prabōdha-candrōdaya'; the source is an OIA. «*rāja-kula-*» or «*rāja-kulya-*» *royal* (cf. Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 447): the Western equivalent of this word is «*rāwal*». The word «*rāuwā*» is only an extended form of «*rāū*», which is from «*rāja-*». The form «*āis-, ais-*» occurs in dialectal Maithilī; the source may be a form like «*ati-śa*» *pre-eminent*, or «*atīśa*» *supreme lord* (cf. «*Atīśa*», or «*Atīśa*», the title of Dipaṅkara Śrī-jñāna, the Buddhist scholar and saint of Bengal, c. 1000 A. C., whose original name was Candra-garbha: Sarat Chandra Dās, 'Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow,' Calcutta, 1893, pp. 50, 51, 60): this can be compared with the use of «*mahāsaya*» in Bengali. The source of «*āhā, ahā*» is obscure: «*ahā-*» is found in Early or literary Maithilī, as nominative or vocative, and «*ahā-, ahā-*» are the oblique bases, «*-ā, -ā-*» of which are the genitive and instrumental plural forms. Connexion with the OIA. «*bhavan*», MIA. «*bhavan*» presents some phonetic difficulties. The form «*ahā, ahā-, ahā-*» is used in Maithilī not for superiors

in age or status, but among equals : and it is very likely that the OIA. «*śyusmān*» > MIA. «*śyasmā*» (as in Pali) is the source : this would give an Apabhraṅśa «*\*āmha, \*āmbha, āhā*». There is no form corresponding to «*āhā, āhaḥ, āhā* ; *ahā, ahaḥ, ahā*» in Bengali, but it is possible that the personal affix «*-ēhē, -ē*» for the second person of the verb is connected with it (see *infra*, under Verb : 'Personal Affixes').

[J] PRONOMINAL DERIVATIVES, ADJECTIVE AND ADVERB.

[I] Adjectives of Quality or Manner in যত- «*-mātṣ*», যন «*-māṅṣ*».

599. These are : তেযত, তেযন «*tē-mātṣ, tē-māṅṣ*» *in that way, like that* ; এযত, এযন «*ē-mātṣ, ē-māṅṣ*» *in this way, like this* ; ওযত, অযত, অযন «*ō-mātṣ, ā-mātṣ, ā-māṅṣ*» *like that, in that way* ; যেযত, যেযন «*jē-mātṣ, jē-māṅṣ*» *like that, in the way that* ; কেযত, কেযন «*kē-mātṣ, kē-māṅṣ*» *like what? in what way?*. The affix is added apparently to the nominative bases of the various pronouns : for the 3rd personal pronoun the oblique base has influenced the form, though we have সেযত «*sē-mātṣ*» which is rather rare. For the remote demonstrative the form ও- «*ō-*» has been broadened to «*ā*». The «*-m-*» in this affix is often pronounced as [ʃ].

The source of «*-mātṣ*» in NB. and MB. is OB. «*-manta*» < OIA. «*-mant-, -vant-*» : cf. Vedic forms implying likeness or size, like «*ētā-vant-, tā-vant-*» *so great*, «*yā-vant-*» *as*, «*ī-vant-*» *so great*, «*kī-vant-*» *how far*, and Vedic and Sanskrit quantitatives like «*ī-yat, kī-yat*» *so much, how much*. The «*-manta*» affix in this employ seems to be peculiar to the eastern Magadhan speeches only. Oṛiyā, as being more archaic than Bengali-Assamese, preserves the full form in the adjectives «*tē-māntā, ē-māntā, jē-māntā, kē-māntā*». The group «*-nt-*» changed to «*-t-*» in Bengali (see *supra*, p. 502). The Oṛiyā adverbs «*ti-māti, ē-māti, ji-māti, ki-māti*» also show the «*-t- < -nt-*».

The «*-māṅṣ*» forms of Bengali and Assamese are irregular. It seems that quite early in the OB. period, when the full form «*-manta*» was current, through contamination with the pronominal adjectives of quality in «*-hana*» (see *infra*, p. 853), «*-manta*» came to have a variant «*\*-mana, \*-maṇa*». It is already well-established in the ŚKK., so much

so that the proper «-mâtâ» affix is much restricted, কেমনে, কেমনে, কেমনে, কিমনে «kē-māṇē, kē-māṇē, kē-māṇā, ki-māṇē», for instance, occurring some 20 times, and কেমতে «kē-mâtē» only twice. In NB., the «-t-» forms are archaic, even for the «sādhu-bhāṣā», and the colloquial knows only the «-n-» forms.

Bengali has also a form যতন «mâtāṅṅ» *like, similar to* (see next para), which is a blend of «-mâtâ» and «-māṇâ».

This affix «-mâtâ, -māṅṅ, mâtāṅṅ» quite early came to be regarded as a separate word in Bengali and Assamese, through confusion with the Skt. «mata, manas < √man> : e.g., আমার যত(ন) «āmārṅṅ mâtâ(nṅ)» *like me*, তোমার যত(ন) «tōmārṅṅ mâtâ(nṅ)» *like you*, পুরানো যত(ন) «purānō mâtâ(nṅ)» *like old, oldish*. As a separate word, যত «mâtâ» is now frequently written যতে «mâtō» (< «\*-mantāwa, manta + ka»), following the pronunciation. The independent use of «mâtâ, māṅṅ» is fairly common in the SKK., where it generally occurs after and strengthens the pronominal adjective of quality in «-hāṅṅ, -hāṅṅ, -nā» : e.g., কেন যণে, যনে, যতে «kēnā + māṅṅē, māṅṅē, mâtē» *in what way*; এহি যতে «ēhi mâtē» *in this way*; যেক যনে «jēhā māṅṅē» *in such a way that*; NB. poetic হেন যতে «hēnā mâtē» *in this way*.

Early Assamese had the «mâtâ, māṅṅ» forms : e.g., Śaṅkara-dēva, «ḥṛdi-stbitā huā tumi jēnā kārābāhā swāmi, Ḥṛṣīkēśā, kārībā tēmāṅṅ» *remaining in my heart, just as you will make me do, Lord Ḥṛṣīkēśa, so shall I do* (Dēvēśwar Chaliḥā, 'Asamīyā Sāhityar Burāñji,' Jorhat, Saka 1833, p. 123); «cāri dinā sēhi mātē thākiyā Iśwārā» *in that way, the Lord, staying for four days* (ibid., p. 133). Early Assamese also has forms like «jēntē, tēntē» etc. = «jēwāntē, tēwāntē < jēmāntē, tēmāntē». In Modern Assamese, the full «-m-» or the altered «-w-» forms no longer occur, but contracted ones, «ēnē, jēnē» < «\*ēmāṅṅē, jēmāṅṅē», pronominal adverbs, which seem to have merged into the «-hāṅṅ, -hēnā» forms (see *infra*).

With addition of the instrumental «-ē» we have corresponding adverbs : এমতে, এমনে «ēmātē, ēmāṅṅē» [æmote, æmone] *in this way*, কেমনে «kēmāṅṅē» [kæmone] *how?* etc.; but the adverbial use of the simple «mâtṅṅ, māṅṅ», without the «-ē» affix, is also found. There is in NB. also a locative use of the «-mān-ē» forms, in which the «-ē» is certainly the locative affix :

কম্বে < kāmṣṇē > *where?*, যম্বে, যেম্বে < jāmṣṇē, jēmṣṇē > *in the direction that*, এম্বে < ēmṣṇē > *in this direction*, etc. (the forms < kâ- > etc., rather than < kē- > etc., are probably due to the analogy of কই < kâi > etc., for which see *supra*. Contracted forms of these adverbs of direction are found in dialectal Bengali: e.g., EB. কনে < kânē > (< kâṅnē, kâṅṇē, kāmṣṇē); এনে, এয়ানে < ēnē, ēānē > (< ēmānē) etc. Oṛiyā also has similar forms—< ēṅē, tēṅē > etc.

[II] Adjectives and Adverbs of Quality in হন, হেন, হ্, ন < -hānā > -hēnā > -hnā > -nā >.

600. NB. has the following: হেন, যেন, কেন < hēnā, jēnā, kēnā >, dialectally যেনে, কেনে < jēnē, kēnē > (with instrumental < -ē > affix). Besides there is a rare তেন < tēnā >. Of these, হেন < hēnā > alone is used as an adjective: e.g., হেন কাজ < hēnā kâjā > *such work*; cf. also যেন তেন উপায়ে < jēnā tēnā upāyē > *in any way possible, by some means or other*. কেন, কেনে < kēnā, kēnē > simply means *why* < *in what way*, and যেন, যেনে jēnā, jēnē > is also a conjunction = *so that, in order that*.

In eMB. (ŚKK.), the corresponding forms were (এ)হেন, তেহেন or তেহ্, যেহেন or যেহ্, কেহেন or কেহ্ < (ē-)hēnā; tē-hēnā, tēhnā; jē-hēnā, jēhnā; kē-hēnā, kēhnā >, and these were adjectives as well as adverbs—the instrumental < -ē > affix being commonly used for the adverb: e.g., কি নাম তাহার, কেহেন তার রূপ < ki nāmā tāhārā, kēhēnā tārā rūpā > *what is her name, what is her beauty like* (ŚKK., p. 11). In NB., the adjectives in < -mātā, -mānā > have practically ousted the < -hēnā, -hnā, -nā > forms from adjectival use.

The eMB. < -hēnā > forms correspond to the Maithili < ē-han, tē-han, kē-han > (< \* -hana >: the Bengali change of < \* -hā- > to < -hē- > is due to the influence of the preceding bases < ē-, jē-, kē-, tē- >).

The Māgadhi Apabhraṅśa source of the Maithili and Bengali forms would be < \*aihaṇa- (or ēihaṇa-?), \*taihaṇa-, \*jaihaṇa-, \*kaīhaṇa- >; which would represent Second MIA. (Māgadhi) < \*āiśaṇa-, \*taiśaṇa-, \*jaiśaṇa-, \*kaīśaṇa- > (see *supra*, pp. 95, 555). OIA. has pronominal adjectives in < -dṛśa- >—< tāḍṛśa-, ētāḍṛśa-, yāḍṛśa-, kīḍṛśa- >

etc. This «-dṛśa-» affix became «-disa-, -diśa-», and then «-isa-, -iśa-» through loss of interior «-d-» in MIA. With a pleonastic adjectival affix «-na» (cf. Whitney, 'Sanskrit Grammar,' § 5 1223 g, 1245 f), this affix was extended, either in dialectal OIA. or in MIA., to give «yaśīśaṇa (jaśīśaṇa), taiśīśaṇa (taiśīśaṇa)» etc., beside «jaśīsa-, taiśīsa-» etc. The OIA. vocalism of the pronominal bases has been regularised in MIA., through what process we do not know. The change of the sibilant to «-h-» in Maithili and Bengali is peculiar and unexplained. Early Oṛiyā shows forms like «jē-sāṇā», and Old Bengali like «āśīśana». The «-s-» forms occur in Magahi and Bhōjpuriyā, and in E. Hindī and W. Hindī, and in most forms of NIA. besides. The presence in OB. of the sibilant in these adjectives (as in «āśīśana, kāsīśē, jaśīśō, taiśīśō, āśīśa, kāsīśē» in the Caryās) is certainly due to Western Apabhraṅśa influence (see *supra*, p. 115). Similarly in Early Maithili we have the Western «-s-» forms side by side with the native «-h-» ones. Through the Brajabuli dialect the «-s-» forms were once more introduced into Bengal through W. Hindī influence, and from the 16th century onwards, the «-s-» was written ছ «ch»: e.g., বৈছন «yaśīchāṇā = jaśīśāna», অইছন ঐছন «āśīchāṇā = āśīśāna», কৈছে «kāśīchē = Hind. «kāsīśē», কৈছন «kāśīchāṇā = kāśīśāṇā». The forms without «-n-», corresponding to the Western Hindī «aśīśē, aśīś; aśīśē» etc., do not seem to occur in East Magadhan.

In the ŚKK. occurs the correlatives জৈসাণে, তৈসাণে «jaśīśāṇē, tēśāṇē», as in জৈসাণে রতি জাগবৌ, তৈসাণে কাহু আগিবৌ «jaśīśāṇē rāti jāṅābō, tēśāṇē Kāṅhā āṅibō» *when I shall understand love's sport, then I shall bring Kṛṣṇa* (p. 21). These correspond with Early Asamese «jaśīśāni» (ŚKK., Comm., p. 447): and they are Śaurasēni «-s-» forms borrowed in OB. which persisted with the earlier literary tradition in MB. and Early Assamese: probably some sort of confusion with a word like সময় «samaya = saṅwaya» also existed here.

[III] Nouns and Adjectives of Quantity in ত «-tā» or তো «-tō».

601. They are তত (তেত), এত, অত, যত (বেত), কত < \*কেত «tātā, (tētā [tæto]); ঐতā; ঠতā; জতā (jētā = [jætō]); কতā < \*কētā», also ততক,

এতক, [অতক], যতক, কতক « tāṭēkṣ, ṣṭēkṣ, āṭēkṣ, jāṭēkṣ, kāṭēkṣ », with pleonastic « -ēkṣ » affix, as in Maithili. These agree with Oṛiyā « tētē, ṣṭē, sētē, jētē, kētē », and Assamese « tētē(k), ṣṭē(k), kētē(k) » etc. Early Assamese also had forms in « -tā, -tō » like Bengali. Corresponding forms occurs in other NIA. speeches : e.g., Hindōstāni « titnā, titiā ; itnā, ittiā ; utnā, uttiā ; jitnā, jittiā ; kitnā, kittiā ».

As sources of these in MIA., we have in Western Apabhraṅśa « tēttiu, ṣṭtiu, jēttiu, kēttiu », Second MIA. « tēttia, ṣṭtia, jēttia, kēttia », and First MIA. (Pali) « tattaka, ṣṭtaka, kittaka ». These MIA. forms are derived from, or are connected with, Vedic quantitatives in « -yant- », like « i-yant- » *so much*, « ki-yant- » *how much*. It seems that formations made up of the pronominal base + the affix « -yant- (-yat-) » + an adjectival « -tya, -tiya » (cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 153) gave in Early MIA. forms<sup>1</sup> like « i-yatta-, \*a-yatta- (\*i-yat-tiya, \*a-yat-tiya-) ; \*ki-yatta- (\*ki-yat-tiya-) ; \*ya-yatta- (\*ya-yat-tiya-) » etc., which were regularly altered into the Pali (with a pleonastic « -ka » as in « ṣṭta-ka, kittā-ka »), Prakrit and Apabhraṅśa forms. The source-forms of Bengali would seem not to have had the « -ia » ending as in Western Apabhraṅśa (« ṣṭtia, kēttia » etc. should give « \*ṣṭi, \*kēti » in NIA.), but rather « -a-ka » ending, as in Pali (ṣṭtaka > ṣṭtaa > OB., MB., ṣṭāwa, ṣṭā > NB. ṣṭā, ṣṭō [ṣṭo]). In Caryā 35 we have « ēta-kāla » (see *supra*, p. 808).

The above forms are also used as nouns in Bengali, as in other NIA., and as such for the genitive they take not the simple ṛ « -rā- » affix, but the affix ক়র « -kārṣ », or the archaic form ক়র « -kērṣ ».

In Bengali, the form কতক, কতোক « kāṭākṣ, kāṭōkṣ » has an indefinite sense (= kāṭā + ō, hō + -kā pleonastic : cf. kēu, p. 845). MB. has the emphatic কথো « kāthō » (= kāṭā + hō, hu), which corresponds in formation to the Maithili « kathū ».

<sup>1</sup> OIA. « -(t)tya » would be expected to become 'cc' in MIA. ; but a *sts.* 'tt' treatment is not unknown, cf. 'śṣṭitya-vāra > MIA. śṣṭitya-vāra > NIA. (Hindī) śṣṭi-wār, it-wār' *Sunday*. In the present case, the form with intrusive '-i-' (e.g., '\*ya-yat-tiya > yettia, jettia') certainly helped to prevent palatalisation of a corresponding '\*ya-yat-tya-'

## [IV] Adverbs of Time in বে «-bē».

602. These are তবে, এবে, যবে, কবে «tābē, ēbē, jābē, kābē»; «ēbē» is archaic and poetic for NB., and it is also found as ইবে «ibē», অবে «ābē», dialectally in NB. and occasionally in MB. In OB., they were respectively «tabē, ēbē, jābē, \*kābē, \*abē (?)»—the first three actually occurring in Caryās 46, 35 and 21 respectively. Equivalents in Oṛiyā are «tēbē, ēbē, jēbē, kēbē», while «ābē» is not found. The difference in the vowel of the pronominal base between Oṛiyā (tē-, jē-, kē-) and Bengali (tā-, jā-, kā-) is to be noted. Modern Assamese does not possess these forms, but Early Assamese did, and the Early Assamese forms agree with the Oṛiyā ones. In Early and Modern Maithili «taba, tabē, tabē; aba, abē, abē, ābē; jaba, jabē, jabē; kaba, kabē, kabē» are found. In Western Hindi, the same forms are found as «tab, ab, jab, kab» (Hindōstāni), and as «tabai; abai, abē; jabai; kabai» (Brajbhākhā).

The forms in «-ē, -ai» are palpably locatives, with the locative affix «-ē, -ai < -ahi, ahi». The source of the forms in Western Hindi and in the Magadhan speeches would be Śaurasēni and Māgadhi Apabhraṅśa forms like «\*tabba- (\*tēbba-), \*ēbba-, \*jabba- (\*jēbba-), \*kabba- (\*kēbba-), locative «\*tabbahi, (\*tēbbahi), \*ēbbahi», etc.

In Vedic the indeclinable «ēvā, ēvā» originally meant *thus*; in later Indo-Aryan it became merely an emphasising particle. In the sense of *thus*, however, in later Vedic, the form «ēvām» came in, and this «ēvām» in all likelihood is but an extension of «ēvā, ēvā». In Second MIA., «ēvām» became «ēvvaṁ», in the sense of *thus*. In MIA., «ēvvaṁ» seems to have occurred also as «ēbbaṁ, \*ēbbā» which further seems to have developed a temporal sense from a modal one, and this temporal meaning was strengthened by putting it in the locative (\*ēbbahi, \*ēbbahi). Corresponding to «ēvā, ēvām > \*ēbbaṁ» which in the Apabhraṅśa stage easily affiliated itself to the pronominal base «ē- < ēta-», it is exceedingly likely that other analogous pronominal adverbs were evolved, like «\*tēvā(ṁ), \*yēvā(ṁ), \*kēvā(ṁ)», in Early MIA., which would become «\*tēvvaṁ > \*tēbbaṁ» etc.; or «\*tavvaṁ > \*tabbaṁ»

etc. through substitution of the pronominal bases in «-a-», namely «ta-, ya-, ka-». Thus all these are on the basis of «*ēvā, evām* > *ēvām*». The form «*ab-ē, ab*» would seem to be merely a weakening of «*ēbai, ēbē*».

Western Apabhraṅśa as in Hēma-candra actually has forms which would presuppose the new formations «*\*tāva, \*yāva, \*kāva*» on the model of «*ēva*»: and these forms show MIA. nasalisation of «-v-»: «*etva = āva*; *teva = tāva, tiāva*»; *jeva = jāva, jiāva*; *keva = kāva, kiāva*» (cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 261). NIA. representatives of these adverbs of manner are now found (see *infra*, p. 860). Locative forms of these occurred as adverbs of time in Western Apabhraṅśa: Hēma-candra actually cites «*ēvahi = idānīm*» (Pischel, § 261). This «*ēvahi*» of course cannot give the Bengali «*ēbē* > *ēbē*», or the Maitili «*abē*», and Western Hindi «*abai*»; but a parallel MIA. formation «*\*āvva- > ābba-, ābbahi*» alone can.

[V] Adverbs of Time in धन «*khāṅṣ*».

603. These are *তখন, এখন, যখন, কখন* «*tā-khāṅṣ, ā-khāṅṣ, jā-khāṅṣ, kā-khāṅṣ*» = *then, now, when, when?*, besides an *অখন* < *ওখন* «*ā-khāṅṣ* < *ō-khāṅṣ*» *then, at that time* which is used as a sort of indefinite addition after future verbs (e.g., *দেবোঅখন দেবো-খন, দেবে-খ্ন* «*dēbō-ākḥāṅṣ, dēbō-khāṅṣ, dēbō-khunṣ*» *I shall give it some future time, দেবে-অখন, দেবে-খন, দেবে-খ্ন* «*dēbē-ākḥāṅṣ, dēbē-khāṅṣ, dēbē-khunṣ*» *he will give*: this influenced the past formations in the Standard Colloquial like *দিলুম-খ্ন* «*dilumṣ-khunṣ*» = *I gave then, and I gave*: see *infra*, Verb, 'Pleonastic Affixes'). The «*khāṅṣ*» is from the OIA. «*kṣaṇa*», which occurs in Bengali as a *sta.* *ক্ষণ* «*[kḥæ:n, (k)khon]*: «*tat-kṣaṇam > takkḥaṇa, tākhāṅṣ*» etc., with irregular absence of lengthening. This form of temporal adverb occurs in all the Magadhan languages: Cf. 'Prākṛta Pāṅgala' (Bib. Ind. ed.), p. 304, «*jakkḥaṇa vira Hamira calē*» *when Hamir the warrior marches*; p. 318, «*Kāsi-rāa jakkḥaṇa calē*» *when the king of Kāsi marches*.



## [VI] Adverbs of Place in था &lt; -thā &gt;.

604. We have তথা ( সেথা ), হেথা, হোথা, যেথা ( যথা ), কোথা < tāthā ( sēthā ); hēthā; hōthā; jēthā ( jāthā ); kōthā >, which have also locative forms তথায় ( সেথায় ), হেথায়, হোথায়, যেথায় ( যথায় ), কোথায় < tāthāy ( sēthāy ), hēthāy, hōthāy, jēthāy ( jāthāy ), kōthāy >. The Bengali সেথা < sēthā > is a new formation with a generalised < -thā > base added to the nominative form < sē >, and < hētha, hōthā > are for < ēthā, ōthā > with prothetic < h- > (see *ante*, p. 556). OB. gives < ēthu >, a form influenced by W. Apabhraṅśa, in Caryā 15.

These < -thā > forms are based on MIA. < tattha, ṣttha (\*ṣttha), yattha > jattha, kuttha (\*kōttha) > which already occur in Pali, and thus date from the First MIA. period. The corresponding OIA. forms are < ta-tra, \*i-tra = a-tra, \*ava-tra, ya-tra, ku-tra >. The aspiration in the MIA. forms presents a difficulty. This may be due to the < -r- > (see *supra*, p. 438). Pischel refers < ṣttha > to the Vedic < itthā > (in Skt. < ittham >) = *thus* ('Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 107), and the rest apparently would follow analogically. But W. Geiger derives these from the < -tra > forms ('Pali Litteratur und Sprache,' §§ 9, 62), and cites cases from Pali where we have < -tth- < -tr- >, like < sōtthiya, sōtthiya = śrōtriya >, and < ubhayattha = ubhaya-tra >. Can it be that we have the OIA. < √ sthā > here, in original forms like < \*tat-stha, \*yat-stha > etc. ?

Old locatives of these < -tha > forms like তথি < tāthi >, যথি < jāthi > are used as oblique bases for their corresponding pronouns : see *supra*.

The MIA. forms were strengthened with the definitive < -ā > in OB. The < -thā > forms do not occur in Assamese and in Oṛiyā : the latter has < sēṭhi, ēṭhi, jēṭhi, kēṭhi >; and corresponding < -ṭh- > forms occur also in the Bihārī dialects (see *infra*, § 607).

Assamese has as adverbs of place < tāt (tātā), jāt (jātā), kāt (kātā) >, which correspond to the Maithilī < tatay (tatā), jatay (jatā), katay (katā) >, besides < ṣtay (ṣtā) > and < ṣtay (ṣtā) >; and W. Hindi (Brajbhāṅkhā) has < tita, kita (kata), jita > and < ita, itai, Itai > and

« uta ». The Maithili forms occur in Brajabuli also. They are connected with the Western Ap. locatives like « tōttahē, ōttahē (tōttahi, ōttahi) » etc., noted by Hēma-candra : « tōtta, ōtta » etc. are apparently the OIA. « tatra, \*itra = atra » etc., altered in MIA. in some Western dialect, without the aspiration which we find preserved in Pali « tattha » etc. and Bengali তেথা « hēthā » etc.

[VII] Adverbs of Place in খানে « khānē », etc.

605. Like সেখানে, এখানে « sē-khānē, ē-khānē » etc. These are late formations, being compoundings of « sē, ē, ō, jē, kōnṣ » and the noun খান « khānṣ » *place* ( < « khaṇḍa », see *supra*, pp. 365, 779 : there seems to have occurred some contamination with the Skt. « sthāna » as well as Pers. « xānah », both meaning *place* ).

606. There are similar compounds with ধার, ধারে « -dhārṣ, -dhārē » = *side, edge, bank, limit, line* (e.g., এখানে « ē-dhārē », ওখানে « ō-dhārē »), agreeing with the Hindōstānī « i-dhar, u-dhar » etc., and with Bhōjpuriyā « ihar, uhar » with weakening of « -dh- » to « -h- ». (Hoernle derives these latter differently : cf. p. 315 of 'Gauḍian Grammar'). The Maithili « em-har, jem-har » etc. are connected.

607. Dialectal Bengali (W. Raḍha) shows ইকে, উকে « indhē, undhē » *here, there*, etc. which agree with the Bihārī (Maithili) « indē » undē » or « inda, unda » etc. They seem to be connected with the Hindōstānī « yahṣ, wahṣ » etc., which are old MIA. ablatives, from Western Apabhraṇṣa « \*ēahṣ, \*ōhṣ » < Second MIA. « \*ēamhā, \*ōamhā » < OIA. « śtasmāt, \*avasmāt » etc. From Māgadhī Apabhraṇṣa forms similar to those of Western Apabhraṇṣa, the new Magadhan dialects could easily have « ihā, uhā, inha, unha » and then « indha, undha », locative « indhē, undhē » etc.

608. Dialectal Bengali preserves also some locative forms in « ṭhi, -ṭi », e.g., সেটি, এটি, যেটি « sēṭhi, ēṭhi, jēṭhi » as in South-West Bengali ; ইটি, সেটি « iṭi, sēṭi » in North Bengali. This « ṭhi » seems to come from an OIA. « sthāman » *place* (see *supra*, under ঠাই « ṭhāi », p. 762).

Oriyā also has it, both as « *ṭhi* » and as an extended « *ṭhā-ra-* » with the genitive affix.

609. The New Bengali correlatives বাই—তাই « *jāi, tāi* » *when—then*, *as soon as—immediately* are from the OIA. « *yadā-hi, tadā-hi* ».

610. OB. as in the Caryās shows some adverbs of manner in « *-ma* », unquestionably pronounced « *-ṃa* » : *e.g.*, *jīma* » (Caryās 13, 19, 29, 30, 31, 41, 43) and « *tīma* » (Caryās 9, 43), and also probably « *kīma* » (Caryā 39). These are Western Apabhraṃśa forms borrowed in OB. Cognate forms in other NIA. speeches are—Eastern Hindi « *jimi, timi* » etc.; Western Hindi « *jyaū, tyāū; jyō, tyō; jyū, tyū; jū, tū* » etc.; Gujarāṭī « *jēm, tem* » etc. These are derived from Western Apabhraṃśa « *jemva, temva, kemva = jēwa, tēwa, kēwa* » etc., which are nasalised modifications of OIA. « *\*yēva, \*tēva, \*kēva* », formed on the analogy of « *ēva* » (see *supra*, p. 857. Cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 261; Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.', § 98 [3]).

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## CHAPTER V

### THE VERB

[A] CONJUGATION OF THE VERB IN INDO-EUROPEAN, IN OIA., AND IN NIA.

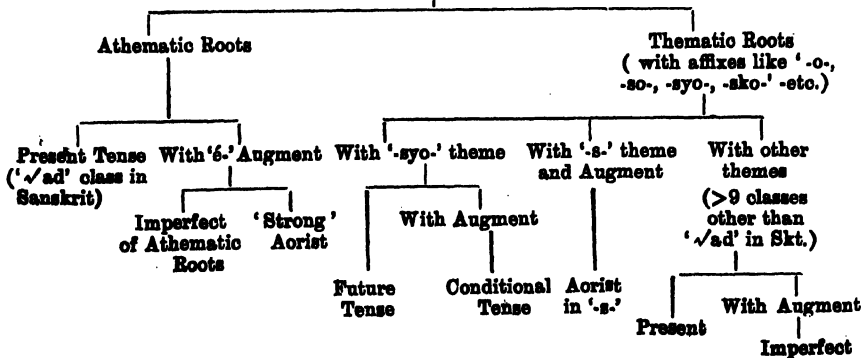
611. The elaborate conjugation of the verb such as we find in Vedic and in Greek did not obtain in Primitive Indo-European. The conjugational system was exceedingly simple in the oldest period. There was no distinction of tenses as such, and the subjunctive and optative moods were just evolving out of the indicative. The verb root (in simple, extended, or reduplicated form), in the active voice, took up certain personal affixes, either added direct to the root, or with certain *themes*, or syllables like «-o-, \*-nu-, \*-so-, \*-to-, \*-sko-, \*-dho-» etc. which were added as links joining the root and the personal termination; and sometimes there was a nasal infix, «-ne-, -n-» which came in and modified the form of the root. The force of the affixed themes was to indicate the *aspect* or nature of the action, whether it was progressive or transitory, iterative or intensive, or indefinite. To express a state attained, as the result of a completed or perfected action, the verb root underwent a special modification in itself and further took up certain other personal terminations, slightly different and curtailed forms of the ones mentioned above. The conjugation of the verb in Primitive Indo-European thus fell into two parts, taking in view the kind of action (whether it was completed or not) and the kind of pronominal affixes it adopted accordingly. The paradigm of a root thus falls into two divisions—or *systems*—which have been named (i) the *Present-Aorist*, and (ii) the *Perfect*. These systems did not indicate time relation, but only the action in the present time, incomplete or perfected. If past time were to be emphasised, an adverbial particle «é», called the *augment*, which was always stressed, was placed before the verb form. In course of time this particle became loosely attached to the verb, and the combined

« \*ǵ » (> Indo-Aryan = « ś ») and verb form resulted in the imperfect and aorist (as well as the 'plu-perfect') tenses of Vedic and Sanskrit.

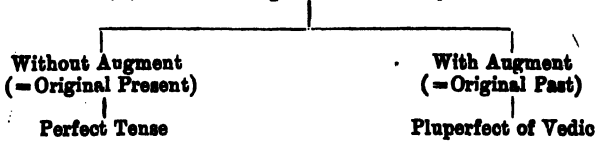
The themes or affixes which were added in between the root and the personal terminations (e.g., Skt. « kar-ō-ti, kri-ṇā-ti, div-ya-ti, sab-a-tā, ga-coha-ti < IE. \*ǵw ṛ-sko-ti », etc.) had in Prim. IE. each its special meaning or force, but in the later phase of IE., the earlier *nuances* were to a great extent lost, and in several cases they took up distinct and well-defined values not known before. Thus the « -s- » theme came to denote the past tense in Italic, Celtic and Slav, and developed into the aorist tense of Greek and Sanskrit ; the « -so- » and « -syo- » themes developed into the future tense respectively in Greek and in Sanskrit and Baltic. The *Perfect System* gradually evolved into the perfect tense in most IE. languages : thus IE. « \*√dṛk » to see, with a strong grade (\*dórk), reduplicated (\*de-dórk) and with the personal affix « -a », gave a form « \*de-dórk-a », which was a present form, = *I am after completing the act of seeing*, form which easily developed the perfect or past sense of *I saw*, and the form became the perfect tense, as in Sanskrit (dadárśa) and in Greek (dédorka). The tense and mood forms of OIA. were developed in this way out of the simple *aspects* of IE. The tables below give the relation borne by OIA. tenses to the Prim. IE. forms :

(i) Indo-European Present-Aorist System.

(Athematic and Thematic Classes)



(ii) Indo-European Perfect System



Originally in IE. there were two moods, the indicative and the imperative. From the indicative developed the conjunctive and the optative. The thematic vowels « \*-ǵ-, \*-ǵ-, \*-ǵ-, \*-ō- » which at first denoted some particular aspect of the action in the indicative, came to acquire the sense of a special mode, that of the conjunctive or subjunctive : and in some of the IE. languages they became well-established as modal affixes, deviating from their original aspect-indicating function. Similarly the affixes « \*-yē-, \*-ye-, \*-ī-, \*-oi- » came to be associated with the optative mood : originally (like the « \*-ǵ-, \*-ǵ-, \*-ǵ-, \*-ō- » above, and the « -s- » of what later became the aorist, as well as « \*-sye-, \*-syo- » of what was later changed to the future ), « \*-yē-, \*-ye- » etc. indicated some aspect of the action, as much as « -nu-, -nā- » and the other *themes* which have not become specialised for a mood or tense and of which the proper force is no longer understood. And themes of the groups « \*-yé-, \*-yó- » and « \*-éye-, \*-éyo- » became respectively the affixes of the denominative and causative forms. The germs of these later modal and other developments in all cases existed in these aspect-indicating themes of Primitive IE.

612. Below is given a conspectus of all the conjugational forms of Vedic, from its own stand-point, and not in historical relationship to Prim. IE. :—the development and systematisation of the former from the latter has been of an intricate character.

This will indicate the extent of the losses sustained by Bengali, which is typical for all NIA.

A CONSPECTUS OF OIA. (VEDIC) VERB-FORMS.

Root: « car », or « cal » *to move, to walk*. (Finite forms given are of the 3rd person singular, unless otherwise stated).

## I. The Present System.

## A. Indicative Mood:

(i) With Primary Personal Affixes = Present Tense :

(a) Active Voice . *cár-a-ti* ( *cár-a-si*, *cár-ā-mi*, etc).(b) Middle Voice: (1) Reflexive: *cár-a-tē*; (2) Passive: *car-yá-tē*.

(ii) With Secondary Personal Affixes, preceded by the Augment = Imperfect Tense :

(a) Active: *á-car-a-t*.(b) Middle: (1) Reflexive: *á-car-a-ta*; (2) Passive: cf. *á-hū-ya-ta*.

(iii) With Secondary Personal Affixes, without Augment = Injunctive :

(a) Active: *cár-a-t*.(b) Middle: (1) Reflexive: *cár-a-ta*; (2) Passive: cf. *sū-yá-ta*.

## B. Subjunctive Mood :

With Primary Personal Affixes = Present Subjunctive:

(a) Active: *cár-ā-ti*, *cár-ā-t*.(b) Middle: (1) Reflexive: *cár-ā-tāi*, *cár-ā-tē*; (2) Passive: cf. *bhri-y-ā-tē*, *uh-y-ā-tē*.

## C. Optative Mood :

With Secondary Personal Affixes = Present Optative :

(a) Active: *cár-ē-t*.(b) Middle or Reflexive: *cár-i-ta*.

## D. Imperative Mood :

(a) Active: 2 sg. *cár-a*, 2 pl. *cár-a-ta*.(b) Middle: (1) Reflexive: 2 sg., *cár-a-sva*; (2) Passive: cf. 2 sg., *hū-yá-sva*.

## E. Participles of the Present System :

(a) Active: *cár-ant-*.(b) Middle: (1) Reflexive: *cár-a-māṇa*; (2) Passive: *car-yá-māṇa*.

II. The Aorist System, in Simple or Non-Sigmatic, Sigmatic (with « -s-, -sa-, -iṣ-, -siṣ- »), and Reduplicating forms of Roots.

A. Indicative Mood :

(i) With Secondary Personal Affixes *plus* Augment = Aorist (past).

(a) Active : á-cār-ṣ-I-t, á-cār-I-t, á-ci-car-a-t; cf. á-ruk-ṣa-t, á-vid-a-t.

(b) Middle : á-cār-ṣiṣ-a-ta, á-cār-a-ta, á-ci-car-a-ta; cf. á-vid-a-ta, á-bud-dha, á-stō-ṣ-ṣa, á-sthi-ta;  
Passive : 3 sg. only : á-cār-i.

(ii) With Secondary Personal Endings, without Augment = Injunctive Aorist.

(a) Active : cār-I-t; cf. dvik-ṣá-t, kār-ṣ-I-t, bhū-t, di-dhar-a-t, etc.

(b) Middle : cār-ṣiṣ-a-ta, cār-a-ta, ci-car-a-ta : cf. 1 sg. sthē-ṣ-am; páv-iṣ-ṣa; 3 pl. hā-siṣ-ur; vid-á-ta; vṛ-ta, 3 pl. si-ṣap-a-nta etc.

B. Subjunctive Mood :

Subjunctive Endings added to Aorist Base, without Augment = Subjunctive Aorist.

(a) Active : cf. stō-ṣ-a-ti, stō-ṣ-a-t; kār-iṣ-a-t; yá-siṣ-a-t; vid-á-ti, vid-á-t; kār-a-ti; si-ṣadh-á-ti.

(b) Middle : cf. stō-ṣ-a-tē; 3 pl. sán-iṣ-a-ntē; vid-á-tē; kār-a-tē.

C. Optative Mood :

(i) Optative Endings added to Aorist Base = Optative Aorist.

(a) Active : cf. vid-é-t; bhū-yá-t; vōo-é-t.

(b) Middle : cf. bhak-ṣ-I-ta, mam-siṣ-ṣa; jan-i-siṣ-ṣá; ar-I-tá.

(ii) Aorist « -s- » added after Optative Base « -yá-, « I- » = Benedictive or Precative :

(a) Active : car-yá-s : cf. gam-yá-s, bhū-yá-s.

(b) Middle : car-I-ṣ-ṣa : cf. pad-I-ṣ-ṣa.



**D. Imperative Mood :**

- (a) Active : cf. 2 dual, mpk-śá-tam ; 2 sg. nā-ś-a, av-iḍ-ḍhi, sad-ś, kṛ-dhí, bōdh-i.  
 (b) Middle : 2 sg. dhuk-śá-sva ; 2 sg. śák-śva ; 2. dual, yā-siṣ-tám ; 2 pl. sad-a-dhvam ; 2 sg. kṛ-śvá, yuk-śvá.

**E. Participles of the Aorist System :**

- (a) Active : cár-ś-ant- ; cf. śák-ś-ant-, śuc-ánt-, gm-ánt-, kr-ánt-, sthá-nt-, etc.  
 (b) Middle : cf. śuc-ś-māna, kr-śná, budh-śná, yam-a-s-śná, mand-a-s-śná, etc.

**III. The Future System.****A. Indicative Mood.**

- (i) With Future «-śyá-» Base and Primary Personal Endings = Future Tense.  
 (a) Active : car-i-śyá-ti.  
 (b) Middle : car-i-śyá-tē.  
 (ii) Augment Preterit of the Future, with Secondary Personal Endings = Conditional.  
 (a) Active : á-car-i-śya-t ; cf. á-bhar-i-śya-t.  
 (b) Middle : á-car-i-śya-ta.

**E. Participles of the Future System :**

- (a) Active : car-i-śyá-nt-  
 (b) Middle : car-i-śyá-māna : cf. stav-i-śyá-māna.

**IV. The Perfect System.****A. Indicative Mood :**

- (i) Primitive Indo-European Present of the Perfect System = Perfect in Sanskrit.  
 (a) Active : ca-cár-a.  
 (b) Middle : cār-ś, cf. tēp-ś, da-dh-ś,

(ii) Augmented Perfect=Imperfect of the Perfect System=Vedic Pluperfect:

(a) Active: cf. á-ca-caḡ-a-t.

(b) Middle: cf. 3 pl. á-ca-kri-ran.

(iii) Injunctive Perfect, without Augment:

(a) Active: cf. ta-stambh-a-t.

(b) Middle: cf. di-diḡ-ṭa.

B. Subjunctive Mood:

Subjunctive Inflexions added to Perfect Base=Subjunc. Perfect.

(a) Active: cf. mú-mōc-a-ti, mu-muc-a-t.

(b) Middle: cf. ta-táp-a-tē, jú-jōḡ-a-tē.

C. Optative Mood:

(a) Active: cf. ja-gam-yá-t.

(b) Middle: cf. va-vṛt-ī-tá.

D. Imperative Mood:

(a) Active: cf. ci-kid-dhí.

(b) Middle: cf. va-vṛt-svá.

E. Participles of the Perfect System:

(a) Active: cf. ca-kṛ-váñs, ja-gm-i-váñs.

(b) Middle: cf. tēp-ñná, ja-gm-ñná.

### V. Participles.

A. Active and Middle, as under the various Tense Systems above.

B. Past or Passive Participle: car-i-tá; cf. li-ná, kṛ-tá.

C. Perfect Participle: car-itá-vant (a late formation).

D. Future Passive Participles and Adjectives: cár-ya, car-áyya, car-éyya, \*cár-tva, car-tavyà, car-i-tavyà, car-aṅ-íya.

E. Indeclinable Participle or Conjunctive: car-i-tvá, car-i-tví; -cár-ya; cf. kṛ-tvā, kṛ'-tya.

### VI. Verbal Nouns and Infinitives:

cáras, car-ásē; cár-i-tu-m, car-i-tav-āí, cár-i-tav-ē, cár-i-tō-s; car-í, car-áy-ē; car-i-ty-āí; car-ádhy-āí; cár-am; -cár-a-m; car-aṅ-i; car-í-tra; car-á-tha; cf. also bhár-maṅ-ē, dā-ván-ē, dhúr-van-ē, sá-táy-ē.

## VII. Periphrastic Forms.

- A. Perfect Active : car-ay-ām + āsa, -babhūva, -cakāra.  
 B. Future : caritā, 1 sg. caritāsmi.

## VIII. Secondary Conjugations.

- A. Passive : car-yā-tē (Present), á-cār-i (Aorist 3 sg.).  
 B. Causative : inflected forms like cār-āya-ti, cār-āya-tē, á-cār-aya-t, cār-ay-iṣyā-ti, cār-áy-ē-t, cār-āya-tu, á-cār-ay-i-ṣy-a-t, cār-yā-tē; etc.; Active Present Participle cār-áy-ant-, Passive cār-yā-māṇa, etc.  
 C. Denominative : cār-āyā-tē, cār-āyā-tē, etc.  
 D. Desiderative : cí-car-iṣ-a-ti, cí-car-ṣ-a-ti; á-ci-car-ṣ-it; ci-car-i-ṣyā-ti; Causative-Desiderative—ci-car-iṣ-āya-ti; etc.  
 E. Intensive : Indicative cār-car-i-ti; also Optative, Imperative, Imperfect Indicative, etc. Present Active Participle, cār-i-car-ant-; Passive Participle—cār-car-āṇa (cf. kán-i-krad-ant-, jár-bhur-āṇa), car-cūr-yā-māṇa.

613. Compared with the above elaborate system, that of the NIA. speeches shows a very great simplification. And Bengali (with Assamese) is perhaps more simplified than any of its sisters and cousins—the distinction in number for verb forms, which obtains in almost all NIA. speeches, the inflected passive, the « karmani » and « bhāvē prayōgas » of W. Hindi, Panjābi, Rājasthāni etc., the negative conjugation of Khaskurā, etc., are all absent. The curtailment of the OIA. system has been carried out along the lines indicated below, to give that of Bengali :

- I. The Present System : the OIA. *themes* have been in a few instances retained in the root in NB.

## A. Indicative Mood :

- (i) The forms for the Present Tense alone have been retained :

OIA. calati >	NB. cālē :	OIA. calanti >	NB. cālēṅṅ ;
calasi >	cāli-s :	calatha >	cālā, cālō.
calāmi >	cāli :	(calāmaḥ >	cālō).

**D. Imperative Mood :**

3 pers. calatu > cālāu > cālu, cālu-kṣ; calantu > cālunṣ;  
 2 pers. cala > cālṣ; calata > cālā, cālō.

**E. Participles :**

(a) Active : calant- > calanta > cālāntā, cālīt- (=the base of the Conditional or Habitual Past).

(b) Passive or Middle : calamāna > cālānā (with Causative influence).

II. The Aorist System : entirely lost.

**III. The Future System :**

A. The Indicative future in « -ṣyā- » was inherited in OB., but NB. retains only the forms for the 2 person as a Future Precative, or Imperative with Future implication : « calīṣyasi » > cālīs, calīṣyatha > cālīhā > cālīō > cōlō ».

**IV. The Perfect System : entirely lost.****V. Participles :**

The Past Passive Participle in « -tā, -itā », fortified in Late MIA. by the pleonastic « -illa » affix, gave the Past as well as Adjectival Base of Bengali, in « -ila », and also the Conditional Gerund in « -il-ē »; without the « -ila », this OIA. « -(i)tā » participle in the source of the Bengali Verbal Voun in « -ā ».

The Future Passive Participle in « -(i)tavya » was altered into the Bengali Future Base in « -ibā », and of the Verbal Noun in « -ibā ».

The Conjunctive Participle affix « -ya » of OIA. lives in the Bengali Conjunctive affix « -i-yā ».

**VI. Verbal Nouns :**

Some have been preserved : « cālṣ, cālṣ, cāl-ānṣ » etc.

**VII. Periphrastic Forms—not preserved.****VIII. Secondary Conjugations :**

The Causative, in the MIA. form of « -āpa- », and the Denominative, are partially represented in the Bengali affix « -ā- ». The original ablaut grade of the Causative has occasionally been maintained.

The above are thus the comparatively few forms inherited by Bengali as a NIA. language. In MB. and OB. a few other relics of OIA. forms are found which are already tending to become obsolete. The losses have been to a great extent made good by newer formations (*e.g.*, by the development of compounded verbs, and the use of particles and help-words). The syntax too has altered, to help in fixing the language in its new and altered environment.

### [B] BENGALI VERB-ROOTS.

#### [I] HISTORICAL CLASSIFICATION.

614. The number of Sanskrit verb-roots, according to the grammarians, comes up to some 2,000 (1961, according to N. L. Westergaard's lists in O. Böhtlingk's 'Pāṇini,' Leipzig, 1887, pp. 62\*-84\*). Of these, only slightly over 800 have been found in literature (Vēdas, Brāhmaṇas, the Epics, and Early Sanskrit works), employed their conjugated forms. Of this number, again, some 200 belong to the Vēdas and the Brāhmaṇas alone, about 500 occur in both Vedic and Sanskrit, and less than 150 are found in the later literature alone (W. D. Whitney. 'The Roots, Verb-forms and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language,' German ed., Leipzig, 1886, p. 244). OIA. as in the Vēdas and the Brāhmaṇas has consequently registered less than 700 roots which were in living use as verbs, apart from those occurring only in nominal and other derivatives. This number, 700, can by no means be said to exhaust all the verb-roots in the speech of the OIA. period, but considering the extent of the Vedic and Brāhmaṇic literature, and fact that this literature touches upon almost all the aspects of the life of the times, the number of roots not represented cannot be very many.

Many of the 800 roots actually used in OIA. literature (Vedic and Early Sanskrit) are merely extensions of primitive roots, and in some cases, as we advance into the MIA. stage, are but Prakritic modifications of OIA. roots. The number of primitive roots inherited from IE. by OIA. will necessarily be rather small. Be it as it may, the absence of some 200 Vedic roots in Sanskrit shows that this inheritance was not retained

intact by the Aryan speech in India. Old roots changed their meaning, and went out of fashion ; and the losses were made good by building up anew with the old materials, and in a few rare instances by possible borrowings from the non-Aryan speeches. The MIA. vernaculars employed a large number of derived forms as new roots. The spoken language reacted on the literary speech, Sanskrit, and numerous MIA. forms were adopted into Sanskrit in a slightly altered form, and were gradually accepted by the Sanskrit grammarians, and given an equal place with the primitives. There could be no rule to guide the caprice why some Prakrit roots were taken up and others rejected by Sanskrit: thus « bruḍ < buḍḍa, hiṇḍ, hikk, khēl, kaṭṭ, lag, piṭṭ » and a number of others have found a place in both the « dhātu-kōṣa » and the literature of Sanskrit, but other equally good Prakrit roots like « kaḍḍha < kṛṣṭa, lukka, cukka, phiṭṭa, cagh, bhar < smṛ, ghūl < ghūrṇa » were rejected. The grammarians of later ages (from the Second MIA. period) seem to have encouraged this practice to some extent. Sanskrit the language the Gods and the *Rishis* was the mother of all language, and this was apparent from the vernaculars of Northern India ; consequently, vernacular words and roots must necessarily originate from those of Sanskrit : when the grammarians were agreed on this principle, at a time when the historic development of forms by phonetic and other changes was not fully understood, the Sanskrit « dhātu-kōṣa » began to grow in extent by the accession of new roots foisted on it by grammarians. Of the roots in the current « dhātu-kōṣas » a small number may even have been the creations of grammarians to explain words of doubtful etymology ; but the bulk of them may legitimately be regarded as having been in actual use in IA., though not in its oldest period. Thus in addition to the aristocratic roots of direct IE. origin like « as, bhū, sthā, gam, yā, ad, mṛ, dṛś, dram, cal, pat, dhā, div, mṛj, snih, duh » etc., the « dhātu-kōṣas » give as good Sanskrit humbler roots of late and obscure origin, like « 'gu(n)ḍi' vēṣṭanē, cūrṇīkaraṇē'pi ; 'ḍipa' kṛṣṭē ; 'bha(n)ḍi' parihāsē ; 'kha(n)ḍi' manthē ; 'capa' kalkanē ; 'juḍa' prēraṇē ; 'caha' pari-kalkanē ; 'khiṭa' uttrāsānē ; 'lōḍṛ' unmādanē ; 'jimu' adanē ; 'huḍṛ, hōḍṛ' gatāu ; 'ḍipa' viḥyasa-gāmanē ; 'muṭa'

saheṭṭṛṇaṇē; 'dhakka' uṣāṇē; 'bukka' bhāṣaṇē; 'kaṇa' nimlāṇē; 'kaḍḍa' kārkaṣyē; 'laḍa' vilāṣē; 'aḍḍa' abhiyōḡē; 'aḍa' udyamē; 'ṭaṭa' alpa-bhāvē, etc., etc., which have in almost all cases NIA. equivalents, and can in the majority of cases be explained easily as secondary formations from words derived from primitive Aryan roots; the origin of quite a number of them, however, remains obscure.

615. The number of verb-roots in Bengali is 1,056, according to the excellent grammar of Paṇḍit Nakuleśwar Vidyābhūṣaṇa (4th ed., Calcutta, Bengali year 1315). This includes original or primitive roots, causatives, and a number of denominatives used chiefly in literature, and excludes onomatopoeics. A Bengali « dhātu-kōṣa » of about 1,500 roots has been easily compiled by me on the basis of Jīnēndra-Mōhan Dās's dictionary (see *supra*, p. 218) : this includes onomatopoeics, and a number of obsolete roots not used in NB., beside a large number of Sanskrit denominatives used in high literature. The number will be much larger if proper *tbh.* roots in early Bengali literature and in the present-day dialects are all brought together.

Roots in Bengali, as in other cognate IA. speeches, can be classified on the lines indicated below, taking into consideration their origin, and partly also their function :

- |                    |       |   |  |                        |                          |
|--------------------|-------|---|--|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Primary Roots   | Roots | — | Primary Roots inherited from OIA. ( <i>tbhs.</i> ) :                         |                        |                          |
|                    |       |   | (a) Simple Roots, (b) Prefixed Roots.  |                        |                          |
|                    |       |   | — Primary Roots from Causatives in OIA.                                      |                        |                          |
|                    |       |   | — Primary Roots re-introduced from Sanskrit ( <i>tss.</i> and <i>stss.</i> ) |                        |                          |
|                    |       | — | Primary Roots of doubtful origin ( <i>dṣṣi</i> ?)                            |                        |                          |
| 2. Secondary Roots | Roots | — | Causatives in «-ḥ».  |                        |                          |
|                    |       |   | Denominatives  | Native ( <i>tbh.</i> ) | (a) Early (inherited)    |
|                    |       |   |  |                        | (b) MB. and NB. (coined) |
|                    |       |   |  | — <i>Tatsama.</i>      |                          |
|                    |       |   | — Foreign.   |                        |                          |
|                    |       |   | — Compounded and Suffixed ( <i>tbh.</i> )                                    |                        |                          |
| — Onomatopoeic.    |       |   |  |                        |                          |
| — Doubtful.        |       |   |  |                        |                          |

(1) Primary Roots.

616. Primary Roots in Bengali, at a rough computation, number about 300. Strictly speaking, denominatives derived from MIA., which number about 100, may be classed under primary roots, since they have been inherited as roots by Bengali and behave exactly like primitive roots derived from OIA. (e.g., a root like কাড় < kār > *snatch away* < <kaḍḍha = kṛṣṭa >): these might have been denominatives in MIA., but the nouns or adjectives which were their sources are in many cases obsolete in Bengali.

617. There are a little less than 200 roots in Bengali which can mostly be traced right up to primary roots of OIA. (Vedic and Sanskrit, and in some cases only to the early Prakrite). Examples are, of unprefixd roots: < আহ āch (MIA. acchati, IE. \*es-sko-ti); ইছ ich (icchati); কষ kās *tighten* (kṛṣ); কর kār (kr); কঁদ kād *weep* (krand); কাঁপ kāp (kamp); কাঁট kāt (kṛt); কিন kin (krināti); কঁদ kūd (kūrdati); খন khān (khan); খা khā (khād); খঁজ khūj *seek* (? kṣudyatē); খেল khēl (khēlati); গণ, গুণ gān, guṇ (gaṇ); গিল gil (gil, gir); চর cār *graze* (car); চল cāl (cal); চি ei *awaken* (cit, cf. cētayati); চু cu (cyav); চুন cin (cinōti); চুম cum (cumb); ছা chā (chād); ছাড় chār (chard); ছিঁড় chīṛ (chind, chindati); ছেঁচ chēc (sic, siñc); জপ jāp *persuade* (jalp); জাগ jāg (jāgṛ); জি ji (jiv); জিন jin (jināti); জল jwāl = জল jāl (jval); তান tān (tan); টুট ṭuṭ (truṭ); †ডহ ḍāh (dah); ঢাক ḍhāk (MIA. ḍhakk); তর tār (ṭr); তাঁজ tāj (tarj); তুল tul (tul); †ডাল ḍāl (dāl); দল dāl (cf. dōla); দুহ duh (dub); দুধ duḍ (duḍ); দে dē (dā); দেখ dēkh (MIA. dekkh < dṛkṣ); ধর dhār (dhṛ); ধ্বর dhwās = ধল dhās (dhvas); ধা dhā (dhāv); ধো dhō (dhāv); †ধুন dhun (dhvan); নাহ nāh (nā); নে nē (nī); হ, নো nu, no (nam); পচ pāc *to get rotten* (pac); †পি pi (pibati); পিজ piḍ (piñj); পুছ puḥ (pṛochati); পুজ pūj (pūj); কাঁট phāt *split* (OIA. sphāt < \*sphl̥t); কুট phuṭ (ibid); বাঁট bāt *distribute* (vaṇṭ); বট bāt *remain, be* (vṛt); বর bār (vṛṣ ?); বাঁচ bāc *live* (vañc); বোল bōl (brā); বল bāl (vas); বহ bāh (vah); বাঁধ bādh (bandh); বিঁধ bīdh (vyadh); বুঁজ buḥj (budh); বুল bul *wander about* (val); ভজ bhāj (bhaj); ভর bhār (bhṛ); ভাজ bhāj *fry, roast* (bhṛj); ভাঁজ bhāj *fold*



(bhāñj); কৃষ্ণ bhūṣ (bhūṣ); মথ máh *churn* (math); মজ máj *sink, get juicy* (majj); মিশ miś (miśr); মিল mil (mil); মাড় máṛ (mṛd, mard); মাখ mákh (mrakṣ); মল mál (mard); যা já (yā); যাচ jác (yāc); যুজ juh (yudh); রাখ rákh (rakṣ); লহ lāh (labh); লখ lákh (lakṣ); লাগ lāg (lag); লাজ āj (lajj); লাল lāl (lal); লুঠ luṭh (luṭṭh); শুষ śuṣ (śuṣ); সুন śun (śṛṅṅṭi); শুঁক śūk (śuṅgh); শো, সো śō, *lie down* sō (svap); সহ sah (sah); সর sār (sr); সিসি si (siv); সিঁধ sijh *be boiled* (sidh); শোহ, সোহ śōh (śubh); হের hēr *scrutinise, gaze* (cf. śkheṭa *hunting*) >, etc., etc.

Of prefixed roots, examples are « আ ā (ā-yā); আগ, আইস ās, āis (ā-viś); আঙক āoj *make half-shut* (ā-vṛj); আঁচা ācā (ā-cam); আন ān (ā-nī); আহাড় « āchār » *dash, throw down with force* (ā-chard); উছল uchal *overflow* (ut-śal); উঠ uṭh (ut-sthā); উত্তর utār *reach* (ut-tṛ); উপেখ upēkh (ut-pra-ikṣ); উই ui *rise, as the sun* (ud-i); উজা ujā *flow up, as a river* (ud-yā); উপচ upāc *flow over* (ut-patyatā); উপজ upāj (ut-padyatā); উলহ, উল, উর ulāh, ul, ur *descend* (ut-labh); নিবা, নিজ nib(h)ā (nir-vā); নির nirākh (nir-ikṣ); নিসর nisār (niḥ-sr); নিহাল, নিহার nihāl, nihār (ni-bhāl); নিবড় nibāṛ *finish* (nir-vṛt); নেউট nēuṭ *return* (ni-vṛt); পাখাল pākhāl (pra-kṣāl); পরখ pārākh (pari-ikṣ); পরশ pārāś *serve food* (pari-viś + sparśa); পর < পহির pār < pāhir (pari-dhā); পরিহর pārihār (pari-hṛ); পস, পইস pās, pāis (pra-viś); পৌছ pōch *wipe* (pra-uñch); পোহ pohā *dawn* (pra-bhā); বস, বইস bās, bāis (upa-viś); ভিজ bhij *get wet* (abhi-añj); বিক bik *sell* (vi-kri); সাঁতার sātār *swim* (sam-tṛ); সাঁমাল sāmāl *gather up, save* (sam-bhāl); সাঁপ sāp, sōp (sam-arp) >; etc., etc.

618. The primary roots have all come to Bengali through the MIA., and as such they bear the stamp of the phonetic modifications of the various periods. The ten classes (gaṇas) into which the Sanskrit grammarians have arranged OIA. verb-roots, taking into consideration their *themes*, became levelled down to one in Apabhraṅśa, and all original thematic affixes which were added to the root in the present system were lost in MIA., being either dropped or incorporated with the root. In some instances, however, a characteristic theme could not be dropped; and the presence of the « -ya- » theme is indicated by the result of its assimilation with the consonant of the root. Bengal

primary roots inherited from OIA. have preserved only a few traces of these themes : thus—

1. « -ya- » theme: e.g., « সিকে sijhē (sidh-ya-ti); নাচে nācē (nacai, nrt-ya-ti); যুঝে, জুঝে jujhē (yudh-ya-ti); শুবে śuṣē (śuṣ-ya-ti); বুঝে bujhē (budh-ya-ti); সমুঝে samujhē (sam + budh-ya-ti); টুটে ṭuṭē (truṭ-ya-ti); মানে mānē honours (man-ya-tē) »; etc.

2. « -nō- » theme: « চুনে cune *culls, selects* (ci-nō-ti); শুনে śunē (śr-ṇō-ti); ধুনে dhunē (dhu-nō-ti) »;

3. « -nā- » theme: « কিনে kinē (kri-ṇā-ti); জিনে jinē (ji-nā-ti) »; (cf. জানে jānē = jānāti);

4. The « -coh- » theme (= IE. \* -sko-), not recognised by Sanskrit grammarians, occurs in the roots « আচে āchē (acchati, \* es-sko-ti); ঠিহে ichē (icchati); †পুহে puchē (pṛcchati); পহঁহে pāhūchē (pahuṅcaī, pahucoḥai, \* prabhucchati, \* pro-bheu-sko-ti) ».

Original Passive forms, with « -yā- » affix of the Passive, e.g., « উপত্য উপত্য overflows (utpatyātā); †উপত্য উপত্য (utpadyātā); OB. দীসাঁ (drā-yā-tā); রোচে, রুচে rōcē, ruōcē is pleasing (rucyātā) », etc., may be noted here.

The « -n- » infix of OIA. remains as a nasalisation of the root vowel in Bengali forms like « ছিড়ে chīṛē (chiṇḍ-a-ti, chi-n-d-a-ti); ভাঁজে bhājē (bha-ñ-j-a-ti) », etc. Cf. « বাঁধে bādhē (\* bandh-a-ti); রাঁধে rādhē (randh-aya-ti) ».

619. Apart from phonetic modification and decay, and the analogical tendency which brought about a general uniformity in the stem seeking to marshal the roots under one head, primary roots underwent certain modifications in MIA which would appear erratic and inexplicable. These have been described by Hoernle in his paper on Hindī Roots (JASB., 1880, Part I, p. 35ff.). Phonetic changes which altered « samarpayati » to « sārpe », « vismarati » to « bichurē », « upaviśati » to « bāsē », « svapiti » to « śōy », « abhyajyatē » to « bhijē » « prōñchati » to « pōchē, mōchē » are sufficiently clear: and the analogical tendency levelling down the diversities in the forms of roots is plain enough. The striking thing is that in MIA., the bases

of active roots are frequently derived, not from the active form in OIA., but rather from the passive one, and in some cases apparently from the future base rather than that of the present. Causative bases of OIA. also supplied the simple root forms of MIA. and NIA. The deponent forms in MIA. can be explained as taking up a reflexive character, from which the active sense easily evolved, and this was sometimes accompanied by slight semantic changes: e.g., « abhyajyātē » is *anointed* > *anoints oneself* > ভিজে « bhijē » = *gets wet*; « tapyātē » > MIA. « tappāi » is *heated* > *heats oneself*, > তাপে « tāpē » *gets hot*; « namyātē » is *bent, gets bent, bends* > নামে « nāmē » *descends*; « brūyātē » is *said* > « \*buriyati » > বোলে, বলে « bōle, bālē » *says*; etc. A number of derivatives from passive participles are similarly used actively. Certain roots in OIA., ending in « ś, ṣ » (also other consonants — « c, j, h »), change the final consonant to « k » before the « -sya- » in the future, resulting in « -k-ṣya- » for the future base. The MIA. change of « -k-ṣya- » was « -kkh- » or « -cch- ». In some instances, it seems that on the model of MIA. bases like « puccha = OIA. pṛcch, gaccha, pēccha = pra + ikṣ, accha, yaccha, \*pahuccha, \*pahuñca = NIA. pahūch- », certain roots employed for the present their future bases in « -ccha- < -k-ṣya- ». (Hoernle, *op. cit.*). Thus OIA. « ā + krak-ṣya-ti », from « √kṛṣ », would give « ā + kacchāi » > ā-acchāi, \*āyacchāi, \*āyañcaī » in MIA., which apparently was the source of Hindi « aīñcaī, aīcaī » *draws*, Bengali হেঁচড়ায় « h-ṣc-ṛ-ā-y » *drags* (with prothetic « h- », and « -ṛ- > -ḍ- » extension). Such future > present bases do not, however, seem to have been as numerous in MIA. and NIA. as Hoernle makes them out to be (*op. cit.*).

620. There are slightly over 50 roots in Bengali which were originally causatives in OIA. The old ablaut modification (guṇa) of the root vowel is preserved in Bengali, and the meaning has in many cases been slightly modified. These old causatives have become primary roots in Bengali, and a regular causative form with the « -ā- » affix has been built up both from this causative-primary and its basic root: e.g., « patati » > পড়ে « pāṛē » *falls*, « pātayati » > পাড়ে

« pārṣ » *causes to fall, falls, gets a thing down*; whence new formations in « -ṣ- —পাড়ার « pārṣy » *causes to fall*, and পাড়ায় « pārṣy » *causes to fall, causes to get something down from high*. The root পাড় « pār » has become, so far as NB. is concerned, an independent form, with the sense of *taking down a thing*. Examples of these causative formations: †উধারে « ughārṣ » (udghāṣayati); †উপাড়, উপাড়র « upārṣ » > upārṣay » (utpārṣayati); গালে « gālṣ » *strains, causes to flow off* (gālayati), beside গলে « gālṣ » *melts, slips through like water* (galati); MB. গোটতে « gōṭṭṣ » > *passes time* (gamayati); চাবার, চিবায় « cābāy, cibāy » > *chews* (carvayati); চালে « cālṣ » *causes to move* (cālayati), beside চলে « cālṣ » *walks* (calati); ছোড়তে « chōṛṣ » *casts, throws from a distance as a ball*, beside ছুটে « chuṭṣ » *runs* (Dhātupāṭha = √chuṭ—chōṭayati *splits, cuts*); টানে « ṭānṣ » *pulls* (caus. < √tan); তারে « tāṛṣ » *saves* (tārayati), beside তরে « tāṛṣ » *crosses, is saved* (tarati); †ত্যা, ত্যাগে « tāy, tāyṣ » (tāpayati); ধারে « dhārṣ » from earlier উধারে « udhārṣ » *borrowes, remains a debtor* (uddhārayati), besides ধরে « dhārṣ » *holds*; থায় « thōy » *places* (sthāpayati); MB. নোঙে « nōṅṣ », NB. নোর « nōy » *bends* (« nāmayati », confused with « namati »); পায় « pāy » (« prāpayati », in the sense of « prāpnōti »); পসারে « pāsārṣ » *extends, spreads out* (prasārayati); পারে « pārṣ » *is able, succeeds* (pārayati); পূরে « pūrṣ » (pūrayati); ফাড়ে « phārṣ » *splits* (sphāṣayati); বাহে, বায় « bhāṣ, bhāy » (vāhayati); বাটে « bāṭṣ » *pounds (spices) with a stone roller* (vartayati); বারে « bārṣ » *shields, stops* (vārayati); MB. ভারে « bhārṣ » *appears* (bhāvayati), beside MB. হোখে « hōṣ » (bhavati); মারে « mārṣ » *kills, strikes* (mārayati), beside মরে « mārṣ » (\*marati = mriyatṣ); মাপে « māpṣ » *measures* (old sts. = \*māppēi < māpayati: cf. Hindi nāpe *measures* = nāppēi = jñāpyatṣ); মোছে « mōṣ » (mōhayati); রাঁধে « rādhṣ » *cooks* (randhayati); টালে « ṭālṣ » (ṭālayati), beside টলে « ṭālṣ » (ṭalati); সারে « sārṣ » *repairs* (sārayati *arranges, nourishes*) besides সরে « sārṣ » *moves, goes to* (sarati); হারে « hārṣ » *is defeated* (hārayati) beside হরে « hārṣ » *takes away, steals* (harati); cf. দৌঁ চলে « ḍhālṣ » *pours* beside চলে « ḍhālṣ » *reels*; etc., etc.

621. A number of roots, which do not at all look like secondary formations, cannot be traced to any OIA. (Sanskrit) form;

although it is extremely likely that they are in most cases *ibids.* Analogous forms occur in the «dhātu-kōpas» in some cases, but that is no help in determining the origin. A few resemble Dravidian roots of similar meaning, and these may be of Dravidian origin: e.g., *এড়* «*ēr = ēḍ*» give up; *নড়* «*nār = naḍ*» move, walk (< OIA. *nṛt dance* > MIA. *naṭ, naḍ* ?); *কুদ* «*kud*» leap (cf. Skt. *kūrḍ*); *মুড়* «*muṛ = muḍ*» fold, wrap; dialectal *শাপড়* «*śāpṛ = śāpaḍ*» eat, gobble up, finish (e.g., *ভাত শাপড়ান* «*bhāṭṣ śāpṛāṇā*» finishing one's meal of rice): roots exactly similar in form and meaning to all of the above are found in Tamil. Roots that would come under this group of obscure etymology would be, among others—

«*জাঁচ* *kāc* guess; *জাঁট* *kāṭ* tighten; *কাচ* *kāc* MB. *dress*, NB. *wash clothes*; *কুড়* *kūr* pound; *কুদ* *kūd* carve; *খস* *khās* slip off; *খাট* *khāṭ* work, labour, put money on a trade, or lend at interest (in the last sense a late Skt. «*√khaṭṭ*» has been found: see Jñānendra Mōhan Dās's Dictionary, under *খাটান*); *খুঁট* *khūt* scratch, rub, rub gently with the finger-tips or nails, peck with the beak; *খুল* *khul* loosen, open, open bolt; *গাদ* *gād* ram in; *ঘির* *ghir* surround; *ঘুচ* *ghuc* come at an end, be finished, cf. Assamese *গুচ* *gus* enter; *চট* *cāṭ* be angry, get ruffled or cracked; *চাহ* *cāh* look at, ask (OIA. «*cakṣ*»?: cf. Aśōkan «*caghati*» = strives, wants < OIA. «*\*cagh*» = IE. root?); *চাঁচ* *cāc* scrape; *চাট* *cāṭ* lick (OIA. *caṣṭa*. *√cakṣ* ?); *চাপ* *cāp* press; *ছাঁক* *chāṅk* strain; *ছাঁট* *chāṭ* clip off; *ছাপ* *chāp* print, press; *ছিপ* *chip* hide; *ছুট* *chut* run; *জোখ* *jōkh* measure; *জুট* *juṭ*, *জুল* *jul* meet together; *বল*, *বুল* *jhāl*, *jhul* hang; *বুঁক* *jhūk* lean out; *বঁাপ* *jhāp* plunge; *ঝাল* *jhāl* mend a metal pot, clean a well; *ঝুঁজ* *jhūj* ooze; *টস* *ṭās* drip (onomat. ?); *টাঁস* *ṭās* be finished, die; *টাঁক*, *ṭāk*, *টেক* *ṭēk*, *টিক* *ṭik* endure, repair; *টাক* *ṭāk* taste (cf. *টাকরা* *ṭākṛā* palate); *টিপ* *ṭip* pinch with the fingers; *ঢেল* *ṭhēl* push; *ডাক* *dāk* call, shout; *ডুব*, *বুড়* *dub*, *বুয়* *buṛ* sink, drown; *তাড়* *tār* hustle, pursue; *থুড়*, *থুর* *thur*, *thur* mince (cf. *thurv* kill); *পট* *pāṭ* be in agreement; *পিজ* *pij* card cotton; *পুড়* *puṛ* burn (cf. Skt. *√puṭ*); *পুত*, *পুত* *put*, *pūt* bury; *ফির* *phir* turn; *বাঁচ* *bāc* live (Skt. *vañc*); *বাঁছ* *bāch* select, choose; *বিহা*, *বিহা* *bi(h)ā* give birth to; *ভাস* *bhās* float (< Skt. *bhās* shine

> appear ?); রহ rāh remain (? arh); রট rāt spread (as a rumour); রড় rār run; লড় lār fight; লু, লুস lus, luṣ gorge oneself; সঁট sāt̃ idid, also tighten; হাঁট hāt̃ walk (cf. Skt. hind, Gujarātī hōḍ-vā); etc.

622. MIA. borrowings from Sanskrit may be included under the inherited or the proper *tā.* element of Bengali. After Bengali emerged from Māgadhī Ap., as a distinct speech, and literature began to be produced in it, the habit of borrowing from Sanskrit obtained a greater impetus. A practice grew up in Bengali literature from very early times of adopting Sanskrit roots bodily into the language, like the adoption of *ts.* nouns and participles. This practice received a fresh support during the age of Vaiṣṇava renaissance in the 16th century, and again in the 19th century, in the hands of modern poets like Madhusūdan Datta. This use of Skt. forms, even when their *tā.* counterparts were in actual use, is not peculiar to Bengali alone: we find it in the medieval vernacular poetry of all Aryan India. It was the inevitable effect of a revival of classical studies—in grammar, literature, law, theology and philosophy, the results of which were brought to bear upon the vernaculars. The revival of Brahmanic studies strengthened the position of Sanskrit, which had throughout retained a living touch with the vernaculars as their natural feeder. We thus find from Middle Bengali times *ts.* roots or bases like « আহ্ন āhwa, কীর্ত্ত kīrtta, গর্জ garja, চুম্ব cumba, তিষ্ঠ tiṣṭha, ত্যজ tyaja, ধ্যা dhyā, ধ্বন dhwan, নম nam, নির্মা nirmā (*sts.*, নিরমা nirāmā), নির্ণি nirṇi, নিশ্চি niści, প্রণম praṇam, বদ bad (vad), বন্দ banda (vand), বর্জ barja (varj), বর্ত barta (vart), ভজ bhajja, ভবৎ bharta, ভিদ bhid, মর্দ marda, যজ yaj, রাজ rāj (the last two may be *tā.*), শোভ śōbh, সেব sēb (sēva), স্মর smar, হিংস hiṅsa » etc., etc. to be in common use, side by side with *tā.* equivalents in many cases. These *ts.* roots, although understood by most people, figure mainly in literature, and only a few have been adopted in the colloquial, like তিষ্ঠ « tiṣṭha » (cf. তিষ্ঠাইতে দেওয়া tiṣṭhāite dēwā > Standard Coll. তিষ্ঠতে দেওয়া tiṣṭhute dēwā = let one remain at peace), বর্ত « barta » (cf. বাঁচিয়া বর্তিয়া > বেচে-ব'র্তে থাকি bāciyā-bārtiyā > bēcē-bōrtē thākā to remain alive and well, বর্তিয়া > ব'র্তে বাঁচিয়া bārtiyā > bōrtē jāwā to feel saved, to get a new existence). The number of such common *ts.* roots comes up to some 100; but it is often difficult to determine

whether they are *√* roots, or denominatives, as frequently the base in Bengali shows « guṇa » of the Skt. root characteristic of noun forms.

(2) Secondary or Derivative Roots.

623. The Causatives are the most characteristic of this class. They have the affix « -ā- » which comes from the Second MIA. « -āva- » = First MIA. « -āpa- », which is only a generalisation of the « -pa- » affix found in the causative of some OIA. roots ending in « -ā », e.g.,  $\sqrt{dā} > dā-pa-ya-$ ,  $hā > hā-pa-ya-$ ,  $mā > mā-pa-ya-$ ,  $yā > yā-pa-ya-$ ,  $sthā > sthā-pa-ya-$ ,  $snā > snā-pa-ya-$ , etc. Their verbal nouns as well as infinitives and passive participles have the affix আন, আনো « -ānā. -ānō ». Almost every primary root and denominative which is not already a causative in form can have its causative in « -ā- ». A number of denominatives (especially in the case of bases in three syllables, ending in  $\sqrt{-r-}$ , original or affixed) have become obsolete, their places being taken by causative formations which are used without causative meaning: e.g., আঁকাড় « ākāṛḍ » *embrace, hold with both hands* (an̄ka-ḍa : cf. an̄ka-pālikā *embrace*), proper verb form আঁকাড়ে « ākāṛē », causative extension \* আঁকাড়া « ākāṛā » > আঁকাড়ায় « ākāṛāy »; উখাড় « ukhāṛḍ », উখাড়ে « ukhāṛē » > \*উখাড়া « ukhāṛā » > \*উখাড়াই « ukhāṛāy », উখাড়ায় « ukhāṛāy », উখাড়ায় « ukhāṛāy » *roots out*; উজাড় « ujāṛḍ » *desolate*, উজাড়ে « ujāṛē » > \*উজাড়া « ujāṛā » > \*উজাড়াই « ujāṛāy », উজাড়ায় « ujāṛāy », উজাড়ায় « ujāṛāy » *makes desolate, ransacks*; উগার « ugāṛḍ » > উগারে « ugāṛē », \*উগারাই « ugāṛā » > উগারায় « ugāṛāy », উগাড়ায় « ugāṛāy » *vomits*; তাকে « tākē » *gases* (tarkayati) > তাকায় « tākāy »; হাঁকাড়ে « hākāṛē » *shouts, hits* > \*হাঁকাড়ায় « hākāṛāy » > হাঁকাড়ায় « hākāṛāy », beside হাঁকরায় « hākāṛāy » *belabours*; etc., etc. The causatives present a numerous class in Bengali, the proper « -ā- » causatives numbering some 400.

624. Denominatives are made up from nouns and participle adjectives, these nouns and participles being treated exactly like roots. A vowel ending the noun or participle base is dropped. IA. developed early this habit of making roots out of nouns and adjectives, without adding the denominative-forming affix « -nya- ». According to the Skt. grammarians (who doubtless were guided by vernacular Prakrit usage in

this respect), any noun-stem could be used as a verb-stem. With the decay of inflected past forms, the past participles became, after the present base, the most important. In some cases there was a very great difference in form between these two outstanding parts of the verb. The levelling tendency in MIA. simplified matters by making the passive participle the basis of a new present formation, which in course of time ousted the old present: since in Late MIA., the latter often appeared (from point of view of MIA.) irregular and peculiar. Equally frequently the reverse process took place. Thus, OIA. « npaviṣati » and « upaviṣta- » gave MIA. « uvaiṣai » and « uvaiṣṭha », but « uvaiṣṭha » assumed the function of the present, so that in NIA. (Hindōstāni) we have present « baiṣṭhē » (rather than « baiṣē »), and pass. participle « baiṣṭhā »; and in the OIA. group « śrṣṭi, śruta » > MIA. « suṣai, sudō » > suṣ, « suṣai » made « suṣ » obsolete by bringing about the creation of a new form « suṣiṣ », so that in Hindōstāni we have present « sunē » and pass. part. « sunā ». The simple « -a » verbal noun, as presenting the root in a very intelligible form, also often supplied a basis for the new conjugation.

The Kōl and Dravidian speeches might have been responsible for the wide development in IA. of the practice of forming denominatives. Anyhow, it was a late MIA. characteristic which has come down to Bengali. Denominatives in « -ā » are now freely formed, even from foreign nouns and adjectives.

625. As for the *ibh* (and *dhṣi*) denominatives of Bengali, absence of literary records does not allow us to fix with certainty when they were first employed as verbs—whether in the pre-Bengali period, or in later times. The forms without « -ā » seem to be earlier. Examples are : « উগ্গ ugē rises (uggaa, udgata); উজ্জাহ্ণ ujjāḥṇā clears (\*ujjhāḍa, \*ud-jhāṣa with trees cut down); MB. উত্ত্বা unṭṭā gets hot (uṭha, uṣṭa); উভ্বে ub(h)ṣe is volatile (ubbha, ūrdhva; ubbhaa, udbhṣta); MB. উম্মা umṃā steams (umha, uṣṃa); কহে, কর kāhē, kāy (kahēi, kathāyati); কাড়ে kāṛē snatches away, robs (kaḍḍha, kṣṣta); কামায় kāmāy earns, slaves (« kamma, karma »: Secoud MIA. « kammai » cuts; connexion with Pali « kappēti » trims, as suggested by R. Morris, 'Pali, Sanskrit and Prakrit



Etymology,' Transactions of the 9th International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1893, Vol. I, pp. 494-495, not likely); কালার *kālayaḥ gets black, blackens* (kāla); কুড়ায় *kuṛāy gathers* (kūḍa, kūṭa); ধোয়ার *khōwāy gets lost* (\*khawa, khaa, kṣaya); গাড়ে *gārē buries* (dēśi gaḍḍa: ? < garta); গাবায় *gābhāy wants* (gabba, garva); গায়ে, গায় *gāhē, gāy sings* (gāhēi, gāthayati < gāthā); গুছায় *guchāy arranges* (guccha); গোলো *ghōlē mixes thoroughly as liquids* (ghōlla = ghūrṇa); ঘামে *ghāmē sweats* (gharma); চিনে *cinē recognises* (oihna); চোরায় *cōrāy steals* (cōra); চেতায় *cētāy comes to senses* (oittāvēi, citta-); চিরে *cirē slits, pie ces* (cīra, cīvara); হাঁদে *chādē grips, holds tight, binds* (chanda); হিনে *chinē snatches away* (chinna); জিতে *jitē wins* (jitta < jita); ছিটায় *chitāy sprinkles* (chiṭṭa-,? kṣipta); জুতে, জোতে *jutē, jōtē hitches ox or horse to vehicle* (jutta, yukta); টকে *ṭakē gets sour* (ṭakka = takra); ঠাটায় *ṭhātāy stiffens* (ṭhaḍḍa < \*ṭhaṭṭha: stabdha?); দাঁড়ায় *dāṛāy stands* (danḍāyatē); তাকে *tākē gazes* (takkēi, tarkayati); তাতে *tātē gets hot* (tatta, tapta); তিতে *titē gets wet* (tinta, √tim); থামে *thāmē comes to a standstill, stops* (thambha, stambha); থিরায় *thirāy* (sthira) *থিতায় thitāy subsides as a residue* (sts. ? < sthitā); দুখায় *dukhāy pains* (dukkha, duḥkha); ধুয়ার, ধোয়ার *dhūāy, dhōāy smokes* (dhūwa, dhūma); পাকে *pākē ripens* (pakva); MB. পতিয়াএ, পইত্যয় *pātiyāē, pāitāy believes* (sts. < pratyaya); পইটে *pāiṭhē enters* (pāiṭṭha, praviṣṭa); পিটে *piṭhē beats* (piṭṭa, piṣṭa); বাঁকে *bāḱē* (baṅka = vakra); বাখানে *bākhānē explains, praises* (bakkhāṇa, vyyākhāṇa); বাজে *bājē is played, as music* (vajja, vādyā); মাগে, মাগে *mā(gṇ)gē beg* (maggaī, maggēi, mārgati, mārgayati); মাতে *mātē becomes intoxicated* (matta); মুতে *mūtē* (mūtra); মুদে *mudē closes, as eyes* (mudrā seal); রুটে *ruṭhē angers* (ruṭṭha, ruṣṭa); রুধে *rudhē prevents, forbids* (ruddha); শুখায় *sukhāy dries* (suṣka); সৈত্যয় *sētāy gets wet* (\*sinta, sitta < sikta) », etc., etc. *Tadbhava* derivatives of NIA. origin in Bengali can be exemplified by forms like « আঁধারা *ādhārā* (andhakāra); আঁলা, আলা *āulā, āllā, ēlā make dishevelled* (ākula); আলগা *ālgaḱ loosens* (ālgaḱ, ālagna); আঁতকা *āṭkaḱ be seized with a sudden fright* (āṭaṅka); ইটা *iṭā stone, hit with pellets* (iṣṭaka); উঁচা *ūcā raise, level as a weapon* (ucca-); আগুআ, আগুয়া, আগা, এগো *āguā, ālga > ēgō advance* (agra + uka); কবা *kaḱa tighten* (karṣa); কাঁধা *kādhā to shoulder* (skandha); কিলা *kiḱā*

give blows with the fist (kilā fisticuff); খেত্ৰা khēṅrā strike with a broom; খেপা khēpā become mad; গালা gālā abuse (gālī=garbhikā); চাপড়া cāpṛḍā pat (cāpārḍ patting with the flat of the palm); ঘনা ghānā deepen (ghana); ঘুমা ghumā sleep (ghumā sleep : see p. 482 supra); ঘোঁজা gṛjā tuck inside (cf. gṛjā a peg); চড়া cārā slap (cārḍ a slap); হোঁচা chōcā wash after evacuation (śāuca); জুতা jutā strike with the shoe (jutā shoe); বাঁটা bhāṭā strike with a broom; ঢেউআ ḍhēuā dash water in a tank or stream (ḍhēu wave); তলা tālā sink deep (tala); তাসা tāsā play cards (slang : tāsḍ playing cards); তেওড়া tēorā make deformed (tri-vṛta); দাঁতা dāntā gnash teeth, show teeth (daṅta); MB. নিন্দা nindā sleep (nidrā); পাদা pādā break wind (parda); পাছুআ > পেছো pāchuā > pēchō fall back (paścāt); বিঘা bi-ā fester as a wound (viṣa); ভাঙ্গা bhāṅ(g)ā break (bhanga); রান্গা rāṅ(g)ā redden (raṅga); লাঠা lāṭhā belabour with sticks (lāṭhi < yaṣṭi ? < \*lak-ṭhi=\*lak-, \*lag- [cf. lak-uṭa, lag-uḍā +yaṣṭi); শাণা śāṅā whet (śāṅa); হাতা hātā receive in hand to one's advantage (hasta); MB. হুমা humā (hōma) », etc., etc., The noun base not infrequently ends in « -u » : thus আশুয়া > এগো « āḡ-u-ā > ēḡo » advance, পাছুয়া > পেছো « pāch-u-ā > pēchō » recede, পারুয়া > পেরো « pār-u-ā > pērō » cross, etc.

The *tbh.* derivatives convey mainly an instrumental or acquisitive sense.

Common *tbh.* roots of this class number some 200 in Bengali.

626. Sanskrit denominatives, in *ts.* or *sts.* forms, like Skt. roots and participial forms, occur from the oldest Bengali onwards. Almost any Sanskrit noun, preferably in « -a », which is not the name of a concrete object, can be used as a root in the language of Bengali poetry. About 100 denominatives of this class are in common use in the Bengali. A few of this have developed characteristic vernacular or *sts.* forms from MB. onwards, e.g., তেয়াগ « tēyāḡā » < « tyāḡa », বরণ « bārāṅā » < « varṅa », দরশ « dārāśā » < « darśa », পরশ « pārāśā » < « sparśa » etc.

Examples of *ts.* demonstratives : « agrasara, ādara, ādēsa, ākula, āghāta, ānanda, ālāpa, āśīṣa, ucobēda, uttāpa, uddhāra, unmōca, ulāṅga citra, trasta, dvēṣa, dvandva, dāna, dīpa, nāda, nīrava, nīscaya, nīṣphala,

nistāra, parihāra, pradāna, praṇāma, pramōda, prasāra, prasāda, prasāma (ts. root, pra + √sam?), puraskāra, bhāti, bhāva, vikāsa, vighōṣa, vināśa, vistāra, vēṣṭa, rāga, yōga, lēpa, saṁhāra, santōṣa, stuti > etc., etc. : we have even a word like « prati-vidhita » turned into a denominative root, প্রতিবিধিত « prāti-bidhita », in poetry (e.g., in Madhusūdan Datta and in Girīś Chandra Ghōṣh).

627. Foreign denominatives number barely 20. They are almost all from the Persian (or Perso-Arabic) : e.g., অর্পণ « ārsā » *be entailed as property* ('arsah); কবলা « kāblā » *make agree or accept* (slang : < qabūl ); কুলুপা « kulupā » *lock up* (qufl = *lock*); খতা « khātā » *cast accounts, estimate* (xatt); খামচা, খিমচা « khāmṣcā, khimṣcā » *pinch* (Ar. xams = *five : pinch with the five fingers* ?); গুঁতা « gūtā » *butt with horns* (qutah *plunge*); গুজরা « gujārā » *pass time* (guṣār); জম « jāṁ » *gather*, জমা « jāṁā » *collect* (jam°); MB. তপাস « tāpās » *seek* (tafaḥḥus : see *supra*, p. 213, footnote 2); তোয়া « tōā » *flatter* (? tawā-jah); দাগ, দাগ « dāg, dāgā » *mark* (dāg); নরমা « nārāmā » *be soft* (narm); গরমা « gārāmā » *be hot* (garm); ফস্কা « phāṣṣkā » *slip from hold* (fasx); বদলা « bādāḷā » *change* (badl); MB. মানা « mānā » *forbid* (man°); সাবাসা « sābāsā » *cry bravo* (šābās < šād-bās); etc., etc.

There are no denominatives proper from the other foreign sources, Portuguese and English. English verbs like *edit, manage, quote, note, agree*, etc., as well as nouns and adjectives, are freely compounded with Bengali roots like « kār, dē » to form verbs, in the familiar speech of persons educated in English, but such words by themselves are not used as verb roots, with or without the « -ā- », as in the case of Persian words. Slang is responsible, however, for one or two genuine denominatives, e.g., in student slang in Calcutta one can hear পাসানো, পেসুনো < পাসুনো « pās-ānō, pēsunō < pās-u-ā-nā » *to pass* < English *pass*.

### 628. Compounded and Suffixed Roots.

There are over 125 roots which are derivative, being made up of either two roots combined, or a root preceded by a noun or adverb, or in the majority of cases, of a root (primary or denominative)

modified by a suffix. Instances of the first type (two roots combined) can be easily analysed. The second root which is suffixed is commonly आना, আইসা « ā(i)sā » *come*. Thus, we have দেখা, দেখসা « dēkhā-sē, dēkhā-sā » *come and see* found from early MB. times, = দেখ + আইস « dēkh + āis » *see and come*, and শক্ক ঢালা « cārāsā » *come and mount* ( $\sqrt{cār} + \sqrt{āis}$ ). We have also occasionally a similar combination with গা from গিয়া « gā < giyā » (করগা, খাওগা « kārā-gā, khāo-gā » *go and see, go and eat*). We have beside a combination of রহ «  $\sqrt{rāh}$  » *to remain* and সহ «  $\sqrt{sāh}$  » *to endure*, in the imperative only—contemptuous র'স্ « rōsṣ », ordinary রোলো « rōsō » < « rāhā sāhā » *wait*, in the Standard Colloquial. The above forms strictly speaking are not roots,—they are merely compounded forms, contracted and stereotyped. Besides, they do not occur in all persons and tenses, but only in the imperative. Of the second type (noun or adverb and root) are found some instances, also from eMB., like আশুহা « āguchā (< \*āgusā, āgu +  $\sqrt{āis}$ ) » *advance*, রাবড়া > রাবড়া « rā-kārā » *shout, raise a shout*, and the negative forms নার « nār < nā + pār » *fail, not succeed*, নহ « nāh < na +  $\sqrt{*ah}$ , hā » *not be*.

The periphrastic forms composed of a noun (*ibh.*, *ts.* or foreign) and a root like « kār » *do*, like দর্শন করা « dārśanṣ kārā » *to see*, গমন করা « gāmanṣ kārā » *to go*, do not come under this.

629. The bulk of these secondary compounded roots are suffixed. We have these suffixes: (i) ক « -k- », (ii) ট « -ṭ- », (iii) ড় « -ṛ- », (iv) র, ল « -r-, -l- », and (v) স, চ « -s-, -c- » (cf. G. A. Grierson, 'On the Irregular Causals in the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars,' JASB., 1896, Part I). These modified the meaning of the original root or denominative base in various ways,—as an intensive or continuative, frequentative or approximative affix. Corresponding forms occur in the other NIA. speeches. These roots may again be described as denominatives from nouns ending in « -k-, -ṭ-, -ḍ- (-ṛ-), -r-, -l-, -ś-, -c- ».

630. Of these affixes, (i) ক « -k- » in Bengali indicates, generally, the suddenness of the action, or its continuity: it is thus an intensive. Its origin has been discussed before (see *supra*, pp. 679 ff.). Examples in Bengali: চুক « cuk » *be at an end* (\*cyut-kr); কৌচকা « kūcṣkā »

*wrinkle* (kuñc); খিঁচকা « khicçkã » *pull, nag* (cf. খেঁচ khēo *pull* : ? « krakṣyati < √krṣ », whence MIA. « kacchāi, kañcaī », vowel influenced by « ā-krakṣati » \*ākacchāi > āyañcaī > NIA. aicai »); ঢলকা « calçkã » *spill, as water from a vessel full to the brim* (cal); চুলকা « culçkã » *scratch* (√cal? cf. চুলবুল cul-bul *wander*); চানকা « cañçkã » *glance, make eyes, draw the eyes as in a picture*; (? \*cayana-kka, cētana-); চুম্বকা « cumukã » *sip, touch vessel with lips* (cumb); ছিটকা « chiṭçkã » *sprinkle* (chiṭṣ = *drop, sprinkling*); so চমকা « caṃçkã » *be bright, dazzle, be startled as at a sudden flash or noise*; জমকা « jaṃçkã » *be showy*; টপকা « ṭapçkã » *jump over*; টসকা « ṭaṣçkã » *drip, run out*; ঠমকা « ṭhaṃçkã » *caper, walk with a dancing gait*; ঢুলকা « ḍhulçkã » *wave a fly-flap*; তড়কা « taṛçkã » *be in fits*; থমকা « thaṃçkã » *be at stand-still*; থকা « thākã » *ibid*; থাককা « thaçkã » *remain*; দমকা « daṃçkã » *come as a gust of wind*; ধমকা « dhaṃçkã » *rebuke*; নড়কা « naṛçkã » *move about*; বখা < বহকা « baçkã < bāhçkã » *be borne away* > *go astray*; ভড়কা « bhāṛçkã » *be confused, fear* (bhraṣṭa); মচকা « maççkã » *break with a noise, sprain*; মুচকা « muççkã » *smile, wrinkle*; লটকা « laṭçkã » *hang*; সটকা < সড়কা « saṭçkã < saṛçkã *slink away* (sṛta); হড়কা « haṛçkã » *slip one's foot, be slippery*; হেঁচকা « hēççkã » *drag*; etc.

A few words of other origin have come in line with these « -k- » denominatives: e.g., আঁতকা « āṭçkã » *be filled with sudden fear* (sta., < ātaṅka, ā-√tañc); উসকা « uṣçkã < ukṣã » *trim a lamp, incite* (? utkarṣa); কড়কা « kaṛçkã » *rebuke* (cf. « kaḍakkha- = kaṭakṣa- », whence NIA. [Hindī etc.] « kaṛçkã » *war-song* < *challenge* < *glance of contempt*: confusion with, or influence of কড়া « kaṛã » *stiff* likely); কসকা « kaṣçkã » *slip*, from the Persian (see p. 884); চটকা « caṭçkã » *rinse* by metathesis from কচটা, কছটা « kaç(h)ṭã » (next para.); etc.

631 The affix (ii) ট « -ṭ- » is the « -ṭṭ- » affix (No. 41), noted at pp. 684 ff. *supra*. It indicates continuity of the action. Examples: কছটা « kaçṭã, kaṣṭã » *rinse* (karṣa-varta-); ঘষটা « ghaṣṭã » *rub along* (gharṣa-varta-); চিপটা « ciṭṭã » *press down*; so জাপটা « jaṭṭã » *embrace, hold with both arms*; ঝাপটা « jhaṭṭã » *struggle* (MIA. \*jhappa, jhampa); দাপটা « daṭṭã » *be aggressive* (darpa); পাশটা « paṣṭã » *pass by* (pāṣva-

varta-); गपटा < rāpṣṭā > gad about; लपटा or लिपटा < lāpṣṭā, lipṣṭā > stick on, etc. Cf. MB. नेउटा < nēuṭā > return (nivartt-) which is of different origin.

632. (iii) The ङ < -r- > affix is the pleonastic ङ < -r- >, discussed before as Formative Affix No 46 (pp. 689 ff.) The sense is sometimes intensive, but generally it is merely pleonastic. In some instances the sense is continuative or approximative, and then the ङ < -r- > would seem to be connected with < √vr̥t >, either as a phonetic modification of < -t- < vaṭṭa, vr̥tta > above, or it is the same ङ < -r- > as Formative Affix No. 44 (pp. 687-688 supra): thus घबडा, बबडा < ghāḥṣṭā, ghāḥṣṭā >, दाबडा < dābṣṭā > beside बबटा < ghāḥṣṭā >, दापटा < dāpṣṭā > above; हेँचडा < hēṅcṣṭā > pull, see supra, p. 878; in आँउडा < āoṛā > repeat, तेओडा तौबडा < tēoṛā, tōbṣṭā > disfigure, and MB. निबडा < nibṣṭā > finish, we have the OIA. < √vr̥t >. Examples of < -r- >: आँकडा < āṅkṣṭā > embrace (see supra, p. 880); आँचडा < āṅcṣṭā > scratch, (? √añc wander, bend, curl + -ḍa-); कूँकडा, कौँकडा, कूँचडा, कौँचडा < kūṅkṣṭā, kūṅcṣṭā, kūc-, kūc- > crumple, wrinkle, be curly (kuñc); खेदडा < khēḍṣṭā > hustle (cf. खेदा < khēḍā > drive away, Hindi and Bengali noun < khēḍā > 'kheddah,' enclosure to which wild elephants are driven and caught: sts., < √khid > torment?); खिँचडा < khicṣṭā > feel tense or annoyed (see < khicṣṭā >, supra, p. 886); घाबडा < ghābṣṭā > be frightened (connected with घापटा < ghāpṣṭā > etc., p. 685); चापडा < cāpṣṭā > slap, pat (carpaṭa); चिमडा < cimṣṭā > dry up, reduce to skin and bone (√cip > \*civ > \*ciw, cim); चूमडा < cūmṣṭā > flatter (cumb), also चूमरा < cūmṣṭā >; जौबडा, जाबडा < jōbṣṭā, jābṣṭā > blotch (cf. जबजबे < jābṣṭā >, onomatopoeic to denote the idea of stickiness and moisture); तामडा, तामडा < tāṅṣṭā, tāṅṣṭā > save up, store up (Yōgeś Chandra Vidyānidhi, Bengali Dictionary, VSPd., gives a late Sanskrit < 'tryaṅgata-' śikya-bhēḍē = Marāṭhī < tēgaḍ > bind the feet: Monier Williams, < tri-ṅgata > three strings suspended to either end of a pole for carrying 'urdens); थाबडा < thābṣṭā > slap (cf. थाबा < thābā > paw); थुबडा < thubṣṭā > give a blow, fall down on the face (Dhātu-kōṣa √thurv kill: cf. थुडा < thurā > pound, cut into small bits); दौँदडा < dāḍṣṭā > be aggressive (dvandva + ṭa), also दौँदला < dāḍṣṭā >; हूमडा < humṣṭā > bend, crumple (< ?); दौँडा < dāḍṣṭā > run (drava + -ḍa); निँगडा < niṅṅṣṭā < niṅṅṣṭā > wring wet clothes (niṅ); नेँगडा < nēṅṅṣṭā > limp (cf. लेँग < lēṅ[g]ṣṭ > foot, kick); नेबडा < nēbṣṭā

*smear* (sts. < lēpa); পাকড়, MB. পাকড় < pākāṛḍ, -khāṛḍ > *scise* (? parka + -ḍa : √ pṛc *mix, unite*); পাকড় < pāch(u)ṛḍ > *dash, toss, clean corn* (< ?); মুচড় < mucḍṛā > *wring* (cf. macḍkā, mucḍkā: onomatopoeitic); মুবড় < muṣḍṛā > *be dispirited* (cf. muṣ *steal, rob*: cf. the expression < hanta muṣitāḥ vāyam > *alas, we are done for!*); রগড় < rāgḍṛā > *rub* (< *beat*? cf. late Sanskrit < drakaṭa, dragaḍa > *drum*; Yoges Chandra Vidyānidhi, Beng. Dictionary); হাঁকড় < hāḱḍṛā > *drive* (MIA. *hakka shout*); হাতড় < hātḍṛā > *feel with the hand* (*hasta*); হুমড় < humḍṛā > *push through eagerness, fall face forwards* (connected with হাম < hāmā > *crawl*); etc., etc. It would be seen that the < -ṛ- > roots are mostly very obscure, and these suffixed forms or roots, a most characteristic element inherited by NIA. from MIA., constitute a problem of prime etymological importance. From these roots with the ড < -ṛ- > affix are to be distinguished roots like আহাড় < āchār > *dash, throw down with force* (ā-ohṛḍ); উজাড় < ujār > (see page 881, *supra*, with a variant আজাড় < ājār > *empty a vessel*); উপাড় < upār > (*utpātayati*); etc.: but উখাড় < ukhār > may represent < utkhāta + -ḍa >.

633. (iv) The affixes র, ল < -r-, -l- > represent the OIA. adjectival and pleonastic affix occurring both as < -ra-, -la > (see *supra*, pp. 697-698). In compounded denominatives, the force is that of approximation or resemblance, or connexion. The < -r- > form in some instances may be a modification of ড < -ṛ- > above; and in other cases it may be for < -ārḍ formative < -ākāra >, implying resemblance (Affix No. 18, *supra*, pp. 668-669). Similarly the < -l- > form may represent the adjectival < -ālḍ > (No. 19, p. 669). Examples: আগলা < āgḍālā > *watch* (*arga-la-*); উঁচলা, উঁছলা < ūcḍālā, ūchḍālā > *sift* (*uñch*); খোসলা < khōsḍālā > *peel* (*khōsā skin of fruit*); চোয়রা, চুমরা < cōmḍṛā, cumḍṛā > *flatter* (*cumb*); চোবলা < cōbḍālā >, ছোবলা < chōbḍālā > *bite as a snake* (cf. চোপ < cōpḍ > *blow*: see p. 482 *supra*); কঁকরা < jhāḱḍṛā > *shake* (see p. 479 *supra*); কায়রা < jhāmḍṛā > *be pale, dry up* (p. 480); ঠাওরা, ঠাহরা < ṭhāorā, ṭhāhārā > *look over, scrutinise, examine a thing that is standing still* (*ṭhāha, ṭhāwa* < √ sthā); ডুকরা < ḍukḍṛā > *shout, lament loudly* (cf. ḍāḱḍ *shout*); বেঁতলা < bhētḍālā > *pound, batter* (cf. বেঁত *thētā pounded*); নাগলা < nāgḍālā > *reach* (*lāga + -āla-*); দাঁদলা < dāḍḍālā > *swagger* (*dvandva*); পিকলা < pikḍālā > *spit, squirt out*

(onomatopoeitic); झुलना « phusṣlā » *wheddle, lead astray by whispering in the ear* (onomatopoeitic); झुकरा « phukṣrā » *shout out, lament loudly* (onomatopoeitic; « phukka » *puffing, blowing*, cf. Hindi « pukār » *shout*); बाँसला « bāolā » *fan, winnow* (vāta); हाँकरा, हाँकारा « hāḱṣrā, hāḱārā » *shout, give a blow* (MIA. hākāra *shout*); हामला « hāmṣlā » *be eager, fall down on all fours in eagerness* (cf. hammati *crawls*); etc., etc. This affixed « -r-, -l- » of course is not to be confused with original « -r-, -l- » in forms like आङ्गला « āṅṅlā » *to use fingers* (aṅguli); उड्डरना « ubhṣrā » *bring down, pour* (udbhārayati); निकला « nikṣlā » *get out* (niḥ + kṣ); बातला « bātṣlā » *explain* (from Hindōstāni, a causative in « -lā- »); etc.

634. (v) The affix ण, ङ « -s-, -c- » is the affix of resemblance (No. 55, p. 699). Examples with it are कपटला « kṣpṣcā » *chatter like a bird* (kṣp); गुमला « gumṣsā » *be stuffy* (< grīṣma? : cf. गुमट « gumṣṣ » *stuffy weather*); so चकला « cāḱṣsā » *become clear, as sky* (see p. 699); हूपला « cupṣsā » *be lean, be hollow* (p. 699); बलला « jhālṣsā » *roast* (see p. 479); लेङ्गला « lēṅṅṣcā », नेङ्गला « nēṅṅṣcā » *limp* (see p. 699); धामला « dhāmṣsā » *rummage as a bed* (cf. MB. धामलि « dhāmāli » *horseplay, sport*); बालला « bālṣsā » *get fever as a baby* (bāla); भापला « bhāpṣsā » *smell fetid* (bāspa); डेङ्गला « bhēṅṅṣcā, bhāṅṅṣcā » *make faces* (bhāṅga); etc., etc.

635. Onomatopoeitics also fall under denominatives. These can be classed under two heads—Onomatopoeitics Proper, and Roots Reduplicated or Repeated, which produce a jingle. Onomatopoeitics Proper can also be either simple or reduplicated.

It is evident that in the early stages of IA., onomatopoeitics were not so common. Compared with the Vedic, the MIA. dialects are specially rich in onomatopoeitics.

Vedic has registered about a dozen onomatopoeitics formed by repeating a root to produce a jingle, or by compounding an imitative word with a root of action or existence (cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1091; see also *supra*, pp. 175, 200). Onomatopoeitics were included in the category of *dēśī* words by Prakrit grammarians, as they cannot show counterparts in Vedic or Sanskrit. We have onomatopoeitics



of two types in the speech of Ancient India (Vedic, Skt., and the Pkts.): *simple*, like the Sanskrit nouns « jhaṅ-kāra, guñj-ana, kūj-ana », Pkt. verbs « jhaṅkārēi, \*guñjai, kūjai »; and *reduplicated*, like Late Skt. « khaṭ-khaṭāyamaṇa, maḍamaḍāyitā, pharpharāyatā », etc., Pali « halahala, kiṇikiṇīyati, capucapu », etc., and Prakrit « caḍapaḍanta, cuhūcuhū, tharahara- », etc. It would be seen that in Sanskrit the onomatopoeics are treated as denominatives in « -āya- », but in MIA., we have the direct use of the stem as root.

Onomatopoeics of the reduplicating type are found in abundance in all NIA. languages. In Bengali, onomatopoeic reduplications are ordinarily used as adverbs, absolutely i.e., without any affix, and modify a verb of action: e.g., চক্‌চক্‌ করে « cākṣ-cākṣ kārē » *glitters*; or they are employed as gerundives in « -iyā », also standing in adverbial relation to the verb of action, e.g., কনকনাইয়া < কনক'নিরে উঠে « kāṅṣ-kāṅṣīyā > kāṅṣkōṅṣi uṭhē » *gives a throbbing pain*. A group consisting of a reduplicated or simple onomatopoeic and a verb like কর « kār » *to do* may be regarded as a compound verb formation.

There are over 125 common onomatopoeics in Bengali which are used as verb-roots. The list of onomatopoeics given in Rabīndra-nāth Tagore's 'Śabda-tattwa' comes up to 651, which includes words of all kinds that would come under this head. By change of the vowel, the same consonant group can be made to take numerous forms, which are slightly differentiated in meaning. Thus টক্‌টক্‌ « ṭākṣ-ṭākṣ » *tick of a clock*, টিক্‌টিক্‌ « ṭikṣ-ṭikṣ » *tick of a watch, nagging in a mild way*, টুক্‌টুক্‌ « ṭukṣ-ṭukṣ » *gentle battering with a tiny hammer*, ট্যাঙ্ক্‌ট্যাঙ্ক্‌ « ṭyāṅṣ-ṭyāṅṣ » [ṭṛṅṅṭṛṅṅ] *jangle, unpleasant remarks*, টিক্‌টোক্‌, টুক্‌টোক্‌ « ṭikṣ-ṭākṣ, ṭukṣ-ṭākṣ » *gentle blows with alternation of sound*, টক্‌টক্‌ « ṭākṣṭākṣ » *quick one after another, etc.* The proper significance and use of the onomatopoeic forms in the psychology and art of Bengali speech has been discussed by Rabīndra-nāth Tagore in 'Śabda-tattwa' and by Rāmēndra-sundara Trivedī in 'Śabda-kathā.'

Examples of Onomatopoeic Verbs in Bengali.

A. Onomatopoeics Proper :

(i) Simple : চিলা « cillā » *shout* ; চুঁয়া « cūā » *scorch in cooking, be fried black* ; টুপা, টুসা « tupa, tusa » *drip* ; ফুক « phuk » *whiff, smoke, puff* ; ফোঁসা « phōsā » *hiss* ; হাঁক « hāka » *shout* (MIA. hakka) ; হাঁচ « hāca » *sneeze* (cf. OB. « bhāñji » as in Sarvānanda) ; etc.

(ii) Duplicated : কটকটা « kātṭa-kātṭa » *sense of biting or breaking pain* ; কটমটা « kātṭa-mātṭa » *look with glaring eyes* ; কড়মড়া « kaṛṭṭa-māṛṭa » *gnash one's teeth* ; কুড়মুড়া « kuṛṭṭa-muṛṭa » *chew something crisp* ; ক্যাচক্যাচা « kyācṭṭa-kyācā » *creak* ; খটখটা khātṭa-khātṭa » *rattle, knock* ; গড়গড়া « gaṛṭṭa-gāṛṭa » *roll* ; ঘেঁগা « gheṅṅā », গেঙা « gheṅṅā » *groan, have a dried-up throat or choked voice in speaking* ; চড়চড়া > চচ্চড়া « caṛṭṭa-caṛṭa, caccaṛṭa » *striking with a cane, sense of whipping pain* ; ঝলমলা « jhālṭṭa-mālā » *dangle, be bright* ; ঝমঝম « jhāmṭṭa-jhāmā » *make a hollow ringing noise, tinkle as anklets, patter as heavy rain* ; ঠকঠকা « ṭhākṭṭa-ṭhākā » *knocking sound* ; তড়বড়া « taṛṭṭa-bāṛṭa » *clatter as galloping horses, chatter* ; থিকথিকা « thikṭṭa-thikā » *sense of teeming as with maggots* ; পিলপিলা « pilṭṭa-pilā » *sense of being over-crowded* ; ফরফরা « phaṛṭṭa-phaṛā » *flutter* ; বজবজা « baṅṅṭṭa-bāṅṅā » *sense of being moist and rotten* ; বিড়বিড়া « biṛṭṭa-biṛā » *mutter* ; মচমচা « maṅṅṭṭa-mācā » *crackle in the mouth* ; সপসপা « saṅṅṭṭa-sāpā » *sense of being wet and uncomfortable* ; হড়হড়া « haṛṭṭa-hāṛṭa » *sense of being slippery and uncanny* ; etc., etc.

### B. Roots Repeated.

(i) Complete repetition : জলজলা « jāla-jālā » *be brilliant* (jval) ; টনটনা « ṭāna-ṭānā » *sense of binding pain* (ṭan = ṭān) ; টলটলা « ṭāla-ṭālā » *be clear and ready to run off, as water* (tal) ; ধুকধুকা « dhuk-dhukā » *pant* (cf. dhūk pant, gasp) ; সড়সড়া « saṛṭṭa-sāṛṭa » *feel creepy, as with an insect crawling over the body* (sāṛ < sṛta) ; গলগলা « gāla-gālā » *ooze or flow out, as blood* (gal) ; গনগনা « gāna-gānā » *burn brightly* (< gan < agni ? cf. Pali gini) ; etc.

(ii) Modified repetition, where another root of similar sense and association echoes the preceding one : চুলবুলা, চিলবিলা « cul-bulā, cil-bilā » *be fidgety, be eager to move away* (« cāl, bul » : cf. চলাবুলা « cālā-bulā » *wander about, move and walk*) ; টলবলা « ṭāla-bālā » *be shaky and moving* (ṭāla, bāl = bul < Skt. val) ; দলমলা « dāla-mālā » *shake and pat* (« dāla, māla » : cf. দলাইমলাই « dālāi-mālāi » *currying a horse*) ; etc., etc.

636. In addition to roots which easily affiliate themselves to one or the other of the above classes, there are a few roots of which the origin has not been found out, and which from their look are secondary formations : e.g., কাঁচা « kãcã » bring to a failure, make 'cutcha'; গজা « gãjã » sprout; MB. গাহা « gãhã » causer; গুটা, গুড়া « guṭã, guṛã » gather up, as a net or line; গুড়া « gũṛã » pound; জিরা « jirã » cool one self, rest; টাঙ্গা « ṭãṅ(g)ã » hang on high; বিলা « bilã » distribute; হেঁদা « hẽdã » pine away; লেলা « lãlã » set a dog on a person; etc. In some cases they appear to be *dãḥi*.

In a number of *dãḥi* and *tãḥi* roots, we find a wide range of vowel change : চিপসা and চুপসা « cipṣã, cupṣã » get shrivelled; জাবড়া, জোবড়া « jãbṛã, jõbṛã » smudge, blotch; etc. This, as well as other variations, like nasalisation or the absence of it, and interchange of consonants, etc., have been noticed under *Phonology*. The dislocation of the MIA. tradition in Bengali spelling from the very beginning, through Sanskrit influence, has been responsible for the state of chaos which exists in the spelling of verb-roots (as of other forms) in Middle and New Bengali. Dialectal modifications are not properly discriminated and kept in their proper place. The result is that we have the same root spelt differently, e.g., গাঙা and গোরী « gõṅã, gõyã » (=gãṅã) pass (gam-aya-), শু and স্থ « śu, su » sleep, lie down (svap), নেউটা and লেউটা « nẽuṭã, lẽuṭã » return (ni-vṛt), আইশ, আইস, আস « äis, äis, äs » come (ã-viś), etc., etc.

## [II] FORMAL CLASSIFICATION OF ROOTS.

637. The proper classification of roots in Bengali, viewed from the formal aspect, is not with regard to their affixes (because they are always the same—the Bengali verb presents only *one* conjugation, and apparent irregularities are only the result of recent phonetic changes), but with regard to the modifications of the root-vowels and also of the affix-vowel in the case of the causatives and denominatives. These modifications are the result of Epenthesis-cum-Umlaut and Vocalic Harmony (*supra*, pp. 376 ff.). Roots have [i, e, u, o] when the following affix has a high vowel, [i, u]; and these are lowered respectively

to [e, æ, o, ɔ] in the case of a low vowel [e, o, a, ɔ] following; and [æ, ɔ] are changed to [e, o] through the influence of a following [i, u].

The principal parts of a Bengali verb, judging from these vowel modifications, can be taken to be (i) Inferior Imperative, which is identical with the Root; (ii) 3rd pers. Present; (iii) 3rd pers. Past; or 3rd pers. Future; (iv) Present Participle, and (v) Conjunctive in «-iyā». All the variations a root can undergo are found in the above forms. To classify formally the Bengali verb, it is best to take the Standard Colloquial in which the phonetic advance has been the greatest. The «sādhu-bhāṣā» spelling does not consider the present-day vowel changes and contractions, and conjugation in the «sādhu-bhāṣā» means only a rigid and regular adding of a series of affixes.

Below are given in phonetic transcript the groups into which the Standard Colloquial verbs would range themselves: the spelling in Bengali is not uniform, as has been noted before.

Class I (a): Roots in «-ā-» [ɔ] closed by a consonant:

(i) [kor] *do*; (ii) [kore]; (iii) [korle, kolle < \*korile; korbe < \*koribe]; (iv) [korte, kotte]; (v) [kore];

(i) [bəl] *say*; (ii) [bole]; (iii) [bolle; bolbe]; (iv) [bolte]; (v) [bole].

Class I (b): Roots ending in «-ā-» [ɔ], originally in «-āh-» [ɔh]:

(i) [rɔ < rɔh] *remain*; (ii) [rəð]; (iii) [roilo; roibe, robe]; (iv) [roite]; (v) [roe];

(i) [ʃɔ < ʃɔh] *suffer*; (ii) [ʃəð]; (iii) [ʃoile; ʃoibe, ʃobe]; (iv) [ʃoite]; (v) [ʃoe]. Similarly [dɔ, bɔ < dɔh, bɔh] *burn, bear*; etc.

(i) [fɔ < \*ɔh] *be*; (ii) [fəð]; (iii) [fɔlo; fɔbe]; (iv) [fote]; (v) [foe].

Class II (a): Roots ending in «-ā-» [a]:

(i) [kha] *eat*; (ii) [khað]; (iii) [khele, khelo; khabe]; (iv) [khete]; (v) [kheše];

Class II (b): Roots in «-ā-» [a] ending in a consonant:

(i) [mar] *beat*; (ii) [mare]; (iii) [marle, malle, marlo, mallo; marbe]; (iv) [marte, matte]; (v) [mere].

**Class II (c) :** Roots in « -ā » originally closed by « -h » [af > a] :

- (i) [ga < gah] *sing* ; (ii) [gaš] ; (iii) [gale ; gaibe] ; (iv) [gaita] ;  
(v) [gebe < \*gaifia, gafia].

**Class III (a) :** Roots in « -i » (rare, archaic) :

- (i) [ʒi] *live* ; (ii) [ʒie] ; (iii) [ʒilo ; ʒibe] ; (iv) [ʒite] ; (v) [ʒie].  
So [pi] *drink*, etc.

**Class III (b) :** Roots in « -i- », ending in a consonant :

- (i) [mil] *unite, be found* ; (ii) [mele] ; (iii) [millo ; milbe] ; (iv) [milte] ; (v) [mile].

**Class IV (a) :** Roots in « -e » (irregular) :

- (i) [de] *give* ; (ii) [dæš] ; (iii) [dile ; debe] ; (iv) [dite] ; (v) [die] ;  
(i) [ne] *take* ; (ii) [næš] ; (iii) [nile ; nebe] ; (iv) [nite] ; (v) [nie].

**Class IV (b) :** Roots in « -e- » ending in a consonant :

- (i) [khel] *play*, inferior imperative [khæl < \*khelo] ; (ii) [khæle] ; (iii) [khelle ; khelbe] ; (iv) [khelte] ; (v) [khele].

**Class V :** Roots in « -u- » ending in a consonant :

- (i) [ʃun > ʃon] *hear* ; (ii) [ʃone] ; (iii) [ʃunle ; ʃunbe] ; (iv) [ʃunte] ;  
(v) [ʃune] ;  
(i) [khüʒ > kböʒ] *search* ; (ii) [khöʒe] ; (iii) [khüʒle ; khüʒbe] ;  
(iv) [khüʒte] ; (v) [khüʒe].

**Class VI :** Roots in « -o » :

- (i) [ʃo] *lie down* ; (ii) [ʃoš] ; (iii) [ʃulo ; ʃobe] ; (iv) [ʃute] ;  
(v) [ʃue] ;  
(i) [do] *milk* ; (ii) [doš] ; (iii) [duile ; duibe, dobe] ; (iv) [dute, duite] ;  
(v) [due] ; (irregular ; « -o < -uh »).

**Class VII :** Causatives and Denominatives in « -ā » (see also *supra*, under *Phonology*, 'Umlaut') :

- (i) [kora] *cause to do* ; (ii) [koraš] ; (iii) [korale ; korabe] ; (iv) [korate] ; (v) [korie] ;  
(i) [ʒađa] *cause to go* ; (ii) [ʒađaš] ; (iii) [ʒađale ; ʒađabe] ; (iv) [ʒađate] ; (v) [ʒaie].

- (i) [çina > çena] *cause to recognise* ; (ii) [çinað > çenað] ; (iii) [çenale ; çenabe] ; (iv) [çenate] ; (v) [çinie].
- (i) [dækha] *show* ; (ii) [dækhað] ; (iii) [dækhale ; dækhabe] ; (iv) [dækhate] ; (v) [dekhie] ;
- (i) [ʃona] *cause to hear* ; (ii) [ʃonað] ; (iii) [ʃonale ; ʃonabe] ; (iv) [ʃonate] ; (v) [ʃunie].

[III] ROOTS AND VERBAL NOUNS IN BENGALI.

638. Although roots are essentially the creations of grammarians, conceived as the foundation of a number of words, there is always present, even among the uneducated speakers of an inflexional language, what may be called *root-consciousness*. Often the barest form, identical with the grammarian's root, is found to be in use in speech, even in highly inflected languages. Thus in Sanskrit, we see that « drś » means *a seeing, a seer* ; so « bhuj, bhū, pṛech » are used as nouns ; and similarly « vṛt » is *that which turns*, and « vid » occurs as a noun in the sense of *knower*. The nominal inflexions were of course added in Sanskrit, although, as a result of phonetic decay, it would so seem that in the nominative singular the bare root itself without any formative affix added was the word. And in the modern I.E. languages like English, French, Persian, Hindi, Bengali, what was originally a combination of root+affix has commonly been reduced to the bare root through phonetic decay. As a consequence in NIA. what at first sight looks like the root unmodified by any inflexion, features as a verbal noun, and also as the inferior imperative. Historical grammar will tell us that originally such forms ended in an affix, « -i » or « -a », which is now lost. In Dravidian, the simple root is used for the imperative singular : in modern Hindi and Bengali, we have the same thing resulting as the *finale* of a long history ; although it looks like an approximation to the Dravidian usage. Instances of such phonetically decayed *Root-Nouns*, as they may be called, are fairly common in Bengali. These occur either singly, or with another root-word of similar meaning, and are in the accusative or nominative relation to the verb with which they are employed : e.g., গাছ « sākṣ » as

in সাজ করা « sājā kārā » *array*; ফাট « phāṭā » *crack* as in ফাট ধরেছে « phāṭā dhōrēchē » *it has got a crack*; পচ « pācā » *rottenness*; চিহ্ন, চিড় « cihñ, ciṛā » *mark or line of a crack*; পাক ধরা « pākā dhārā » *become ripe, tend to ripen*; ডুব « ḍubā » *a dipping*; তাক লাগা « tākā-lāgā » *gaze, be struck with wonder*; খাখা করা « khā-khā kārā » *be eager to eat* (but cf. খাউ খাউ করা « khāu-khāu kārā », *supra*, pp. 678-679); চল « cālā » *circulation*; রহ-সহ or রহ-ঠহ করা « rā(hā)-sā(hā), rā(hā)-ṭhā(hā) kārā » *to wait and watch*; ভাঙ্গচুর « bhāṅ(g)ā-curā » *breaking and pulverising*; ভুলচুক « bhulā-cukā » *mistakes and omissions*; ভোলপাড় « ṭōlā-pārā » *raising and felling = turning upside down, agitating*; মারধর « māṛā-dhārā » *striking and seizing*; ধর-পাকড় « dhārā-pākāṛā » *seizing and catching*; মারকাট « māṛā-kāṭā » *striking and cutting down*; ভাঙ্গ-গড় « bhāṅ(g)ā-gāṛā » *destroying and building*; দেখ-মার « dēkhā-mārā » *seeing and striking, attacking at sight* (cf. in a daily paper— জার্মানী দেখ-মার নীতি অবলম্বন করিল « Jārmāni dēkhā-mārā nīti ābalāmbānā kārila » *Germany has adopted the policy of 'hit at sight'*); so উঠ-বস « uṭhā-bāsā » *rising and sitting*; হার-জিত « hārā-jitā » *lose and win*; চল-বুল « cālā-bulā » *walk and wander*; হাঁক-ডাক « hāṅkā-ḍākā » *shout and yell*; কাট-ছাঁট « kāṭā-chaṭā » *cut and trim (as of garments)*; ফাট-ফুট « phāṭā-phuṭā » *crack and split*; etc., etc. These Root-Nouns also form compounds with other nouns: e.g., ছাড়-পত্র « chārā-pātrā » *passport*. See also under 'Verbal Nouns,' *infra*. For Root Imperatives, see under 'Moods,' below.

### [C] KINDS OF VERBS : INTRANSITIVE AND TRANSITIVE.

639. Verbs in Bengali are either intransitive or transitive. In their outward form, however, there is no distinction between the two classes. Intransitive roots are chiefly primary ones, although those of secondary origin also occur. *E.g.*, « āch, kād, kāś, khēl, gāl, cāl, cu, jwār = jār, jwāl = jāl, ji, jā, jujh, jhār, ṭuṭ, ṭal, mil, hil » etc. Also old denominatives like « pāk, ruṭh, tāṭ, bēk, māṭ, phās, thām » etc.; and new denominatives « kulā, ghumā, dārā, bāhira, sūkā, sēṭā » etc. All primary intransitive roots can be made transitive by adding the causative « -ā- ».

640. The initial stress of Bengali has in most cases obliterated the means of differentiating between the intransitive and transitive

(causative) forms of roots by making long the quantity of the root-vowel of the latter, and keeping short the quantity of that of the former. This means still obtains in the Bihārī dialects, and in Eastern as well as Western Hindī: e.g., Bihārī « kṛṭab » *get cut*, causative « kṛṭab » ; « dīṣab » *be seen*, « dīṣab » *show* ; « gṛṭab » *be interred*, « gṛṭab » *inter* ; Hind. « pālṇā » *be reared*, « pālṇā » *rear* ; « nikālṇā » *get out*, « nikālṇā » *cast out* ; etc. These intransitives with a short vowel are frequently new forms in NIA., built out of the old causatives with a proper long vowel (cf. R. L. Turner, 'The Loss of Vowel-Alternation in Indo-Aryan,' in the 'Proceedings and Transactions of the 2nd Oriental Conference,' Calcutta, 1922, p. 492). But the «-ā-» affix is indispensable in Bengali for the causative, or transitive form of an intransitive root, and quantity of the root-vowel does not count.

641. The transitive verb depends largely on its object. In Bengali, as in other NIA. languages, only inanimate nouns can properly be said to have an accusative case,—i.e., only these do not take a dative affix like «-kē, -kō» etc.: e.g., জল আনো « jalā ānō » *bring water*, ভাত খায় « bhātā khāy » *eats rice*, কাঠ কাটে « kṛṭā kṛṭē » *cuts wood*, etc. Animate nouns when really in the accusative case take the dative affix «-kē, -rē» in NB. when they are personal and definite: but they do not take the dative affix, and thus behave like inanimate nouns, when the object signified is general, vague or indefinite: গোরু চরায় « gōru cārāy » *grazes cattle*, but গোরুটাকে বাধো « gōru-ṭā-kē bādhō » *tie the cow*. The accusative apparently governed by an intransitive verb in Bengali is properly a dative, or a locative: e.g., বাড়ী চলো « bārī cālō » *come home* ; জনকে চল « jalā-kē cālā » *come to the water (=river, tank)* ; ঘরকে গেল « ghārā-kē gēlā » *went home*, etc.

The extension of dative the post-position to the accusative is a NIA. development. The NIA. « bhāvē prayōga » or neuter construction of the transitive verb, in the past tense, as in Hindī « us-nē ghōṛī-kō dēkhā » *by-him with-reference-to-the-mare it-was-seen* (as opposed to the « karmaṇi » or passive construction, « us-nē ghōṛī dēkhī » *by-him-mare she-was-seen*), was not a characteristic thing in MIA.: it could be established only when the dative post-position came to be attached to the accusative for precision, as the inflexion of the latter was lost. Bengali সে মানুষকে দেখিল « sē mānuṣā-kē dēkhilā » *he*



*with-reference-to-the-man saw* and লে মানুষ দেখিল « *sē mānuṣā dekhiḷā* » *he man saw* are in their formation analogous respectively to the « *bhāvē* » and « *karmaṇi* » constructions of Hindi, etc., only the Bengali development has been to make them both active (with the proper nominative rather than instrumental), and definite in case of the post-positional form. The loss of OIA. affixes brought in the employment of post-positions for clearness and definiteness. The accusative did not possess any remarkable inflection—the OIA. « *-am* » had dwindled away to zero in Bengali and other NIA. When the dative post-position was taken up by the accusative, it was to supply this want of an affix; and it brought in greater definiteness. In Apabhraṃśa and in Avahaṭṭha we have the accusative (for the animate noun) without post-position, *e.g.*, in the 'Prākṛta-Pāṅgala,'—« *girivara-saṇaṭh ṇamaha Haraṭh* » *salute ye Hara dwelling in the noble mountain* (p. 313, Bib. Ind. edition); « *gōla (= gōḍa)-rāa jipi* » *having conquered the King of Gauḍa* (p. 423); « *Bali chali* » *having cheated Bali* (p. 586); etc.: but « *rajja Suggivaha dijja* » *gave the kingdom to Sugriva* (p. 576), where we have the dative-genitive. In the OB. of the Caryās, we have the same thing: « *guru pucchia jāṇa* » *ask the guru and know* (2); « *sadguru pucchi* » *asking the good master* (4); etc. In MB. and NB., in some cases the old accusative survives: *e.g.*, বন্দো মাতা সুরধনী « *bāndō mātā surādhāni* » *I worship mother S.*; রাম ভজো মন « *rāmā bhājō mānā* » *adore R., O mind*. But already in the ŚKK., we find the NB. characteristic of using the dative affix for the accusative established. Bengali in this respect came in line with the other NIA. languages which developed largely the neuter construction: thus রাধাক দেখিঁজী « *Rādhā-kā dekhiñjī* » *seeing R.*, পুছিল রাধাকে « *puchhilā Rādhā-kē* » *asked R.* (p. 135); বড়ারিক ছাড়ী কেহে হৈবো একাকিনী « *barāyī-kā chārī kēnhē hāibō ēkākīni* » *why should I be alone, leaving the old woman?* (p. 147); etc.

642. One intransitive verb, compounded with a noun or adjective, behaves like a transitive in NB.: the verb বাস « *bās* ». Originally it meant *to feel, to like, to regard, to hold*. The source of it seems to be the common OIA. root « *vas* » *to dwell*, with the long, or causative grade « *vās, vās-aya* » used as

active; but there seems to have merged in it also the other OIA. roots « *vaś* » *desire, wish for*, and « *vas* » *love*, as [well as « *vās* » *put on garment*. In NB., the words ভালো, বাসা « *bhālō, bāsā* » = *well and like* have formed a compound verb-root, transitive, = ভালবাসা, ভালোবাসা « *bhālā-bāsā, bhālō-bāsā* » *to love*. The compound মন্দ-বাস « *māndā-bāsā* » *dislike* also is heard in NB. But in MB., বাস «  $\sqrt{\text{bās}}$  » was an ordinary root, which was used with other nouns, or was used impersonally: e.g., ভয় বাসি, ডর বাসি মনে « *bhāyāḥ bāsi, ḍārāḥ bāsi mānē* » *I am afraid in my mind*; শরীরে বাসি বল « *śārīrē bāsi balā* » *I feel strong in body*; কোতুক বাস কি « *kāutukā bāsā ki* » *do you think it as queer?*; অদ্ভুত হেন বাসি « *ādbhutā hēnā bāsi* » *strange as it were it appears to me*; না দেব কড়ি তোমার মনে বাসে « *nā dēbā kārī, tōmārā mānē bāsē* » *it strikes you as if I shall not pay the money*; লাজ বাসে « *lājā bāsē* » *feels shy*; কোপে না কহিলা মোর মনে বাসে « *kōpē nā kāhilā, mōrā mānē bāsē* » *appears in my mind that he spoke not in anger*; বাসি ভাত ব্যঞ্জন জিহ্বায় রস বাসে « *bāsi bhātā byāñjanē jihvāy rāsā bāsē* » *the tongue feels moist (with relish) with cold rice and curry*; আমার আগেতে নৃত্য করিতে বাসি স্বর্ণা « *āmārā āgē-tē nṛtyā kāritē bāsā ghaṇā* » *holdest in scorn to dance before me*; ধন্দ হেন বাসে « *dhāndā hēnā bāsē* » *it seems as if it were a maze*; হাটিতে না পারে চন্দ পাত্রে বাসে বাহ্না « *hāṭitē nā pāre Cāndā, pātrē bāsē bādhā* » *C. cannot walk, feels as if fastened by the feet*; etc., etc. (the examples given above are from the 'Padmā-purāṇa' of Vijaya-gupta, but instances abound in all MB. writers). The nouns in apparent accusative relation with «  $\sqrt{\text{bās}}$  » like ভালো, মন্দ, ভয়, ডর, বল, কোতুক etc. above, are properly adverbial in nature, rather than true accusatives.

#### [D] MOODS: OPTATIVE, SUBJUNCTIVE, IMPERATIVE.

643. NB. possesses but two moods, Indicative and Imperative. The Imperative occurs in the second and third persons only, and in the present tense. It is sometimes quite properly called the 'Imperative Tense.' An old future for the second person is used as a Precative or Future Imperative. For the Infinitive, there are some verbal nouns. The other moods of OIA.—Subjunctive or Conjunctive, Optative, Injunctive, and Precative, are entirely lost in Bengali.

**644.** In the well-known « āryā » or distich giving rules for working land-measures, attributed to the mathematician Subhaṅkara (under whose name the old Indian system of arithmetic and square and cubic measures as practised in the village schools in Bengal passes), we have an optative or precative form लिजे « lijje » : कृड् वा कृड् वा कृड् वा लिजे, कांठा कृड् वा कांठा लिजे « kuṛubā kuṛubā, kuṛubā lijje : kāṭhāy kuṛubā, kāṭhā lijje » *kuṛubā* (= kuṛava, 'bigḥā' measure =  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre) × *kuṛubā*, take (the result) as *kuṛubā*; *kāṭhā* (=  $\frac{1}{10}$ th of a bigḥā, 'cottah') × *kuṛubā*, take as *kāṭhā*. Here « lijje » take, is properly an optative or precative = let one take, representing a Late MIA. « \*lahijjaī, lahōjjaī », which is made up of the optative form for the 3rd singular, « lahejja, lahijja » (= OIA. « \*labh-yā-t, \*labh-iyā-t » for « labh-I-ta »), plus the affix for the indicative 3rd present « -i » (< OIA. -ti). The OIA. « -yā- » optative or precative became « -ḍyya » in First MIA., which gave later MIA. « -ḍjja, -ijja », and assumed the personal terminations « -mi, -si- (also -hi), -ti > -i » etc. of the indicative, and sometimes « -tu > -u » of the 3rd person imperative (e.g., 'Prākṛta-Pāṅgala,' p. 427—« sō tuha Saṅkara dijjau mōkkhā » may he, *Saṅkara*, grant you liberation, where « dijjau » = « dōjja, dijja [< dadyāt] » + « -u [< tu] » of the imperative. Cf. Grierson, JRAS., 1910, pp. 162-163); and as a distinct tense form—the 'Optative Tense'—it existed in Late MIA. This optative in « -j- » is preserved as a respectful imperative in the Midland and Western NIA. languages—e.g., Hindōstānī « kṛijyē » please do, Gujarātī « marjē, mārjō », etc.; but it is not found in the Eastern languages, being conspicuous by its absence in the Caryās, and in MB. in general. लिजे « lijje » of Subhaṅkara is only a stray form which has found a place in a technical verse. It is not unlikely however, that the « -ijja- » optative existed in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa. The 'Prākṛta-Pāṅgala' verses with the « -ijj- » forms (see *supra*, p. 124) could from that assumption be connected with the East. There is a NIA. inflected passive in « -ij-, -i-, -ij-, -i- », which is quite a different thing, being derived from the OIA. passive affix « -yā- ». A connexion between the MIA. inflected passive in « -ijja- < -yā- » and the MIA. « -ij-, -j- » imperative was suggested by Hoernle, but Tessitori has shown how this MIA. form is

only the old optative ('Comp. Grammar of the Gaudian Languages, §§ 480, 481, 499; 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.,' §120).

645. In MB. the optative sense is expressed by the indicative with the pronominal adverb *বেন* « *jēnā* » used as a conjunction = *so that* (see *supra*, p. 853); and sometimes the instrumental of the pronoun *বা* « *jā* » *that*, *যাতে* « *jātē* » *so that*, is also similarly employed: e.g., *আমি যেন দেখি* « *āmi jēnā dēkhi* » *so that I may see, may I see*; *সে যাতে করে* « *sē jātē kārē* » *so that he may do, may he do*. There is also a periphrastic form with the root *পা* « *pā* » *obtain* or *পার* « *pār* » *be able*: e.g., *যেন আমি দেখতে পাই, or পারি* « *jēnā āmi dēkhtē pāi, pāri* » *may I see*. The conjunctives *বেন*, *যাতে* « *jēnā, jātē* » have no fixed place in the sentence. This idiom is found as early as the SKK.: e.g., p. 168, *সে যেহ আন্ধাক বাহাঞ দধিভার* « *sē jēnhā āmhā-kā bhāhē dādhi-bhārā* » *may she make me carry the load of curds*; p. 186, *সাবধানে লজ যেহ না ছাড়োঁ ঘোল* « *sābādhānē lāḥ jēnhā nā chārō ghōlā* » *take it carefully, that the whey may not scatter*; p. 211, *কেহো কাহাকো যেহ না করে উপহাস* « *kēhō kāhākō jēnhā nā kārē upāhāsā* » *may no one taunt another*. In other MB. works also this construction figures: e.g., 'Caitanya-Bhāgavata,' p. 204 (ed. Atul Krishna Goswāmī), *যোর কাম—যেন দেখা পাই* « *mōrā kāmya, jēnā dēkhā pāi* » *my desired object—may I get a sight*; etc., etc. The conjunctive or adverbial participle in *ইলে* « *ilē* » implies a condition, and it can be used with an optative force: e.g., *গেলে দেখা হয়* « *gālē dēkhā hāy* » *an interview might take place if one went*. In this idiom, however, the optative sense is not always implied: e.g. OB. Caryā 2, « *rāti bhailē Kāmaru jāi* » *she goes to Kāmarūpa (would go, may go) when it becomes night*; SKK., p. 397, *যে বৃধি করিলে রহে আন্ধার জীবন* « *jē budhi kārīlē rahē āmhārā jībānā* » *by doing such contrivance with which my life may endure (or will endure), etc.*

646. The Subjunctive Mood, which was of so great importance in Vedic, was dropped in Classical Sanskrit, although it lingered on in Early MIA. (cf E. Müller, 'Pali Grammar,' p. 108). Bengali in common with other NIA. (except Assamese) possesses a Present Participle form which is used for the Past Subjunctive or Conditional, as well as Past Habitual: e.g., *(যদি) করিতাম (করিতে, করিত)* « *(jādi) kārītām (kārītē, kārītā)* », *Oṛiyā*

« mu kārānti (tu kārāntu, sē kārāntā) » *if I (you, he) did, etc.*; so Maithili « ham karitahu, sē karitai », Western Hindi « maī kartā, ham kartē » etc.

The subjunctive is formed in Bengali with the help of the conjunction যদি « yadi, jādi » *if, a ts.* which has ousted the OB. *ibh.* « jāi ». Occasionally in early Bengali (as in early 19th century prose), the conjunction যে « jē » *that* is used. A similar use of « jāi » or « yadi » occurs in OB.: e.g., Caryā 5/ « jāi tumhē, lōa hē, hoība pāragāmi » *if ye, O men, will be goers across*; 41, « jāi tō mūḍhā acohasi, bhānti puccha-tu sadguru-pāva » *if thou art ignorant, ask thou about thy mistakes at the foot of the good master*; in eMB., SKK., p. 137, যদি মোরে পুছে আইহনে « jādi mōrē puchē Āihānē » *if I were to ask me*; p. 244, তোক্ষা দেখি যদি মোর বিচলিল মনে « tōmkhā dēkhi jādi mōrā bicālilā mānē » *if by seeing you my mind is moved*; p. 289, আনল শরণ কিবা করিবো যদি না দিবে বচনে « ānālā śārāṇa kibā karibō jādi nā dibē bācānē » *if you do not give word, I reckon not I shall seek refuge in fire*; p. 351, যদি কাহাঞি কর পার, হঞ মোর তবেসি নিস্তার « jādi Kāhāñi karā pārā, hāē mōrā tabēsi nistārā » *if you get me across, O Kṛṣṇa, then indeed may come my salvation*; etc.

This use of « yadi, jāi » is common in the Apabhraṅśa and Avahaṭṭha: cf. 'Prākṛta-Paiggala,' p. 211, « sēra śkka jāi pāvau ghittā » *if I could get a seer of ghee*; p. 465, « jāi śtthi digantara jāihi kantā » *if the beloved one were to go to a foreign land even now*; p. 430, « jāi jaḍḍā rūsaī, cittā hāsaī pēṭṭē aggī thappiā » *if cold rages, the heart contracts, and fire is put on the stomach*; etc., etc.

647. The Imperative Mood, or 'Imperative Tense,' has the following affixes:

New Bengali :

First Person: Same as those for the Indicative Present.

Second person: Inferior (= Original Singular) has a form identical with the bare root: e.g., কর্ « kār-ḥ », চল্ « cāl-ḥ »; Ordinary, used with inferiors and equals (= Original Plural) has root + « -ā » or « -ō »: কর, করে « kār-ā, kār-ō », চল, চলে « cāl-ā, cāl-ō ».

Honorific (= Originally 3-plural) = root + উন্ «-unṣ» :  
করন্, চলন্ «kār-unṣ, cāl-unṣ».

Third Person : Singular, now<sup>s</sup> also Plural : root + উক্ «-u-kṣ» : করক্,  
চলক্ «kār-u-kṣ, cāl-u-kṣ».

Honorific (= Original Plural) : root + উন্ «-unṣ» ; করন্  
চলন্ «kār-unṣ, cāl-unṣ».

#### Early Middle Bengali :

First Person : Same as for Indicative Present.

Second Person : Singular and Plural অ, «-ā» ; অহ, হ «-āhā, -hā», and  
হা «-hā» : e.g., কহ «kāh-ā», লঅ «lā-ā», স্তত «sut-ā»  
(= sleep I), দে, নে < দেঅ, নেঅ «dē, nē < \*dēā, \*nēā» ;  
করহ «kār-āhā», চিন্তহ «cint-āhā», জাহ, যাহ «jā-hā»,  
দেহ «dē-hā», খাহ «khā-hā», নিষধহ «niṣādh-āhā», খোহ  
«thō-hā» ; খাহা «khā-hā», যাহা «jā-hā».

Third Person : Singular and Plural : উ, অউ «-u, -āu» with or without  
pleonastic ক «-kā» (উক, অউক «-u-kā, -āu-kā») : rarely,  
honorific অন্ত «-antā» : e.g., জীউ «jī-u», পসু «pāsu = pāsī-s-u»,  
«dē-u», ধর «dhār-u», খণ্ডউ «khāṅḍ-āu», তেজুক্ «tēj-u-kā  
< \*tēj-āu-kā»), থাকু «thāku (< \*thā-u-kā») ; দেন্ত  
«dē-ntā» (only instance in the SKK.). (Also forms in ইউ  
«-iū», for which see *infra*.)

#### Old Bengali :

- Second Person : (i) «-a» : «jāṅ-a (Caryās 1, 44) ; sun-a (2) ; cāl-a (3) ;  
phāl-a (4) ; bāha-a (13) ; bāh-a (14) ; mār-a (21) ; kar-a  
(28, 41) ; bindh-a (28) ; pēkh-a (30, 46) ; bhōl-a (37) ;  
dhar-a (38) ; pasar-a, bas-a (39) ; bhaṅ-a (40, 42) ;  
phuḍ-a (47) ; hēr-a, chāḍ-a (50) ; accha = āch-a (37)» ;  
(ii) «-a-tu» : «pucch-a-tu (5) ; bāh-a-tu (8) ; bujh-a-tu  
(33)» ;  
(iii) «-aha, -ha» : «bindh-aha (28) ; bhul-aha (15) ;  
chēv-aha (45) ; (bāhaa, Caryā 13 = bāh-aha ?)» ;

- (iv) « -hu, -u » : « lā-hu (1); hō-hu (6); lā-hu, jā-hu, lā-u = lāhu, lā-u ? (32); dhahu = dhara-hu ? (38); jā-u (38); chāḍ-u (50) » ; . . .
- (v) « -hi » : « hō-hī, jā-hī » (5).

Third Person : « -au » : « kar-au » (22) ;

Passive Third Person : « -iu », as in, « ghōl-iu (12), marāḍ-iu ? (12), samkēl-iu, jā-iu, (15) ; caṭār-iu ? (26) » .

648. OIA. employed the corresponding subjunctive forms for the imperative 1st person : singular « -āni », dual « -āva », plural « -āma ». These have not survived in MIA. and NIA. The OIA. imperative 2 sg. had « -a » as well as « -hi ». This « -a » was continued through MIA. and OB. down to eMB., after which it fell off from pronunciation : OIA. « cal-a » > NIA. « cal-a » > OB. « cal-a » > eMB. « cāl-ā » > IMB., NB. « cāl-ā ». This old singular is now used as the inferior imperative, both singular and plural : তুই, তোরা চল « tui, tōrā cālā ». This « -a » affix was fairly common for the ordinary imperative, and in the general confusion of numbers, it seems to have been extended to the plural as well from the OB. period. The « -a » certainly assimilated with the root vowel, when the root ended in a vowel, before the eMB. stage : witness ŚKK. দে, নে = NB. দে, নে « dē, nē », < « \*dēā, \*nēā », inferior forms beside the ordinary NB. দেও or দাও « dēo, dāo » and নেও, নাও « nēo, nāo » < eMB. « dēā, nēā < dēhā, nēhā » .<sup>1</sup>

The affix « -hi » of OIA. seems to have been continued down to OB. in the strengthened form « -hī », as in the Caryā « hō-hī, jā-hī » : and possibly in a form like করী « kārī » in the ŚKK., as in প্রভু হইয়া হেন নাহি করী « prābhū hāyīā hēnā nāhī kārī » *do not do so, being the lord* (p. 236),

<sup>1</sup> This loss of inflexional vowels occurring immediately after the root ending in a vowel seems to have taken place in Old Bengali, and possibly earlier still. Thus, for example, Tibetan tradition gives as an Old Bengali (or Old Magahi ?) sentence of the 11th century 'bhāśā hoo (=hōu ?), nāth(a) Atīśā, bhāt onā, bhāt onā (= bhāta anā < apāśā < MIA. \*ānāpaya = Skt. ānāyaya) may it be well, Master Atīśā, get (them) bring rice, with which a beggar-boy accosted Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atīśā distributing alms and food at Vikramaśīla. (Śarat Chandra Dās, 'Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow,' Calcutta, 1898, p. 60.)

we have traces of «-hi», or of its influence (but see *infra*, under 'Inflected Passive'). But this «-hi» is lost to NB. The «-hi (-ht)» affix for the imperative seems to have been foreign to the eastern speech, which preferred «-a». In MB. we have one or two instances of this «-hi (-āhi)» affix for the imperative, as a relic from MIA.: e.g., Kṛttivāsa (VSP., I, p. 497)—  
 আপনি ধাৰ্মিক ছুযি ধৰ্ম বুঝাহি আনে « śpāni dhārmikā, tumi dhārmā bujhāhi  
 ānē » *you yourself are a righteous person, you explain the dharma to another.*

The OB. forms in «-tu», like «pucch-a-tu», are cases of pure agglutination arising out of an emphatic employ of the pronoun «tu (<tram)». As a stereotyped form it was extended to the plural or honorific also (e.g., Caryā 5, «jāi tumhē, lōa hē, hōiba pāragāmi, pucch-a-tu Cāṭila anuttara-sāmi», translated at p. 262 *supra*).

The OIA. affix for 2 sg. *ātmanā-pada* was «-sva». This gave a vocalised «-ssu» in First MIA. (Pali), which was used even with *paramāi-pada* roots (E. Müller 'Pali Grammar,' p. 107; W. Geiger, 'Pali-sprache,' in the Grundriss, § 126). From «-ssu» came the Second MIA. «-su». Pischel, however, holds that the Second MIA. «-su» arose by analogy: the Indicative had in MIA. the singular forms «-mi, -si, -ti > -di, -i», plural «mō, -tha > -dha > -ha, -nti», and by the juxtaposition of the 3rd personal forms, Indicative «-ti > -i, -nti» beside Imperative «-tu > -u, -ntu», the 1st and 2nd person singular also came to have in the Imperative «-mu, -su» beside the Indicative «-mi, -si» (cf. 'Gramm. der Pkt.-sprachen,' § 467).

The OB. forms in «-hu, -u» were used both for the singular and the plural, but probably they were singular at first, and it seems not unlikely that the «-hu, -u» affix originated from the «-su» form, in the pre-Bengali stage: «\*cala-sva > cala-ssu > cala-su» might have given «cala-hu» in OB., with the obscure change of «-s-» to «-h-» remaining unexplained. Or a blend of *ātmanā-pada* «cala-su», plus «calāhi, calāhi» (with *paramāi-pada* «-hi» affix) may have given «calahu», and «calasu» + «cala» similarly may have resulted in «calu».

The forms «calahu, jāhu, hōhu» etc. may equally be the original plural, with the «-ahu» affix, as in Śaurasēni Apabhraṅśa, originating as follows: OIA. Indicative 2 plural «calatha» > MIA. Imperative «calaha, calahu»,



the « -a » changing to « -u » in MIA. probably through analogy of the 3rd plural « -ntu ».

This « -u » affix was also extended to the 2nd person of the other tenses—to the past in « -il- » and the future in « -ib- » in dialectal Bengali, and to the singular 2nd person of the present, simple past, habitual past, and future in Orijā.

The « -u » imperative is quite common in Apabhraṃśa, e.g., 'Prākṛta-Pāṅgala,' p. 463, « ē atthirā dēkkhu sarirā gharu jāṅ » *see, all this is unstable,—the body, house, wife.*

The Imperative 2nd plural affix in OIA. was « -ata ». This fell together with the Indicative 2nd plural « -atha » as early as the First MIA. period, and « -atha » became in Second and Late MIA. « -adha, -aha ». OB. inherited this as « -aha », and this অহ « -āhā » continued down to eMB., and is even now used in NB. as an archaic, literary form (e.g., আপন পাঠেতে মন করহ নিবেশ « āpanṣ pāṭhē-tē mānṣ karāhā nibēṣ » *direct your mind to your own studies*; পশ্চাত্তাগ দেখহ « pāścāadbhāgḍ dēkhāhā » *see back*, as in Calcutta tramway tickets a few years ago). The contraction of « -āhā » to « -ā, -ā », however, took place in the spoken language as early as eMB., and this « -aha < -ā » did not coalesce with the root when it ended in a vowel, unlike the « -ā » of the original singular. Final « -ā » also occurs as « -ō » in NB., and is as a matter of fact written ও « -ō » after vowels: জাহ, জাহ > জাও « jāhā, jāā » > jāō « go ! »; খাহ, খাহ > খাও « khāhā, khāā » > khāō « eat ! »; নেহ, নেহ > (নেও) নাও > নাও « nēhā, nēā » > nēō [nəō] > nāō « take ! »; so হও « hāō » > be ! »; জীহহ > জীহ, জীহ > জীও « jīhā, jīhā, jīā » > jīō « live », which even occurs as জীউ « jiu » through the influence of the preceding high vowel (cf. 'Māṅik Candra Rājār Gān,' জীউ জীউ রাইঅত ধর্ম দেউক বর « jiu jiu rāiātā, dharmā dēukḍ bārḍ » 'live, ye farmers, may Dharma grant this boon : the « -u » here, however, can equally be the other imperative affix « -hu, -u »). With roots ending in consonants the affix « -āhā » becomes also « -ō », and it is written either অ or ও : কর, চল or করো, চলো,—the pronunciation is generally [o] although the old tradition makes it অ in writing.

MIA. also changed « -aha » to « -ahu » : this has been noted before.

Early MB. «-hā» is only the «-ha» affix affected by the «-ā» of the root, as in «khā-hā, jā-hā».

649. The OIA. affix «-tu» for 3 pers. sg. gave «-u» in OB. From eMB. times, the pleonastic क «-kā» came to be added to this form (see *infra*, 'Pleonastic Affixes'). Oṛiyā and Bihārī do not employ this «-kā». In MB., forms with «-kā» are almost as common as those without; in NB., the «-kṣ» is universal, and after the loss of the «-u», this consonant has become the distinctive affix for this form: e.g., बाक्, थाक्, निक्, दिक् «jāk, khāk, nik, dik», etc. The group «-u-kṣ» modified its spelling in accordance with the epenthesis of «-i-, -u-», e.g., MB. जाक्, पाक्, हक्, देक् = जाउक्, पाउक्, हउक्, देउक् «jāukṣ, pāukṣ, hāukṣ, dēukṣ» etc. (see *supra*, p. 383).

The plural form of the imperative 3 pers. in OIA., «-ntu», seems to have continued down to OB. The normal development in MB. and NB. ought to have been «-tu, -ūt, -t», but we actually find उन «-unṣ». The expected «-nt- > -t-» has been ousted by «-n-» which is certainly the nominal plural affix extended to the verb (see *supra*, pp. 725-726).

OB. and eMB. have as a living form a passive imperative in «-iu, -iū», which is discussed below (under 'Passive in Bengali').

650. Forms for the Imperative in the other Magadhan speeches may be compared:

Assamese	Oṛiyā	Maithilī
1. kārō;	1. kārō—karū;	1. dēkhiai, dēkhū;
2. kār, <i>honorific</i> kārā;	2. kārṣ—kārā;	2. dēkh, dēkhabū;
3. kārōk.	3. kārū—kāruntu.	3. dēkhau, dēkhathū.

The Assamese «kārā» represents «karaha, karāhā»; and «kārōk» = «karau + -ka». The Oṛiyā and Assamese 1st person is borrowed from the indicative. Oṛiyā 2 plural «kārā» is from «karaha». The Maithilī «dēkhiai» is extended from the indicative, and the other form «dēkhū» seems to have the «-ū» from «-mu, -mō», the Apabhraṅśī imperative 1 sg. and pl. forms. The plural «-ntu» is represented by «-thū», like the indicative «-nti > -thī».

651. NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » has for the second person a future imperative, precative, and prohibitive in ইয়ে « -i(y)ō » which is found from the earliest period. In OB. and eMB. the form was ইহ « -ihā, -ihā ». It is a relic of the old inflected or sigmatic future of OIA. : singular « calīṣyasi » > « \*calihasi, calihisi » > Bengali চলিস « cālīṣṣ », plural « calīṣyatha » > « calihaha » > চলিহ « cālīhā » > চলিঅ, চলিঅ « cālīā, cālīyā » > চলিরো, চলিও, চলো, চলো « cālī(y)ō, cālīyō, cāl'ō = [c̣'olo] ». NB. Standard Colloquial has this « -iyā, -iyō » affected by Umlaut. The « -iṣya- » > -ih- » future was current in OB. and in eMB. (along with the « -itavya » > -ib- » future) in the three persons, but only the second person has survived in NB. (see *infra*, under 'Future Tense'). In the Caryās, as instances of the « -ih- » future imperative, we have « hōhisi, mārihasi » (Caryā 23). It is exceedingly common in the ŚKK. and other MB. works: e.g., « আসিহ āsihā, চাহিহ cāhihā, করিহ kārīhā, ছাড়িহ chārīhā, ভোবিহ tōṣihā, দিহ dihā, ধরিহ dhārīhā, নিবেদিহ nibēdihā, পুছিহ puchiā, রাখিহ rākhihā » etc. In latter MB., epenthesis is noticeable, as usual: e.g., রাখিহ, রাখিঅ « rākbi(h)ā » becomes রাইখ, রাখ্য « rāikhā, rākhyā = rāikhā »; so দাঁড়াইহ « dāṇḍāihā » as দাঁড়ায় « dāṇḍāiā » > dāṇḍāyyā », etc., etc.

The same future imperative occurs in Maithilī and other Bihārī dialects, e.g., Maithilī « dēkhihāh < dēkhihahu », Bhōjpurīyā eg. « dēkhihē » plural « dēkhihā, dēkhihau ». In the Bihārī dialects, the ordinary future in « -b- » can be similarly employed, as much as in Bengali. A similar imperative use of the sigmatic future does not seem to occur in Assamese and Oṛiyā.

A future imperative for the second person only can be noted, in Old Western Rājasthānī, in Western Apabhrāṇśa and in Second MIA. and in all these it occurs generally with the negative particle « mā » (L. P. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.', § 121).

652. The verbal form গা, গে « gā, gē » added to the imperative is found from the MB. period onwards to express the imperative in the immediate future, with a slight precative sense: e.g.,

1. আমি, আমরা করিগা, করিগে « āmi, āmārā kārī-gā, kārī-gē »;
2. তুই, তোরা কর্গা, কর্গে « tui, tōrā kār-gā, kōr-gē », করিস্গা, করিস্গে « kārīṣ-gā, -gē »;

তুমি, তোমরা করণা, করণে « tumi, tōmāra kāra-gā, kāra-gē » ;

3. সে, তারা করণা, করণে « sē, tāra kārukā-gā, -gē » ;

তিনি, তাঁরা, করণা, -ণে « tini, tāra kāruṅ-gā, gē » (also second person honorific with আপনি, আপনারা « āpani, āpanāra »).

Cf. MB., Kṛttivāsa, ‘Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,’ p. 17 : সীতারে কহিল—‘ফল করণা ভক্ষণ’ « Sitā-rē kāhila—phāḷā kāra-gā bhākṣaṅḍ » *said to Sitā, ‘go eat this fruit’*; ‘Uttara-kāṇḍa,’ p. 20, সেই শতের ফল তুমি খাওগা আপনি « sei śāyēraḍ phāḷā tumi khāō-gā āpani » *you yourself go and eat the fruit of that grain*; etc. Carey in his ‘Bengali Dialogues’ (Calcutta, 1818) translates forms in « -gā » as a simple future in the 1st person, and as an imperative in the 2nd and 3rd; e.g., উনিও সামগ্রী আরোজন করুণা, আমিও করিগা « uni-ō sāmāgrī āyōjāṅḍ kāruṅ-gā, āmi-ō kāri-gā » *let him get things ready, and I will do the same* (p. 42). We can compare this affix of Bengali with the future suffix « -gau, -gō, -gā, -gi, -gē, -gi » of the Western Hindi and Panjabi dialects.

The Western « -gā, -gē, -gi » etc., are from the passive participle « gata > gaa ». For the Bengali « -gā, -gē », the source may equally be the same « gata », but the indeclinable participle গিয়া « giyā » *having gone*, certainly had something to do with it: the change of the root-vowel in the contemptuous second person করণে [korge] can be explained only as being from করগিয়া [kor giā]. We can compare the use of গে « gē » < গিয়া « giyā » (not গা « gā ») with the simple past and the future tenses in the Standard Colloquial, with the force of *though, nevertheless, however, even now, immediately*: e.g., সে করলে গে [śe korle ge] *and then he did*, তুমি করবে গে [tumi korbe ge] *and you will do*.

[E] VOICE : THE PASSIVE IN BENGALI.

[I] THE INFLECTED PASSIVE IN BENGALI.

[1] Passive Indicative.

653. Primitive Indo-European does not seem to have possessed a passive conjugation. In the Aryan (Indo-Iranian) period the passive developed out of the middle or reflexive, but it was confined to the present stem

and to the third person singular of the aorist only. The distinctive affix of this inflected passive was « -yá- » in the present stem, and the personal terminations of the middle voice were employed. Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic and Sanskrit) has preserved this passive. In Middle Indo-Aryan, the conjugational system underwent the greatest decay imaginable, but the passive was retained, being found in the present indicative and optative imperative; and a few forms like passive aorist and future were built up in Second MIA.

The « -yá- » affix occurs as « -ya-, -iya-, -iyya-, -iya- » in First MIA. and as « -ijja- » or as « -ja- » in Second and Third MIA., or is assimilated with a preceding consonant. The middle inflections of course are changed for those of the active; and the passive is extended to a number of neuter roots, forming deponents. The NIA. languages inherited the « -ijja- » -ija- » or « -ja-, -ia- » passive from Apabhraṣṭa, but it is not preserved in all of them. Early in the history of NIA., the analytical mode of expressing the passive came into being, and in most of them the old inflected passive fell into desuetude. The languages of the West have preserved it, but those of the Midland, the South and the East have either entirely lost it or have only retained it as an obsolete or archaic form. Western Panjābī, Sindhī and Rājasthānī, for instance, employ « -j- » or « -i-, -i- » to form the passive; e.g., W. Panjābī « mārḍā < mārānda- » *striking*, « mārindā » *being struck*; « cāhdā » *wanting*, « cāhidā » *being wanted*; « paṛhē » *reads*, « paṛhīē » *is read*; Sindhī « karjē » *is done*, « paṛhijē » *is read*; Mārwarī « karaṇō » *doing*, « karjāṇō » *being done*. 'Modern Gujarātī has † only in -se, a 3rd sing. present passive form which is used in a reflexive sense as a substitute for the 1st plur. active [*i.e.*, « hū karū » *I do* < « sham karōmi », but « amē karīē » *we do* < « asmābhiḥ kriyatē » instead of from « vayam kurmaḥ »], and in all other cases substitutes the potential passive in *ḍ*.' (L. P. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.' § 136: R. L. Turner suggests another explanation of the Gujarātī « -īē », as being from « -imaḥ », through « -imō > -imu > -i > -ī », + « ē » of the 3 pl. [-anti > -ahim >

-t], to distinguish it from the absolutive in *-i* > < earlier *-ia* > [JRAS., 1916, p. 227, foot-note]).

654. The western languages are thus more conservative in the matter of preservation of this inherited form. The Midland language has curtailed the old passive, but relics do occur in it: e.g., Braj-bhākhā *« mārai » strikes, « māriyai » is struck*. Bhandarkar and Tessitori have given instances from the Early Awadhī of Tulasī-dāsa. (R. G. Bhandarkar, 'Wilson Philological Lectures,' Bombay, 1914, p. 227; Tessitori, 'Grammatical Forms in Old Baiswari,' JRAS., 1914.) The modern Hindi respectful imperative or precative forms like *« kijiyē » please do* have in all likelihood been influenced by the passive, if they are not of passive origin (cf. Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 48C, 481, 499). An expression like Hind. *« kaprā cāhiyē » cloth to sell* is a passive one, where *« cāhiyē » = is wanted*. Compare the Bengali চাই in কি চাই *« ki cāi » what do you want?* (literally, *what is-wanted?*), তোমার আসা চাই *« tōmārā āsā cāi » you must come* (literally, *your coming is-wanted*): Bengali *« cāi »*, Hindi *« cāhiyē »* are from a Middle Indo-Aryan passive from *« \*cāhia(d)i » = Old Indo-Aryan « \*ca(g)hyātē »*: compare these with कि चाँ *« ki cāṅ » what do you want* and तूमि आसिते चाँ *« tumi āsitē cāṅ » you must come*, where *« cāṅ » = चाँ « cāhā », 2nd pers. (plural), present and imperative, = « cāhaha » (=Skt. « -atha » and « -ata »)*. The *« -i-, -i- »* or *« -ijja-, -ija- »* affix for the passive is quite common in the dialects of the 'Prākṛta-Pāṅgala,' which represent the stage immediately before Modern Hindi: and the loss of this affix is quite a remarkable feature in Western Hindi when compared with the neighbouring Rājasthānī and Panjābī. The *« -ij-, -ij- »* passive was also quite frequent in Early Marāṭhī, as Bhandarkar has noticed it (R. G. Bhandarkar, 'Wilson Philological Lectures,' pp. 226-227); but it seems to have died out in Modern Marāṭhī.

655. It would be interesting to see how far the inflected passive is preserved in Old and Middle Bengali, and in other Magadhan languages.

The language of the 'Dōhā-kōṣas' (see *supra*, p. 112) shows some cases of the *« -i- »* or *« -ijja-, -ija- »*, as well as the assimilated passive:

*e.g.*, 'Banddha Gān Ō Dōhā,' p. 89, « purāṇē vakkhānijjāi » *it is described by the Purāṇa*; p. 103, « sō ē māī kahijjē » *that has been declared by me*; *ibid.*, « sō paramēsuru kēsu kahijjāi » *for whom is that supreme lord (to be) described?*; p. 105, « visaya ramanta ṇa visaa vilipyāi (=vilippāi) » *enjoying the world, yet the world is not attached to him*; p. 106, « dēva pi (=vi) jjāi (=jāi) lakṣa (=lakkha) vi dīsaī, apyaṇu (=appaṇu) māṇī sa [ki] kariai »? *if the deity is seen face to face, self becomes dead: he (=by him) what can be done?*; p. 107, « jāva ṇa dīsaī » *until it is seen*; p. 109, « kēsu kahijjāi » *to whom is it (to be) declared?*; p. 129, « aīsō sō nibbāṇa bhaṇijjāi, jahi mana mānasa kiṇ pi na kijjāi » *Nirvāṇa is described to be such that there nothing is done of the mind or of the qualities of the mind*; p. 130, « jāi pavana-gamana-duārē [diḍḍha] tālā vi bhijjāi, jāi tasu ghōrāndhārē mana diva hō kijjāi » *if the strong lock at the door for the passage of the wind is shut (« bhijjāi », cf. Bengali root बंध « bhṣj » to shut=? Skt. « abhy-ajyatṣ »), if in that, in the deep gloom, the mind is made as a lamp: etc.*

In this Western Apabhraṅśa dialect, the « -ijja- » affix is more common than the « -ia- », and it is in full force as a passive form. The Old Bengali of the Caryā-padas has a number of instances of the inflected passive, but the affix is « -i(a)- », not « -ijja- » or « -ija- »; besides there are a few of the assimilated « -yā- » forms: *e.g.*, Caryā 1, « saala sa[mā]hia kāhi kariai » *what is attained by all samādhi?*; 6, « hariṇā hariṇira nilaa na jāṇi » *the abode of the stag and of the doe is not known*; *ibid.*, « hariṇāra khura na dīsaa (=dīsaī) » *the stag's hoof is not seen*; 26, « pāviai » *is obtained*; « bhāviai » *is thought of*; 32, « duhiē » *is milked*; 46, « cchijai » (=chidyatṣ) *is cut*; etc.

The analytical passive with root ज, व, « √jā < yā » *to go* following the verbal noun in « -ana » has already become established in the language of the Caryās; and the analytical « √jā » passive in NIA. seems to have been influenced by, if not actually developed out of, the older inflexional « -ij- » form.

It would seem that in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, the two forms « -ia- » and « -ijja- » occurred side by side: and « -ia- » seems to be the genuine Magadhan affix, and « -ijja- » borrowed through the influence of the Western speeches, and not native in the East. The « -ia- » was preserved in OB. and in MB., although as an obsolete form in the latter, and its real nature seems to have been lost to the speakers quite early.

The examples of the « -ia- » passive in the 47 Caryās are not so few, there numbering some twenty. In Middle Bengali literature we find similar relics of the inflected passive—a linguistic survival which seems not to have been noticed before. The affix loses prominence as the language progresses, and is ultimately merged into the 1st and 3rd personal affix; and in this way the passive verb is transformed into the active one.

There are numerous cases of the passive in « -i(a)- » in the ŚKK. : for instance—

p. 19, যত নানা ফুল পান করপুর সব পেলাইল পাঞ ।

উঠিআ বড়ায়ি রাখাৰ বুইল—হেন কাম না করিঞ ॥

« jāta nānā phulā pānā karāpura saba pelāila pāe :

uṭhiā bāṛāyi rādhā-kā buila—'hēnā kāmā nā kariē' »

*All the various flowers, betel-leaves and camphor and all she threw away with her foot. The Old Lady got up and said to Rādhā, 'you should not do so' (lit. such a deed should not be done : « kariē ») ;*

p. 57, আইহন বীর তিন লোকেঁ ভালে জাণি ॥

« Āihana bira, tina lokaē bhale jāni »

*That A. is a hero is known (jāni) well in the three worlds ;*

p. 59, দান সাধিঞ রতিপতিআশে ।

« dānā sādhie rati-patiāśe »

*The toll is demanded (sādhie) with the expectation of dalliance (with thee) ;*



- p. 118, কুখিল হরিলে কাহাঞি হুই হাথে না খাইএ ।  
 • bhukhilā hayilē, Kānhāñi, duī haṭhē nā khāiē •  
*When one is hungry, O Kānha, one should not eat (« khāiē », lit. it should not be eaten) with both hands ;*
- p. 137, আপনা রাখিরে আপনে ।  
 • āpanā rākhirē āpane • (= ātmā rakṣyātē ātmanā)  
*Self is (to be) preserved by self ;*
- p. 145, নাঞর আঙ্করে গেলী চন্দ্রাবলী রাহী ।  
 তার পাছে আর যত গোআলিনী সহী ॥  
 কথো দূরে গিআ দেখিএ একখানি নাএ ।  
 সখর হরিআ রাহী তার পাস যাএ ॥  
 • nāṅerā āṅkarē gēlī cāndrāvalī Rāhī,  
 tāra pāchē āra jātā gōālinī sahī.  
 kāthō dūre giā dēkhiē ēkā-khāni nāē :  
 sakhara harīā Rāhī tāra pās jāē •  
*In search of a boat went Candrāvalī Rādhikā ;  
 After her, all her milk-maid friends ;  
 Having gone some distance, a boat is seen (dēkhiē).  
 Quickly Rādhikā goes to its side ;*
- p. 184, বোলৈ চালৈ না পাইএ পরার রমণী ।  
 • bōlē cālē nā pāiē parāra ramaṅī •  
*Another's wife is not won (pāiē) by talk and (gallant) ways ;*
- p. 185, গোপত কাজত কাহাঞি ছয় আখি বারী ।  
 • gōpatā kajā-tā, Kānhāñi, chāyā ākhi bārī •.  
*In a secret deed, O Kānha, six eyes are barred (bārī) ;*
- p. 236, ত্রিভুবন নাথ তোকে হরি । প্রভু হরিআ হেন নাহি করী ॥  
 • tribhubana-nāthā tōmhē Hāri, prābhū hāyīā hēnā nāhī karī •  
*You are Hari, the Lord of the three worlds ; being the Master,  
 you should not do so (lit. it should not be done : « karī ») ;*
- p. 289, পুনমীর চান্দ তোমার বদন ঘুসিএ জগতজনে ল ।  
 • punāmīrā cāndā tōmhārā bādānā ghusiē jāgātā-jānē, lā •.  
*O, your face is proclaimed (ghusiē) by the people of the world  
 to be the moon of the full-moon night ;*

p. 367, সোণ ভাঙ্গিলে আছে উপাএ জুড়িএ আশুন তাপে ।

পুরুষ নেহা ভাঙ্গিলে জুড়িএ কাহার বাপে ॥

• *sonā bhāṅgilē śchē ūpāē, jurīē āgunā-tāpē :*  
*puruṣā-nēhā bhāṅgilē, jurīē kāhārā bāpē ?* •

*If gold is broken, there is a way—it is joined (jurīē) by the heat of the fire ; but if a man's love is shattered, by whose father (=by what man) can it be joined ?*

There are numerous other instances of a similar type in the ŚKK. The general tendency will be to explain the forms in ইএ «-iē» as being in the ই «-i» of the first person, and the এ «-ē» only as a final lengthening for reasons of metre. But পাইএ, করিএ «pāiē, kariē» etc., are true inflected passives, and it will be seen that in the instances quoted above, the passive construction gives the correct explanation of the passages rather than the active first person : পাইএ, করিএ etc., thus represent the Caryā forms like «pāviai, kariai», = Sanskrit «prāpyātē, kriyātē». The passive was already dying out in Old Bengali; and in Middle Bengali it would be easily confused with the active first person from similarity in form. We may recall as a parallel instance the Gujarātī use of the passive third person singular as the first person plural active, as in «amē utārīē, amē cālīē», etc., which have been explained as being really passive forms (see *supra*, p. 910). The same thing seems to have happened in Central Magadhan, in the «-iai» forms for the 1st person of the verb. The passive in its origin is connected with the reflexive, and the transition to the active is always easy. More so in the early periods of Bengali, when there was a confusion between the instrumental and the nominative, from which the language even now is not wholly free.

The transition from the decaying passive, which was less and less properly understood, to the active was quite a matter of course : from after the ŚKK. onwards, we find frequent use of «-iē» in active forms, for the 1st person generally.

The passive use of the neuter verb is also common in Old and Middle Bengali : e.g., ŚKK., p. 364, পুণ্য কইলে স্বর্গগ জাইএ, নানা উপভোগ পাইএ  
 «punya kailē swārggā jāiē, nānā upābhōgā pāiē» (=gamyatē, prāpyatē)  
*practising virtue, heaven is attained, and many enjoyments are obtained.*

Examples of the inflected passive are frequent in Middle Bengali literature. A few are given below :

From poems by Caṇḍidāsa (VSP., II, pp. 968 ff.): নীল মুকুতার হার  
মনোহর শোভিত দেখিএ গলে « nīlā mukutārā hārā mānōhārā śōbhita dēkhiē  
galē » a charming necklet of blue pearls is seen beautifully in her neck;  
অবলা পরাণে এত কি সহিএ « ābālā pārāṇē ētā ki sahiē » can so much be  
endured in the life of a weak woman?; কুরের উপর রাখার বসতি, নড়িতে  
কাটিএ দে « kṣurērā upārā Rādhārā bāsati, nāritē kāṭiē dē » Rādhā's  
abode is on (the edge of) a razor, her body is cut at the (slightest)  
movement; মানুষে এমন প্রেম কোথা না শুনিএ « mānuṣē ēmanā prēmā kōthā  
nā śuniē » such love in man has nowhere been heard of; from the  
'Caitanya-caritāmṛta' of Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Kavirāja (VSP., II, p. 1223):  
সনাতন কৈল গ্রহ ভাগবতামৃত। ভক্তি-ভক্ত-কৃষ্ণ-তরু জানি যাহা হইতে ॥ হরিভক্তিবিলাস  
গ্রহ কৈল বৈষ্ণব আচার। বৈষ্ণবের কর্তব্য যাহা পাইয়ে পার ॥ « Sanātanaṁ kailā  
grānthā Bhāgavatāmṛtē, bhakti-bhaktā-Kṛṣṇa-tārtwā jāni jāhā haitē:  
Hari-bhakti-bilāsaṁ grānthā kailā baiṣṇabā-acārā, baiṣṇabērā karttābyā  
jāhā pāiyē pārā » Sanātana made the book Bhāgavatāmṛta, from which  
are known the doctrines of bhakti and bhakta, and the nature of Kṛṣṇa;  
he made the book Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, on Vaiṣṇava ritual, in which the  
duties of a Vaiṣṇava are made to cross over, as it were (i.e. described in  
detail); from 'Bhāgavata,' by Daivakī-nandana Siṅha. (VSP., II, p.  
844): যে অঙ্গে দেখিএ সেই অঙ্গে অলঙ্কার « jē āṅgē dēkhiē sēi āṅgē ālāṅkāra »  
jewels on every limb that is viewed; বিনি না পুছিলে কারো না জানিএ জাতি  
« bini nā puṣhile kārō nā jāniē jāti » no one's family is known without  
asking.

656. Instances like the above are fairly common in Early Bengali literature, and further quotations are not necessary. Maithilī and Oriyā, too, show similar forms, and some instances may be given :

Maithilī : Vidyāpati (VSPd. edition), p. 6, « lakhaī na pāria, jēṭha  
kanēṭha » cannot be distinguished, (whether) old (or) young; p. 9, « jata  
dēkhala, tata kahabi na pāria » all that was seen cannot be described; p. 19,  
« paṛhabī na pāria ākhara-pāi » the rows of letters cannot be read; p. 21,  
« sē nahi dēkhala jē diya upāmā » that has not been seen with which a

comparison can be made; p. 30, « saba taha sunia aisana bēwahārā » *that such is the usage is heard from all*; p. 39, « Madhu-ripu sama nahi dēkhia sohāwana, jē dia tanhika upāma rē » *nothing handsome like the Foo of Madhu is seen, with which his comparison can be made*; p. 44, « na jāniya kiya karu mōhana cōra » *what this charming scamp may do is not known*; p. 499, « kajjala-rūpa tua Kālī kabiaō...Gaggā kahiē pāni... Bramhā-ghara Bramhānī kahiē, Hara-ghara kahiē Gaurī » *in favour like lamp-black, thou art called Kālī; she is called Gaṛgā when in watery form; in the home of Brahmā, is called Brahmāṇī; is called Gaurī in the home of Hara; etc.*

Oṛiyā : Jagannātha-dēsa's 'Dhruva-caritra' (Contai edition): p. 5, « kāmpii (=kampyatē) tāhārā nijā dēhi » *her own body trembles*; p. 33, « dēhā-mānā diśāī, khārjūā-bṛkṣā-prāyā » *his body's measure is seen, like a date-palm*; p. 11, « dāśā-diśi āndhākārā, kichi hi nā diśi » *the ten quarters are dark, nothing is seen.*

Thus the older literatures of Maithilī and Oṛiyā also demonstrate the presence of the inflected passive in these speeches.

657. The inflected passive is also preserved in a curious idiomatic usage in Modern Bengali, in which both its form and nature are disguised. We have expressions like এ কাজ করে না « ē kajṣ karē nā » *shouldn't do this*, রবিবার দিন মাছ খায় না « rābi-bārṣ-dinṣ māchṣ khāy nā » *shouldn't eat fish on Sundays*, অর হ'লে নায় না « jwārṣ hōlē nāy nā » *shouldn't bathe when there is fever*, etc., etc., where the forms করে, খায়, নায় etc., are used with or without the negative particle, and are apparently 3rd person indicative present, the subject, however, being left understood; and such expressions have a general prohibitive or imperative force. The fuller form is presented in dialectal Bengali: in Birbhum, for instance, there is an imperative or optative in « -iyē », e.g., in sentences like হোথা য়ে না « hōthā jāyē (< jāiyē) nā » *one shouldn't go there*, ভাইকে না দিয়ে খেয়ে না « bhāi-kē nā diyē khēyē (< khāiyē) nā » *shouldn't eat without sharing with one's brother*, আঁতনে হাত দিয়ে না « āgunē hātṣ diyē nā » *shouldn't put one's hand in fire*, ভোর দাদা যেনে না এলে « tōrṣ dādā jēnē nā ēlē (=ēsiyē?) » *may your brother not come*, যে আমাকে এত কষ্ট দিলে তার কর্ণবাণি হ'লে, সে যেনে

হুঁ চোখ বেয়ে « jē śmakē śtā kṣṣṭā dilē tāṛṣ kuṣṭhā-byādhi hōyē, sē jānē duṭi cōkhṣ khōyē » *may he get leprosy, may he eat his two eyes, that caused me so much pain* (Basanta Kumār Chatterji in the VSPdP., 1926, p. 286): in these, বেয়ে, দিবে are passives, and বেয়ে, এসে, হ'বে are equally passives of neuter verbs (such as are found in the ŚKK.) in which the archaic aspect, which cannot be confused with the indicative active present, is retained. In MB. there are instances of this construction: cf. ŚKK., p. 333, প্রভু হরিষাঁ হেন না করী « prābhū hāyīṣ hēnā nā kārī » *shouldn't do so, being the Master*; p. 185, লোভ হরিলে কাহাঞি আরতি না করী « lōbhā hāyilē Kānhāñī ārāti nā kārī » *O Kānha, shouldn't yearn (too much) although there is desire*; p. 257, কেহ তার না কহিঞ যরণে « kēhā tāṛā nā kāhiē mārāṇē » *none should speak of his death, etc.*; etc. The MB. forms in « -i-, -ī- » indicate that this construction is properly a passive one; এ কাজ করে না, « ē kājṣ kārē nā » is « śtat kāryam na kriyatē »: « kriyatē » would be « kariāi, kariē, kārī » in MIA. and OB. and MB. As in the other cases, the passive nature of the verb was forgotten, and the active form came in. The influence of a similar imperative use of the optative (active and middle) and of the passive, as in Sanskrit, is likely here.

General statements, in which the subject is not definite or important, may be in the third person, active. But it is just likely in such popular expressions like জামায়ের জন্য মারে হাঁস। শুধী-শুধু খায় মাস ॥ « jāmyērṣ jānyā māṛē hāṣṣ, guṣṭhi-śuddhā khāy māṣṣ » *they kill the goose for the son-in-law, and eat the meat with the whole family (= the goose is killed, the meat is eaten)*; and এক দেয় বর দেখে। আর দেয় বর দেখে ॥ « ēkṣ dēy [dæṣ] bārṣ dēkhē, ārṣ dēy [dæṣ] ghārṣ dēkhē » *they give (in marriage), first by looking at the bridegroom, again by looking at the house = (the daughter) is given (in marriage), taking into note either the bridegroom or his family*; and in similar proverbial couplets and phrases, we have the passive.

It seems we have also the passive in a rare polite imperative in some North Bengali dialects, e.g., জাখেক, রাখেক « dyākhē-kṣ, rākhē-kṣ » *please see, please keep (= « dēkhīē, rākhīē + -kā »: see below, 'Pleonastic Affixes: Affix « kā »')*.

(2) BENGALI 'KARMA-KARTR-VĀCYA.'

658. The so-called middle-voice (*karma-kartr-vācyā*) of Bengali, which we find in impersonal constructions, seems originally to have been this inflected *-yā-* passive: e.g. কলসী ভরে *« kālāsī bhārē »* the jar becomes full; কাপড় ছেঁড়ে *« kāpaṛḥ chēṛē »* the cloth gets torn; বই কাটে *« bāi kātē »* the book cuts > sells; বাঁশ ভাঙ্গে *« bāśḥ bhāṅgē »* the bamboo breaks; শাঁখ বাজে *« śākhḥ bājē »* the conch-shell is sounded; etc. Here ভরে, ছেঁড়ে, কাটে, ভাঙ্গে, বাজে, etc., are to be explained as passive forms, derived from earlier, fuller *\*bhariai* > *\*ভরিএ* *« bhāriē »*, *\*chiṇḍiai* > *\*ছিণ্ডিএ* *« chiṇḍiē »* *\*kaṭṭṭiai*, *\*kaṭṭiai* > *\*কাটিএ* *« kātīē »*, *\*bhañjiai* or *\*bhāṅgiai* > *\*ভাঞ্জিএ* *« bhāṅgiē »*, *\*bājiai* > *\*বাজিএ* *« bājiē »* etc., of OB. and eMB. A similar use of the passive is known also in Sanskrit (cf. Speyer, 'Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax,' § 169).

(3) OB. AND MB. PASSIVE IMPERATIVE.

659. In the ŚKK. there is a form in ইউ *« -iū »* which is illustrated by the following examples :

p. 140, নাঅ বান্ধিতে গিয়া করিউ যতনে *« nāḥ bāndhitē giā kariū jātānē »* let us make an attempt to build (lit. bind) the boat; p. 141, আনহ সকল সখিজন মেলা করিউ যুগতি *« ānahḥ śakālā śakhi-jānā, mēli kariū jugāti »* bring all girl friends, let us hold a consultation together; p. 141, পসার সাজিউ দধি দুখে, সেসি জীবার উপাএ *« pāsārā sājiū dādhi dudhē, sē-si jībarā upāē »* let us arrange our milk and curds for sale, that indeed is the means of livelihood; p. 204, নানা ফুল ফুটিলাছে মাঝ বৃন্দাবনে। তাক পিন্ধি মথুরাক করিউ গমনে ॥ *« nānā phulā phuṭilā-chē mājhā Bṛndābanē, tākā pindhi Māthurā-kā kariū gāmanē »* flowers of many kinds have blossomed in the middle of Vṛndāvana, wearing these, let us go to Mathurā; p. 253, যমুনাক যাইউ রাখা লরিআ সখীগণে *« Jāmunā-kā jāiū Rādhā, lāyiā śakhi-gaṇē »* let us, O Rādhā, go to Yamunā, taking (our) girl-friends; p. 270, দধি বিকৈ আইউ মথুরা *« dādhi bikē jāiū Māthurā »* let us go to Mathurā to sell curds; p. 292, সঘরে রাখা লইআ আইউ ঘর *« sātwārē Rādhā lāiā jāiū ghārā »* let me take Rādhā quick to her home; p. 310, বাশী চোরায়িতৈ করিউ যতনে *« bāśī cōrāyitē kariū jātānē »*

let us make an effort to steal the flute; p. 354, বারতা পুছিউ রাখা সব জন থানে « bārātā puchiū Rādhā sabbā jānā thānē » let us ask for news, O Rādhā, from everybody; p. 347, কদমতলাক আইউ চিত্তের হরিষে « kādāmā-tāla-kā jāiū cittērā hāriṣē » let us go to the foot of the Kadamba tree, with joy in mind.

This ইউ « -iū » form is certainly the passive imperative: in force it is generally optative or imperative. In an example like ক্রী কীর্যিতৈ করিউ যতনে, করিউ যতনে « kārīū jātanē » = Skt. « kriyatām yatnaḥ »; so আইউ « jāiū » = « gamyatām », বারতা পুছিউ « bārātā puchiū » let us ask for news, lit. let news be asked for = « vārttā p̄c̄obyatām ». The ইউ « -iū » affix is the Second MIA. imperative passive 3rd pers. singular affix « -iadu », as in Śaurasent (and Māgadhī) « kadhīadu, kariadu (kalfadu), sunīadu (śunīadu) » = « kathyatām, kriyatām, śrūyatām », « -iadu » giving the later form « -iaū » and « \*-iu ».

In eMB., the spelling with long উ « ū » has no special point, unless the lengthening had a historical reason analogous to that for the final « -i » in the same period (see *supra*, p. 309). This 3 pers. imperative in « -iu, -iū » soon became confused with the 1 pers. indicative present in « -ō, -ō » (for which see *infra*, 'Radical Tense'). This « -iu » passive is also found in Old Bengali (see *supra*, pp. 904, 907): e.g., Caryā 15 « bāṣṭa jāiu » go the way (= vartma, vartmani gamyatām).

## [II] ANALYTICAL FORMATION OF THE PASSIVE IN BENGALI.

660. The inflected passive is a fossil in Bengali: the living method is analytical and periphrastic. The following are the ways in which the passive is formed in Bengali:

*I am seen* = (1) আমি দেখা যাই « āmi dēkhā jāi »; (2) আমাকে (আমার, আমারে) দেখা যায় « āmāke (āmāy, āmāre) dēkhā jāy »; (3) আমাকে (আমার, আমারে) দেখন যায় « āmāke (āmāy, āmāre) dēkhānā jāy »; (4) আমি দেখা পড়ি « āmi dēkhā pāri »; (5) আমাকে (আমার, আমারে) দেখা হয় « āmāke (āmāy, āmāre) dēkhā hāy »; and (6) আমি দৃষ্ট হই « āmi dṛṣṭā hāi ».

Of these (1), (4) and (6) are true passives (*karma-vācya*), and these agree with the passive forms of English, French and other modern

Indo-European languages. The other forms, (2), (3) and (5) are instances of the neuter construction (*bhāva-vācya*) in Bengali. All the above forms are used in Bengali, but there are slight shades of difference in their meaning.

661. (1) আমি দেখা বাই « *āmi dēkhā jāi* » *I am seen* is best explained as being composed of the passive participle (adjective) in আ « *ā* » and যা « *√jā* » *to go*, and which assumes the function of the substantive verb. But this form, though allowable, would not ordinarily be regarded as very idiomatic or natural in Bengali: the passive proper, with the object in the nominative, would hardly be considered as natural to the language, especially when the nominative is a definite person. But general statement, where only the action is definite, and is the more important thing, can be easily made with an impersonal construction in the passive: e.g., দেখা যায় « *dēkhā jāy* » *it is seen* (subject ইহা « *iḥā* » *this, it* understood); যদি বলা যায় « *yādi balā jāy* » *if it is said*; শোনা বাইতেছে or যাচ্ছে « *śōnā jāitēchē, jācchē* » *it is being heard*. In the passive construction, the mind of the speaker is loth to forget that what is the grammatical nominative is the real object, and hence the feeling of the native speaker has this preference for the neuter construction, with the nominative-object in the dative, e.g., আমাকে দেখা যায় or আমাকে দেখা হয় « *āmākē dēkhā jāy, hāy* ». The conscious use of the passive would bring in a certain amount of emphasis; and to make a statement emphatic or definite, the dative with কে « *-kē* » is preferred to the accusative or nominative without any inflexion, when we are speaking of a sentient or animate being (see *supra*, pp. 897, 898). So আমাকে (আমারে, আমার) দেখা যায় « *āmākē (āmārē, āmāy) dēkhā jāy* » would be preferred, as the idea is definite so far as the object of sight is concerned, to আমি দেখা বাই « *āmi dēkhā jāi* » where আমি « *āmi* », although formally nominative, is in sense really the oblique or accusative. আমি দেখা বাই « *āmi dēkhā jāi* », however, would seem to be the older form, and আমাকে দেখা যায় « *āmākē dēkhā jāy* » a later one. আমি করা বাই « *āmi karā jāi* » *I am done* would be bad Bengali, because here the first personal pronoun would preferably have the কে « *-kē* » and be put in the dative as it is very



definite, and করা যাওয়া « kārā jāōō » is rather vague: the construction would be regarded as clumsy. But আমি ধরা পাই « āmi dhārā jāi » *I am caught* would be quite allowable, as ধরা « dhārā » refers to a definite action.

Names of inanimate objects as a rule do not take কে « -kē » when they are in the objective or dative; hence ঘর দেখা যায় « ghārā dēkhā jāy » *the house is seen* (not ঘরকে « ghārā-kē »), where ঘর « ghārā » can be easily parsed as being the subject of the passive sentence.

662. (২) আমাকে (or আমারে, আমার) দেখা যায় « āmākē (āmārē, āmar) dēkhā jāy » *I am seen* or, with a slight potentiality implied, *I may be seen* (= *they can see me*). There is a difficulty in explaining দেখা « dēkhā » here. Generally it is looked upon as a verbal noun in আ « -ā », derived ultimately from the passive participle in « -tā » of Indo-Aryan, the nominal use of which is also quite common in Sanskrit. It would thus be explained as meaning *with-regard-to-me, a-seeing goes-on* (or *takes-place*). The occurrence of (৩) আমাকে দেখন যায় « āmākē dēkhanā jāy » *with-regard-to-me a-seeing takes-place* would lend countenance to the above explanation. But it would seem that in an expression like আমাকে দেখা যায়, দেখা is really a passive participle adjective, and the whole construction is in the impersonal, which is so characteristic of the Western and Southern Indo-Aryan languages: আমাকে দেখা-যায় would be best explained as being literally, *with-regard-to-me, it-is-seen*.

If we had evidence from Old and Middle Bengali remains on this point, we might expect a solution of the difficulty. But the passive with the past participle in আ « -ā » was not at all a popular form, and its occurrence is rather rare in the plain direct narration of Middle Bengali verse. Stray instances in the SKK. like ভোদ্ধ আইবে যায় « tōmhā jāibē mārā » (= যারিঅ, যারঅ OIA. « mārita > māria, mār-ā » = Modern যারা « mār-ā », i.e., যারিঅ+আ « māria » + pleonastic affix « ā ») *you will get killed* (p. 38), বান্ধিল আই « bāndhilā jāi » *becomes tied up, is put in bonds*, (p. 71: here we have the old passive participle adjective in ইল « -il- », for which see *infra*, under 'Past Tense') indicate that the passive participle is the form associated with this construction. The transition was from the real passive made up of the participle and the verb (and with the

object proper in the nominative) to the impersonal neuter construction (with the nominative-object in the dative and the passive participle); and such a state of things has its parallel in the other cognate languages.

663. The origin of this  $\text{জা}$  or  $\text{যা}$  «  $j\ddot{a}$  » passive has undoubtedly been influenced, as Beames had suggested ('Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Aryan Languages,' Vol. III, 1879, pp. 73-74), by the old «  $-ijja-$  » passive of Apabhraṅśa. We have the «  $-ijja-$  » forms in Prakrit and Apabhraṅśa on the one hand, and the «  $j\ddot{a}$  » forms in the modern languages on the other: the middle is blank, and linking these two in all likelihood there was a transitional stage, not represented in linguistic remains, when the «  $-ijja-$  » was slowly assuming a new rôle as a root—when it was merging into the «  $j\ddot{a}$  » root, as it were. It would seem that the neuter passives (deponents) like «  $marijjai = mriyāt\bar{a}$  » *dies* first took up an analytical form: because «  $marijjai$  » is equivalent in meaning to «  $marai$  » or «  $marē$  » (=  $mārati$ ,  $mārāt\bar{a}$ ), the «  $-jjai$  » would seem to have been regarded as a form of «  $j\ddot{a}$  » from «  $\sqrt{j\ddot{a}}$  », giving rise to the analysis «  $mari j\ddot{a}$  » *having-died, goes or passes away* (= M.B. মরিয়্য য়  $\text{« } m\bar{a}riy\bar{a} j\ddot{a}y \text{ »}$ ). The occurrence of the compound verb in the speech would help such an analysis. Once this analysis was established, there would not be any bar in forming other tenses and verb forms from «  $\sqrt{j\ddot{a}}$  ». In Early Middle Bengali, analysed forms of the above type (the conjunctive in ই «  $-i$  » or ইয়া «  $iy\bar{a}$  » +  $\sqrt{\text{যা}}$  «  $j\ddot{a}$  », mostly with neuter verbs) are very common; e.g., in the SKK. চলি জাইহ  $\text{« } c\bar{a}li j\ddot{a}ih\bar{a} \text{ »}$  *depart*; পড়ি গেল দিঠি  $\text{« } p\bar{a}ri g\bar{e}la di\bar{t}hi \text{ »}$  *the sight was cast*; ভাঙি জাএ  $\text{« } bh\bar{a}ngi j\ddot{a}e \text{ »}$  *gets broken*; মোর যজি গেল মনে  $\text{« } m\bar{o}r\bar{a} m\bar{a}ji g\bar{e}l\bar{a} m\bar{a}n\bar{o} \text{ »}$  *my mind became attached*; পড়িয়া যাইবে  $\text{« } p\bar{a}riy\bar{a} j\ddot{a}ib\bar{e} \text{ »}$  *you will fall*; মরিয়্য যাইবি  $\text{« } m\bar{a}riy\bar{a} j\ddot{a}ibi \text{ »}$  *wilt die*; etc., etc. An Old Bengali instance would seem to be «  $avasari j\ddot{a}$  » (< «  $*avasarijjai$ , » deponent of «  $ava$  » + «  $\sqrt{sr}$  » *move*) in Caryā 32. The modern passive or neuter with the  $\text{জা}$  «  $-j\ddot{a}$  » participle would seem to be of later origin. The potential sense which one can attach to the passive in  $\text{যা}$  «  $\sqrt{j\ddot{a}}$  », and which is never present in the passive with  $\text{হ}$  «  $\sqrt{h\bar{a}}$  », seems to point

at the «-ijja-» origin of the former. The old potential or optative had «-ṣjja-» in Prakrit, and the confusion between the passive and the optative, already noted, might just be continued in the newly risen analytical form.

As has been noted above, the «-ijja-» form seems to have been foreign to Māgadhi Prakrit and Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa, the source of Bengali; since no «-ijja-» forms are found in the relics of the inflected passive preserved in Bengali and other Magadhan languages, only «-i-» forms. The formation of the analytical passive with «jā» may thus have been brought about in Old Bengali through contact with and influence of Western dialects having «-ijja-» > -ij, -ij- ».

664. (3) আমাকে দেখন যায় «āmākē dekhāṇṣ jāy» *I am seen, I may be seen*, lit. *with-regard-to-me, a-seeing goes-on (or takes-place)*. This form of passive is one of the oldest constructions in Bengali. It occurs in the Caryās, and it is quite plentiful in Middle Bengali; e.g., (Caryā 2) «dharāṇa na jāi» *cannot be held*, (35) «kahaṇa na jāi» *cannot be described*, (4) «lēpana jāi» ? *is entangled or smeared*; ŚKK., p. 38, ললাট লিখিত খণ্ডন না জাএ «lālāṭa-likhita khaṇḍāṇā nā jāē» *that which is written on the forehead cannot be averted*; p. 58, জীবন ধারণ না জাএ «prāṇā dhāraṇā nā jāē» *life cannot be endured*, etc. Middle Bengali instances are fairly common. In Modern Standard Bengali, this construction is falling into disuse, but it is fully preserved in the East Bengal dialects. The employment of this অন «-āṇṣ» + যা «√jā» passive is impersonal, and it is on the lines of (2).

It would seem to have originated from an unconscious analysis of the verbal adjectives, passive, in «-anīya(ka)». The line of development was probably as follows: «karaṇīya-ka > karaṇījja(y)a» > করণি জাএ «\*karaṇi jāē», করণ জাএ «karaṇā jāē»; so «paṭhaniya-ka > paṭhanijja(y)a», পড়ণি জাএ, পড়ন (পড়ন) জাএ, «\*paṭhani jāē, pāṛ(h)āṇā jāē»; etc. The intermediate form in this process of analysis, as in করণি জাএ, পড়ণি জাএ, is not preserved in Bengali, but it seems to be represented in Early Baiswārī forms like «barani jāya, kahani jāi» etc., as in Tulasī-dāsa. We may note that an expression like না জায় কহনে «nā jāyā kāhāṇē» would be quite

natural in Middle Bengali, and the locative-instrumental in এ «-ē» in কহনে «kāhān-ē» might be a reminiscence of the older form in ই «-i» which could be regarded as a locative. The analysis into a noun in অন+√বা «-ana» + «√jā» took place before the Old Bengali period: and once this analysis became accepted, transposition of the noun and the verb, and the insertion of the negative particle না between the noun and the verb, which is so frequent in negative constructions of this type in Middle Bengali, would result: thus সহন না যায় «sāhānā nā jāy», না যায় সহন «nā jāy sāhānā» it cannot be borne (but curiously enough, না সহন যায় is not found, although সহন যায় না is commonly met with in modern speech: the reason being probably that না «nā» which qualifies the verb in this analysed form must not be separated from it by the noun).

In Middle Bengali we have a few cases where there is apparently a verbal noun in অ «-ā»: e.g., নিবার না যায় রে «nibārā nā jāy rē» cannot be prevented (VSP., p. 981); so বোল না যায় «bōlā nā jāy» cannot be described. There is no form in Modern Bengali corresponding to it: the absence of the -ন (ণ) «-nā (-ṅā)» in such cases is in all likelihood due to hapology.

665. (4) আমি দেখা পড়ি «āmi dēkhā pāri» I am seen, I happen to be seen, lit. I fall seen. This construction, apparently an old one, is essentially idiomatic, and strictly speaking it should come under the consideration of the characteristic 'Compound Verbs' of Modern Indo-Aryan. The use of the পড় «√pār» is restricted to a few verbs only, and as Beames has fully noticed it, it indicates accident as well as finality more than anything else. The দেখা «dēkhā» etc., are best explained as passive participle adjectives. The modern Dravidian employment of a root «paḍ» to form the passive has been noted by Beames and others, but it would seem that it is a matter of coincidence. The old Dravidian speech did not possess a passive form, but the employment of obviously the same root in the two groups of Indian speeches, Aryan and Dravidian, is interesting; and it is only one of numerous points of similarity which demonstrate a fundamental agreement between the speakers of the languages of the two groups in their habits of

thought. The impersonal construction with পড়  $\left\langle \sqrt{\text{pāṛ}} \right\rangle$  (e.g., আমাকে দেখা পড়  $\left\langle \text{āmāke dēkhā pāṛe} \right\rangle$ ) is unknown.

666. (5) আমাকে দেখা হয়  $\left\langle \text{āmāke dēkhā hāy} \right\rangle$  *I am seen* (i.e., *they see me*); lit. *with-regard-to-me, a-seeing takes-place* (or *a-seeing there-is*). Here we have a verbal noun in  $\left\langle -ā \right\rangle$ : we never say আমি দেখা হই  $\left\langle \text{āmi dēkhā hāi} \right\rangle$  where  $\left\langle \text{āmi} \right\rangle$  would be the nominative. Note that মারা যায়  $\left\langle \text{mārā jāy} \right\rangle$  or মারা পড়ে  $\left\langle \text{mārā pāṛe} \right\rangle$  *gets struck or killed, dies*, but মারা হয়  $\left\langle \text{mārā hāy} \right\rangle$  *the striking or killing takes-place*; দেখা গেল  $\left\langle \text{dēkhā gēla} \right\rangle$  *seen went, came in sight*, but দেখা হইল  $\left\langle \text{dēkhā hāila} \right\rangle$  *a-seeing took-place*. The root হ  $\left\langle \text{hā} \right\rangle$  here is non-committal and merely states the fact. This construction seems to be a modern one.

667. (6) আমি দৃষ্ট হই  $\left\langle \text{āmi dr̥ṣṭā hāi} \right\rangle$  *I am seen* is a learned form and a modern one, and it is found in high-flown speech and in the  $\left\langle \text{śādhū-bhāṣā} \right\rangle$  only. This construction seems to have received a new impetus from the English passive: the Sanskrit passive participle avoids any ambiguity that might result if the native passive participle in আ  $\left\langle -ā \right\rangle$  were used. But it undoubtedly originated in Middle Bengali, as Sanskrit passive participles have been largely introduced into the language since its birth.

668. The root আছ  $\left\langle \sqrt{\text{āch}} \right\rangle$  is used with the past participle to form a sort of passive perfect, mostly in connexion with inanimate nouns or nouns that are names of lower animals, which are subjects of the predicate; e.g., এ বই আমার পড়া আছে  $\left\langle \text{ē bāi āmārā pāṛā āchē} \right\rangle$  *this book has been read by me*, where আমার  $\left\langle \text{āmārā} \right\rangle$  governs পড়া  $\left\langle \text{pāṛā} \right\rangle$  which predicates বই  $\left\langle \text{bāi} \right\rangle$  the subject of আছে  $\left\langle \text{āchē} \right\rangle$ ; মাছ ধরা আছে  $\left\langle \text{māchā dhārā āchā} \right\rangle$  *fish have been caught* (or *fish that have been caught are*); এ কথা সকলের জানা আছে  $\left\langle \text{ē kathā sākālerā jānā āchē} \right\rangle$  *this is known to everybody*; এ বই তো পড়া ছিল  $\left\langle \text{ē bāi tō pāṛā chila} \right\rangle$  *this book indeed was read before*, etc., etc. This construction seems to be recent.

669. Two other idiomatic forms of the passive may be noted. চল  $\left\langle \sqrt{\text{cā}} \right\rangle$  *to go*, to express the idea of possibility or continuance, occurs with the verbal noun in আ  $\left\langle -ā \right\rangle$ , which governs the personal object

in the dative with কে «-kē», and the inanimate object or object which is the name of a lower animal in the accusative. The construction is impersonal: e.g., খাওয়া চলে «khāōā calē» *can be eaten*, দেখা চলল «dēkhā callā» *the seeing went on*. খা «√khā» eat in the sense of *suffer* is used with the verbal noun যার «mārā» a *beating*, and is conjugated actively, to denote *to be beaten*. This last idiom occurs in other Indo-Aryan languages, as well as in Dravidian.

670. The impersonal and indefinite use of the passive is a noticeable feature in Modern Bengali. When one is not sure whether to use the honorific forms in speaking to an individual, recourse is taken to the passive impersonal to avoid any chance of giving offence by using the ordinary non-honorific: e.g., কি করা হয় «ki kārā hāy» *what do you do?* literally, *what is done (by you)?* instead of the direct forms, the honorific আপনি কি করেন «āpāni ki kārēnā» or the inferior তুমি কি কর «tumi ki kārā». So কোথা থাকা হয় «kōthā thākā hāy» *where do you live?* etc. Cf. also the indefinite expressions ধরে নেওয়া যাক্ «dhōrē nēōā jāk» *let it be granted*; যদি বলা হয় or যার «yādi balā hāy, jāy» *if it is said that*; এখান দিয়ে যাওয়া যার না «ēkhānā diyē jāōā jāy nā» *one cannot go by this way* (where যাওয়া যার «jāōā jāy» is probably from «\*jāijjāi», passive with «-ijj-»: cf. এখান দিয়ে যার না «ēkhānā diyē jāy nā» *one does not, one should not go by this way*, where যার «jāy» = «\*jāiāi», passive in «-ia-»).

### [III] THE PASSIVE IN «-Ā-».

671. In MB. and NB. occurs a passive with a distinctive «-ā-» affix, which is illustrated below. This passive may have a potential implication.

Middle Bengali: SKK., p. 89, সেই এহা পথে মাহাদানী বোলাও «sēhi ēhā pāthē māhādāni bōlāō» *he is called the chief toll-collector in this highway*; p. 186, বেহ না ছাড়ো ঘোল «jēnhā nā chāōā ghōlā» *so that the butter-milk is not scattered*; also cf. পকানন হলো কর, ভেজীরান না দোষার «Pañcānānā Nulō kāy, tējīyān nā dōṣāy» *says Pañcānana, the one with defective arm: 'a man of spirit is not censured'* (Nagen-dranātha Vasu, 'Banger Jātiya Itihāsa,' Brāhmaṇa-kāṇḍa, I, i, p. 224);

Modern Bengali instances : বেশ মানায় « *bēṣṣ mānāy* » *sits nicely, looks well* ; কথাটা ভাল শুনার না « *kāthā-tā bhālā śunāy nā* » *the story does not hear nice (=it is not to be regarded as welcome)* ; কথাটা চারাইরাছে « *kāthā-tā cārāiyācchē* » *the news has been spread* ; সে ভাল মানুষ করার বটে, কিন্তু লোক সুবিখ্যার নয় « *sē bhālā-mānuṣṣ kābhāy bāṭē, kintu lōkṣ subidhārṣ nāy* » *he is spoken of as an honest man, but he is not of the good sort* ; এতে কিছু দোষ খণ্ডার না « *ē-tē kintu dōṣṣ khaṇḍāy nā* » *but the evil is not averied by this* ; যত পরবার তত দোষ বার হয় « *jātā pārābhāy tātā dōṣṣ bārṣ hāy* » *the more it is tested the larger the tale of faults that come out* ; হুল পরবার জন্ত কান বেধার « *duḥ pārābārṣ jānyā kānṣ bēdhāy* » *the ear is pierced to put on earrings* ; এটা তত খারাপ দেখাবে না « *ē-tā tātā khārāpṣ dēkhābē nā* » *this will not show so bad* ; etc., etc. : the sense in most instances, as above, is impersonal.

It occurs in Oṛiyā : 'Dhruva-caritra' of Jagannātha-dāsa (Contai edition), p. 8, « *sē bōlāi pātārānī* » *she is called the chief queen* ; p. 48, « *dēbā gānā-mādhyē tu bōlāu sunāsīrā* » *thou art called Sunāsira (=Indra) among the gods* ; p. 16, « *dwādāṣṣ ākṣārā māntrā-rājā ē bōlāi* » *of twelve syllables, this is called the prince of charms*.

This «-ā-» passive is found in other NIA. languages : in the Magadhan Maithilī and Bhōjpuriyā ; in Eastern Hindī, in Western Hindī, though rather rarely in these (e.g., Kabīr, Kṣiti-Mōhan Sēn's Selections, IV, p. 63 « *sabahi piyāsa pūrana hōta hai, tana-ki tapana bujhāy* » *all thirst is fulfilled, and the burning of the body is relieved* ; Guru Nāṅak, 'Sukhamāṇī,' ed. in Bengali characters by Jñānēndra Mōhan Datta, Calcutta, 1916, p. 80, « *jiwana-mukata sōu kahāwai* » *he is called 'emancipated in life,'* beside the proper passive in « *uha purukha kahiyai jiwana-mukata* ») ; in Rājasthānī (dialectally), and in Gujarātī, in which the «-ā-» passive is the common method. It occurs also in Marāṭhī, where the affix is «-āv- -av-, -vav-, -avav-» (cf. Rāmebandra Bhikāji Jōshī, 'Prauḍha-bōdh Marāṭhī Vyākaraṇ,' Poona, 1917, p. 215).

The «-ā-» passive has been explained as a Causative or Potential form, originating from the causative affix «-ā-, -āv-» < OIA. «-ā-pa-ya» (Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 484 ; Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 140).

But another and a more reasonable derivation of the «-š-» passive has been suggested by Sir George Grierson (in a private communication). He derives potential the passive affix «-š-» from the denominative «-šya-» of OIA. The Bihārī dialects offer a clue to the source of this «-š-» passive. In Maithilī, Magahī as well as Bhōjpurīyā, there is clear indication that the affix for this passive was originally «-šya-», distinct from that of the causative which was, and still is in many forms, «-šwa- (< -špaya-)». Thus, the causative base in Maithilī is «dēkhāb (< dēkhāw < \*dēkhh-šva-)» to show, and the potential passive base is «dēkhāš» to be seen: in the 3 pres., the causative is «dēkhābē (dēkhāwē), dēkhābathī», the passive is «dēkhāšē, dēkhāthī»; so in the future, causative «dēkhāšot (= MIA. \*dēkhhāvanta-), passive «dēkhāit (= MIA. \*dēkhhāyanta-); and the past participle forms are, causative «dēkhāol (< -šwa-la), passive «dēkhāel (< -šya-la) (Grierson, 'Introduction to the Maithilī Dialect,' Calcutta, 1909, pp. 214 ff., esp. tables on pp. 219 ff.). But even in Bihārī itself, the separate identity of the two affixes is to some extent confused, owing to interchange of «-w-» and «-y-» as intervocal glides. In the other NIA. speeches, the distinction has been entirely levelled down, both «-šya-» and «-šwa-» being reduced to «-š-», or to «-šw-». We see that from Early MIA. times the causative affix «-špaya-» has encroached into the domain of the denominative (see *infra*, under 'Denominatives').

The «-š-» passive is thus an extension of the denominative «-šya-» of OIA. The NIA. intransitives in «-š-» are similar OIA. denominatives in «-šya-», and this can be well seen from cases like *शोषार, चराहिराह, पुरवार, वृषार* etc. at p 928, which certainly are based on nouns. Compare W. HINDI «Hari-simarana kari bhagata pragaṣy» a saint is made manifest (< prakāṣa) by thinking on God (Nāṅak, 'Sukhamāṣī'). NIA. thus has preserved the denominative way of forming the potential passive, despite its being obscured by the causative.

672. The Passive Construction (*karmaṣi-prayōga*) in the past and future tenses is discussed below (under 'Participial Tenses' and 'Personal Affixes').



## [F] TENSE : THE SIMPLE TENSES.

673. For ordinary purposes, Bengali may be said to have *eight* tenses, with special affixes. These are—

(i) Simple Tenses: 1. Present; 2. Past; 3. Conditional or Habitual Past; and 4. Future.

(ii) Compound Tenses :

(a) Progressive: 5. Present Progressive; 6. Past Progressive;

(b) Perfect: 7. Present Perfect; 8. Past Perfect.

In addition, there are other Compound or Periphrastic tenses, like Present, Past and Future Continuous, or Habitual Past Perfect (with auxiliary « √ thāk ») where the original verb and the auxiliary are yet distinct and have not coalesced as in the case of the Progressive and the Perfect tenses.

These tenses historically fall under *three types*, viz., Radical, Participial, and Periphrastic.

There is only one *Radical Tense*—the Simple Present, or Present Indefinite, which is derived from the Indicative Present of OIA. *Participial Tenses* are the Simple Past, Conditional or Habitual Past, and Simple Future, which originated respectively from the passive participle (strengthened with the pleonastic «-la» affix), active present participle, and passive future participle of OIA. and MIA. The *Periphrastic* or *Compound Tenses* are made up with the help of the substantive verbs « √ āch » and « √ thāk » as well as « √ rah » employed as auxiliaries with forms of the root.

In NB., we have only standardised forms, but in earlier Bengali, numerous forms occurred side by side.

## [I] THE RADICAL TENSE.

674. The inflexions are :

Old Singular    Old Plural

1. «-i » ;        (-ṣ) :    « āmi, āmrā cāl-i (ṣ cāl-ṣ) » .

2. «-is, -s » ;    «-āhā, -ā, -ō » :    « tui, tōrā cāl-is ; tumi, tōmrā cāl-āhā, cāl-ā. » .

3. «-s, -y >; «-śnṣ, -nṣ >: « sē, tārē cal-ś; tini, tārē cal-śnṣ > .  
(śpṣni, śpṣnārē cal-śnṣ=2nd person honorific).

The distinction in number in the 1st person was dropped from the earliest times in Bengali. In the 2nd and 3rd persons, this distinction was retained to some extent, in that the plural forms became honorific: in the 2nd person, the old singular became the familiar, inferior or contemptuous (both in the singular and the plural), and the old plural, for some period honorific no doubt, followed suit, although it is slightly more respectful and formal than the singular form. The 3rd person plural became the respectful or honorific, both plural and singular.

675. Typical forms occurring in the OB. of the Caryās are:

First Person :

« jivami, pīvami (Caryā 4); acchahu (6); puchami, mārami, lēmi (10); dēhū, lēhū (8); bāhāma (20: = cāhāma); jāṇahū (22); acchama (29); āvēśi (33); pēkhami (35); birahūi =? biharaī (39: Comm. = vīharaṇam karōmi); ācchuhū (44); siñcahū, jānami (49) ».

Second Person :

« aisasi, jāsi (10); bujhasi, pucchasi, bāsasi (15); gilēsi (39); bujhaṣi, acchasi (41) ».

Third Person :

« Lui bhaṇai (1); jāi, khāa = khāi, jāgaa = jāgai, jāa = jāi (2); sāndhaa = sāndhai, bhamanti Birūā (3); taraī, gaṭai = gaḍhai (5); chāḍai, chuppai, pivai, bōlaa = bōlai (6); bājāē, biharaē, lavaē (11); gājai, bhājai, dhāvai, ghōlai (16); bājai, bilasai, nācanti Bājila, gānti dēvi, hōi (17); bhanathi Kaukkurīpā, jō bujhaē = bujhai (20); bhakhaa = bhakhai, karaa = karai (21); jō bhamanti tē hōnti; Saraha bhanati = bhananti (22); paīsaa = paīsai; bōlati Sānti (26); basai, hiṇḍai, khāi, pōhāi (28); lāgē (29); jujhaa = jujhai (33); bhuṣjai (34); ujāa = ujai, bhanai; pamāē = \*sāmāi (38); Saraha bhaṇanti (39); »  
etc., etc.

676. Below are given specimens of forms occurring in MB. :

First Person :

« (mui, mu, mō, mōē, mōē, mōña, śmhi, śmhē, śmi, śmhārā, śmarā, śmi-sābā, śmarā-sābā etc.) চলি, চলী cali, cālī ; চলৌ, চলৌ cālō, cālō ; চলহ্, চলহ্ চলউ, চল্ cālāhū, cālā(h)u, cālu ; (চলিঞ cālīe) ».

Cf. VSP., p. 30, কঙ কাঙ ; p. 31, বলৌ bālō ; 34, খাঙ khāṅ ; 57, বাঙ yaṅ = jaṅ ; 65, দেঙ deṅ ; 67, জানৌ jānō, খোরৌ thōyō ; 68, দেঙ deṅ = deṅ ; 276, বাঙ baṅi ; 732, রাখৌ rākō muñi = rākōṅ ; 733, পড়হ্ pārahū, মুঞি মুঞি muñi jāṅā = jaṅ ; 853, থাকিয়ে thākīe, করিয়ে kariē ; 855 কান্ডিঞ kāndīe ; 862, মোরা মোরা mōrā śchō ; 974, জানিঞ jāniē, বালিঞ bālīe ; 1204, মাগৌ māgō ; 1211, পারৌ pārō ; etc., etc. ; 'Padmā-purāṇa' of Vādāī-dāsa : p. 4, বন্দম bāndāmā (= bāndāwā, bāndō) ; p. 11, প্রণমহ্ prāṇamāhū (বন্দৌ, বন্দৌ « bāndō, bāndō », and প্রণমহৌ « prāṇamāhō » are quite common in MB.) ; Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttara-kāṇḍa,' p. 28, বিস্তারিঞ কহ মুনি শুনিউ কখন bistāriyā kāhā muni, śuniū kāthāṅṅ (narrate in detail, O Sage, I [shall] hear the tale) » ; etc.

Cf. Oriyā : Modern Oriyā, singular « dēkhē, dēkhi », plural « dēkhū » : Jagannātha-dāsa's 'Dhruva-caritra' (Contai edition), p. 12, « śārbhādā kārā mōtē, śādhāī jēmāntē » give me blessing, so that I (may) succeed ; p. 13, « muhi jībāī » I live. Also, Maithilī « dēkhi, cali, dēkhiai ; ehi, chiahū ; thikahū ; rahī, rahiahū » ; Early Maithilī, as in Vidyāpati (VSPd. edition, Pada 30), « kahaṅō = kahaṅō » ; Magahī, « dēkhi, dēkhū » ; Bhōjpurīyā, singular « dēkhō », plural « dēkhi, dēkhyū ».

Second Person :

« (tui, tuñi, taī, tō, tōē, tōrā etc.) চলি, চলি, চলি cālāsi, cālisi, cālī ; (tumhi, tumhē, tumi, tōmhārā, tōmārā, tumi-sālā, tōmārā-sābā etc.) চলহ্, চল, চলৌ, চল্ cālāhā, cālā, cālō, cālu ».

The « -āsi, -isi » and « -āhā, -ā, -ō » forms are exceedingly common in MB. ; the « -u » form is rather rare.

Third Person :

« (sē, tāsā, tāsārā, tāsārā-sābā etc.) চলই, চলে, চলএ calāi, calē, calāḥ; (tāhō, tāhārā etc.) চলতি, চলত, চলতে, চলেন, চলাইন, চলাই, চলকি calānti, calāntā, calāntā, calāntā, calāntā, calāntā » .

Cf. VSP., p. 357, « বাওন্তি শৃগাল yānti śṛgāla=jāwānti, jānti »; Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttara,' p. 179, « কুকুর বলেন kukkurḥ bālenḥ, কুকুর জানেন kukkurḥ jānenḥ »; *ibid*, p. 7, পদা শিরে ধরিয়া হালেত শূলপাশি « ṛāggā śirē dhāriyā hāsēntā Śūlapāṣi » *the One with the trident in hand (Śiva) laughs, bearing Gaṅgā on his head*; p. 10, গুরুজন বালেন লাজ « guru-janā bāsēnḥ lājḥ » *the revered ones feel shame*.

The « -ānti, -āntā, -āntā » forms are very common in the SKK., in Chuṭi-Khān's (Śrīkara Nandī's) 'Mahābhārata,' in Vijaya Paṇḍita's 'Mahābhārata,' and in other older works. In Vanḥī-dāsa's 'Padma-purāṇa' (Maimansing District, 17th century), a large number of « -ānti, -ānti » forms occur, beside « -nti » ones: the former, it should be noted, occur more frequently with the past and future bases than with the present: e.g. « p. 3, স্মরন্তি বিধাতা smārānti bidhātā; p. 44, নারদে কহন্তি Nārādē kāhānti; p. 260, মঙ্গল গাহন্তি māṅgalā gāhānti; pp. 262, 318, 362, 489, 496, নারীগণে দেহন্তি (দেয়ন্তি) জেঁকার nāri-gaṇē dēhānti (dēyānti) jēkārā *the women give shouts of triumph*; p. 417, মঙ্গল গায়ন্তি su-jubānti »; besides p. 631, করānti = karānti; p. 622, yānti = jānti; p. 643, pūjānti = pūjānti »; etc., etc.

In addition, through Sanskrit influence, a few *ts.* or *sts.* forms occur in MB. in the 3rd person: e.g., বসতি « basāti » *dwells* for বলে « basē » (*vasati*); বদতি « badāti » *speaks* for বলে « balē » (*vadati*), etc.

The forms in the sister speeches are: Oriyā sg. « calāi », pl. « calānti »; Maithilī, original sg. « dēkhāi », pl. « dēkhāthi », also in Magahī, besides forms with affixed object pronouns; Bhōjpuriyā sg. « dēkhē », pl. « dēkhan », besides other forms.

677. Origin of the Forms for the Radical Tense.

The different « gaṇas » of OIA. were practically levelled to one —with the theme « -a- ». The OIA. causative « -aya- » > MIA. « -ā- » lost its force, and « -ā- » was also found in the indicative present form :

OIA. « karōti » thus figured as « karāi, karēi » in Apabhraṃśa. NIA. forms are based on these Apabhraṃśa simplified ones, both in form and use.

### First Person.

From OB. and MB., we see that the following were the old affixes : « -ami (= aṃi, ai), -mi (= -ṃi -i), -i, -i; -ama (= -aṃa), -ḥ, -ḥ; -a-hū, -a-hu, -hō, -au, -ū, -u ». The « -iyē, -iē » form in MB., as has been explained before (p. 915, *supra*), is really a passive form.

The old sense of number had died out in Bengali from the OB. period : it has continued in Oṛiyā to the present day. The affixes « -a-hū, -a-hu, -ahō, -ā, -u » form one group: here the « -hū » seems to be the first personal pronoun « \*haū » *I* (see p. 807, *supra*), agglutinated to a basic form of the root in « -a ». Cf. « -tu » for the 2nd person imperative (*supra*, p. 905). This « -hū, -ū, -u » form seems to have merged into the « -ḥ » form in MB. A form like  $\text{ᱥᱟᱨᱢᱟ}$  « ṣuniṭṭ » (*supra*, p. 932) seems to be first person in « -i », « ṣuni » + « hū »; or is it a blend of the passive in « -iu- » (*supra*, pp. 919-920) + « -hū », or « ḥ » ? The « -hū > -hu » is found in Maithilī also.

The form « -ḥ » is the affix for the first person now obtaining in Assamese and in North Bengali. This is apparently the same as « -ama » of OB., doubtless pronounced « -aṃa ». Influence of the agglutinated « -hū » here is likely in post-OB. times. Cf. Oṛiyā first person pl. affix « -ū », which is doubtless based on « -ama ». The « -ḥ » occurs also in Central Magadhan.

The MB. and NB. « -i, -i » is the OIA. and MIA. « -mi » affix of the singular. The OB. « āvēṣi » (Caryā 33) would go to show that it was already evolved in the OB. period; but at that time the nasalisation in all likelihood existed; and it seems to be generally indicated by retaining the « -m- », pronounced as « ṃ » or nasalised « y ». But in a case like « āvēṣi », it could not be so indicated *metri causa*, but seems to have been merely left unnoted (\*āvēṣi = \*āyēṣi = \*āviṣiṃ = \*āviṣimi: MB. āvēṣi). The Modern Oṛiyā first person sg. form in « -ḥ » (< Early Oṛiyā « -ai »), given above (p. 932), e.g., « dēkhē, sādhai, jibai », preserves the old nasalisation. The nasalisation is lost in Bengali and in Central Magadhan

and partially also in Oṛiyā, e.g., in its «-i» form. It seems that in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, an OIA. form like «calāmi» had resulted in «\*calāmi» as well as «\*calimi», the former having given the Oṛiyā «cālāi, cālō», the latter the Bengali, Oṛiyā, and Maithilī-Magahī «-i, -i» forms.

OIA. : «aham calāmi————vayam (Late OIA. asmē) calāmaḥ » ;

MIA. : «aham, ahakē calāmi—mayam, amhē calāmō, \*calāmē ;  
hakarā, hakē (\*hagarā, hagē) calāmi, calāmi—amhē  
calāmō, \*calāmē, \*calāmō, \*calāmō » ;

Māg. Ap. : «haū, \*hāi \*calami, \*calimi—amhi \*calamu, \*calami  
\*calama, \*calāma (m = ō) » ;

NIA. OB. : «haū (mai) \*calai, \*cali, \*cali, calī—amhi (amhē) calāwa, calō » ;

MB. : «(māi, mui, amhi, āmi, āmhārā, āmi-sābā etc.) calī, calī, calō. » ;

NB. (Standard Speech) : «(āmi, āmārā) calī » ; † «(mui, āmi,  
āmārā) calō » ;

Assamese : «(māi, āmi) calō » ;

Oṛiyā : «(mū) calō, calī », plural «(āmhē, āmbhē-mānē) calō » ;

Maithilī : «calī, calī » (for both numbers) ;

Magahī : «calī, calī, calī » (for both numbers) ;

Bhōjpurīyā : «calō », plural «calī, calī » (the singular «calō» probably  
influenced by Western speeches).

In the indiscriminate use of singular and plural forms, it is not unlikely that the singular «\*calami, calimi» in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa became confused with an expected, and possible Māg. Ap. plural form «\*calāmi, \*calami» < Māgadhī Prakṛit «\*calāmō» < OIA. «calāmaḥ», with the change of final «-aḥ» to «-ā» and then to «-i».

## 678. Second Person.

The history of the forms seems to have been as follows :

OIA. : «tvam calasi—yūyam (Late OIA. \*yuṣmē, \*tuṣmē) calatha » ;

MIA. : «tumam, tūm calasi—tumhē calatha, caladha ; tūm calasi  
—tumhē calaha » ;

Māg. Ap. : «tū, tō calasi, \*calisi, \*calahi ; \*calasu, \*calahu, \*calāi  
(from the Imperative)—tumhi calaha » ;

- NIA. OB.** : \* tū, tō, taī calasi, calisi—tumbi, tumbē calaba, \* calaa >;  
**MB.** : \* (tū, tō, tōē, taī, tui, tōrā) cālāsi, cālisi, cālāis, cālī—  
 (tumbi, tumi, tōmbārā, tōmārā etc.) cālābā, cālā, cālā, cālō >;  
**NB.** : \* (tui, torā) cālī, † cālās (as in East Bengal), † cālū  
 (as in S.W. Bengali : cf. Oṛiyā)—(tumi, tōmārā) cālā, cālō >;  
**Assamese** : \* tāi cālā——tumi cālā (tomākōkē cālā, cālāhāk) >;  
**Oṛiyā** : \* tū cālū——tumbhē (-mānē) cālā >;  
**Maithilī** : \* tō calabi, calah——tōh, tōh-sabh calahu >;  
**Magahi** : \* tū, tō cal——tōhani calah(in) >;  
**Bhōjpurīyā** : \* tū, tō cal (calas, calasi, calis)—tōhanīkē calah > .

679.

Third Person.

- OIA.** : \* sa(h) calati——tō calanti >;  
**MIA. (Māgadhi)** : \* sē calati——tō calanti >;  
 \* sē caladi, calāī——\*tō calanti >;  
**Māgadhi Ap.** : \* sē, \*ti calāī——\*ti, tō calanti >;  
**NIA. OB.** : \* sē \*calāī (calanti *honorific*)——\*tō, \*tōhī, \* tōhī \* tōha,  
 calanti, \*calēnti >;  
**MB.** : \* sē cālāī, cālās, cālō; tōhā, tōhārā cālānti, cālēntā,  
 cālāntā, cālēnā, cālāni, cālānī, cālāi, cālānī, cālāin >;  
**NB.** : \* (sē, tārā) cālō—(tini, tārā) cālēnā († cālāin) >;  
**Assamese** : \* (si, sihātō) cālō (Early Assamese si-hātō cālāntā,  
 cālēntā) >;  
**Oṛiyā** : \* sē cālāī—sē-mānē cālānti >;  
**Maithilī** : \* sē (sē-sabh) calāi, calathi > (the latter honorific only);  
**Magahi** : \* sē calāi, calō (calas < Bhōjpurīyā)—taun calin,  
 calī, calathi >;  
**Bhōjpurīyā** : \* sē calō, cala (calasi, calasu < Awadhī)—taun  
 calan, calin > .

The plural form in Bengali is now used as an honorific. The change of OIA. <-nt> normally is to <-t> in Bengali, not to <-n> : <cālēnā> therefore does not represent OIA. <calanti>. The form has obtained its <-n> (further reduced to a mere nasalisation in dialectal Bengali) ultimately from the plural <-na> of the noun (see *suja*, p. 725-726). It seems that this

«-na» was added to the plural-honorific forms for the verb in the past and the future tenses, which as participial forms did not have any affix originally, and therefore could take up both the plural «-na» of the oblique noun and the «-anti» of the radical tense: MB. ordinary «gəl-ā, gəl-ā», honorific «gəl-āṅṅ, gəl-ānti». Thus «-na» and «-anti» became identical; and in the place of «calanti, calēnta», and a possible «\*calēti, \*calēta» (cf. SKK. दत्ति «dēti» *they give* = «dēnti»), the form «calē-ṅṅ» came in. Doubtless the use of the present participle in «-itē» (calitē-calitē), the infinitive in «-itē», and the past habitual base «calit-», all the three with «-it-», helped the establishment of «-āṅṅ» in the other verb forms as the plural honorific affix. Oṛiyā alone among Magadhan languages has preserved the «-nti». In other Magadhan, in E. and W. Hindi, and in other NIA., the «-nti» has similarly given place to a mere nasalisation or to «-n»: except in Marāṭhī, where the «-nti» is altered to the normal NIA. development, «-t» (Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 235).

The Maithilī and Magahī «calathi» is peculiar, showing «-thi» for OIA. «-nti»; probably it is a case of emphatic «hi»: «calanti hi > calat(i) hi > calathi». In the Caryās, «-thi» for honorific «-nti» occurs in a couple of instances: «bhaṇathi Kukkuriṇṇā» (20), «bōlathi Sānti» (26). These seem to have been due to the mistake of the Nēwārī scribe of the MS., familiar as he was more with Maithilī than with Old Bengali.

The «-s-» forms for the 3rd person in Magahī and Bhōjpurīyā seem to be ultimately from Awadhī, and the «-s-», seems to be the pronoun «sē» *he*, agglutinated with the verb-base (like «hū, tu» for the 1st and 2nd persons in OB.).

## [II] THE TENSES ORIGINATING FROM OIA. PARTICIPLES.

### (1) THE PAST BASE.

680. The inflected past tenses of OIA.—the imperfect, aorist and perfect—were continued in MIA., but their employment grew more and more rare. In Early MIA. (as in Pali) the imperfect and aorist



coalesced, and formed practically one past form (cf. Geiger, 'Pali Grammatik,' § 158 ff.), although Pali grammarians sought to indicate a theoretical difference between them by calling the forms derived from the old imperfect and the strong or root aorist (with the 3rd person singular ending in « -a, -ā ») the « *hiyattanī* » or *yesterday past*, and the forms derived from original sigmatic aorist (with the 3rd person singular ending in « -i, -si ») as the « *ajjatanī* » or *to-day past*. The perfect became very much restricted. In Second NIA., the perfect all but disappeared, being found only in a few stereotyped forms; and the same thing happened with the imperfect-aorist tense, which could be found with a number of roots, or had resulted, as in *Ardha-Māgadhī*, into a couple of affixes—a singular « -ithā, -ēthā » and a plural « -imsu », originating from the OIA. *ātmanē-pada* (medial) aorist forms (Pischel, 'Gramm. der Pkt.-Sprachen,' §§ 515-517; Geiger, *op. cit.*, § 159).

This gradual decay or disuse of the old moods and forms of the old inflected past is a notable thing in the history of Indo-Aryan (cf. Jules Bloch, 'La Phrase nominale en Sanskrit,' *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, Vol. XIV). In this connexion Dravidian influence has been suggested, and indeed is probable (see *supra*, pp. 88, 174). As the old past forms fell into desuetude, their place was taken up more and more by the passive participle adjective which had the ending « -ta, -i-ta » or « -na » in OIA. In this extension of the verbal adjective to assume the function of the finite verb, going hand in hand with the decay of the latter, Dravidian influence, again, is likely. But the germs of this use we find within OIA. itself. In Vedic, the past or passive participle in « -ta » is quite frequently used as a finite verb, when the copula or the substantive verb « *as* » or « *bhū* » is omitted (cf. A.A. Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar for Students,' § 208; B. Delbrück, 'Altindische Syntax,' Halle, 1888, §§ 215, 219). This construction, periphrastic in nature, with the substantive verb present or understood, seems to have come in first with intransitive verbs (meaning *going, sitting, standing*, etc.), or in impersonal statements. But as yet the passive participle has not invaded the domain of the transitive verb, in a passive construction with the true nominative in the instrumental,—

a construction which is perfectly normal in Second MIA., and which is continued down into NIA. : « sa yātaḥ, sa jātaḥ, sa ārūḍhaḥ » might be used instead of « sa jagāma (iyāya, agacchat, agamat, ayāt), sa ajāyata (ajani), sa aruhat (arukṣat, rurōha) » etc. ; but « tēna kṛtaḥ (kṛtā, kṛtam), tēna dṛṣṭaḥ (dṛṣṭā, dṛṣṭam) » are not yet well-established in the place of « sa cakāra (akārṣit, akarōt), sa dadarśa (apaśyat, adrākṣit) », etc. But from Early MIA., the extension of the passive participle to transitive verbs also came in. In Pali, however, the OIA. condition obtains, and there is plentiful use of the past tense or aorist, the « -ta » forms occurring with intransitive verbs mainly : but the traditions of Pali as a literary speech go back to the oldest MIA., or latest OIA. period, and Pali syntax is not wholly based on that of the spoken vernaculars of the centuries immediately before Christ. But the language of Aśōkan and other early inscriptions sufficiently demonstrate what an important place the passive participle in « -ta » had already obtained for itself in the popular dialects, considerably restricting the inflected past tenses. Thus, to give a few examples : Aśōkan Rock Edict I (Girnar), « iyatḥ dhammalipi dēvaṇaṃ priyēna priyadasinā rāñā lēkhāpitā » ; II (Girnar) « dvē cikichā katā ; ośudhāni...sarvatra hārāpitāni ca rōpāpitāni ca » ; V (Girnar) « ta mayā bahu kalāṇaṃ kataṃ » ; Pillar, Rummindei, « piyadasina lājiṇa atana āgāca mahiyitē ; silā vigāḍabhicā kālāpita, silāthabhē ca usapāpitē, Lutaṃminigāmē ca ubalikē kaṭṭe » ; Nigliva, « lājiṇa thubē dutiyaṃ vadhitē » ; Khāravela Inscription, « mahārājēna...kiḍitā kumāra-kiḍikā : yōvarajaṃ pasāsitaṃ » ; Bharhut Inscription on gateway, « ..Dhanabhūtina kṛitaṃ tōraṇaṃ (= tōraṇaṃ), silā-kāṃmaṃtō ca upaṃna » ; Sanchi, Stupa I, « Vēdisakēhi daṃta-kārēhi rūpa-kāṃmaṃ kataṃ » ; Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros, « garuḍa-dhvajē ayaṃ kṛitō Hēliōdōrēṇa » ; Mathurā Āyāgapaṭṭa Inscription, « ...gaṇikāyē Vasu(yē)...silāpaṭṭo pratisthāpitō » ; etc., etc.

Illustrations can be multiplied. These show that the passive participle construction, the verb being an adjective qualifying the nominative when it was intransitive and the object when transitive, became the common idiomatic way of expressing the past in MIA. By the time when the Apabhraṃśa Stage came in, the old inflected past forms, which still

lingered in Second MIA., were clean swept away, and only this participial past remained in IA. ; and the NIA. past tense was formed out of this.

The IA. speeches outside India show similarly the passive participle as the base for the preterit : Sinhalese (Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,' pp. 71-72), and the Gipsy speeches of Europe (F. Miklosich, 'Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas,' XI, p. 44).

681. The affix « -ta, -ita » was by this time reduced to « -a, -ia », except where it was assimilated to a preceding consonant (e.g., « dṛṣṭa- », = Panjābī « *ḍiṭṭhā* », beside « \*dṛkṣita- » > dēkkhia- » = Hindi « *dēkhyā, dēkhā* », Bengali *দেখিল* « *dēkh-il-* » ; « *supta* » > *sutta* » Early Beng. *সুতিল* « *sut-il-* » ; « *matta* » Beng. *মাতিল* « *māt-il-* » ; etc.). A pleonastic « -ka », which was reduced to « -a » in Prakrit and Apabhraṅśa, was sometimes added. But the need for some distinctive affix for this important form, the only one to indicate the past tense, was felt in some parts of the country. The « -la » affix of OIA., in extended forms « -i-la, -a-la », which became very popular as an adjective affix (or a merely pleonastic one) from the early centuries of the Christian era, and probably even earlier, was frequently added. In the Second and Third MIA. periods « -i-la, -a-la » apparently became « -illa (-ōlla), -alla ». In any case, in North-Eastern India the « -ll- » was specially popular from the Apabhraṅśa period (it may be earlier still) in connexion with the passive participle in « -a < -ta, -ia < -ita ». We have no specimens of this North-Eastern or Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, but from the evidence of the Magadhan languages we have to surmise all that. In the Ardha-māgadhī area, and in the Midland, the « -ila, -ala » > -illa (-ōlla), -alla » affix was rather sparingly used ; also in the North-West : the source-dialects Eastern Hindi, Western Hindi, and Western and Eastern Panjābī apparently never used it with the passive participle, whether attributive or predicative. In the South-West, its use was more common than in the Midland, but not so common as in the East : it was used, as we can infer from Gujarātī and Rājasthānī and Sindhī, when the passive participle was a plu-perfect, or an attributive form, and not a predicate in the simple past, performing the function of a verb. In the

South, it was fairly common, and shortly after the formation of the Marāṭhī language, it became more and more popular as an affix in connexion with the passive participle > past tense.

The remnants of Second MIA. (especially in the Jaina dialects as written in the South-West) have preserved for us examples of this «-illa (-ḷla)» and «-ulla, -alla» affix with nouns and adjectives, like «kaṇṭailla, chāilla, mā(y)illa, lōhilla, sōhilla, pēurilla, thalailla, niyaḍilla, kasilla, sāsilla, kalaṅkilla, gaṅṭhilla, muttāhalilla, kandalilla, lacchiilla, kivāilla, gōilla, chailla, gāmilla, bāhirilla, paḍhamilla, uvarilla, dāhinilla, majjhimilla, puvvilla» etc., etc.; and stray forms like Ardha-māgadhī «ḥṇilliyā» (ḥṇia = ḥṇita + illa: Pischel, 'Grammartik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 595), and «āgaḷliiyā (āgata-), varēlliyā (varia-, vṛta-), chaḍḍiḷlayaṅ (chardita-), laddhilliyāṅ (labdha-)» (Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 126) etc. confirm the surmise made chiefly from the modern languages that «-illa (-ḷla), -alla» added to the passive participle in «-a, -ia < -ta, -ita» is the source of the NIA. «-l-» in this case. When the «-illa» in this way strengthened the passive participle, the latter retained fully its original adjectival nature, and «-illa» would change its ending according to the gender of the noun qualified.

682. Thus the past base in «-il-» in Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā, in «-al-» in the Bihārī speeches, and in «-il-, -al» in Marāṭhī, and similar «-l-» forms in the other NIA. speeches, originated from the OIA. «-ta, -ita» plus the OIA. diminutive or adjectival affix «-la-» in the extended forms «-ila, -a-la, >-illa (-ḷla), -alla». This explanation, first suggested by Sir Charles Lyall in his article on Hindōstānī in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' 9th edition (1879: reprinted as 'A Sketch of the Hindustani Language,' Edinburgh, 1880: pp. 41-42) and by Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar in his 'Wilson Philological Lectures' (1877, Lecture V, first published Bombay, 1914, pp. 223-224), has finally been accepted as the only possible explanation, after Sten Konow showed how this «-l-» of Marāṭhī (and other NIA. speeches) phonologically must rest on a MIA. «-ll-» (in his 'Note on the Past Tense in Marāṭhī,' JRAS., 1902, pp. 417 ff. Cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 126; Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 256).

683. Lassen and Hoernle, whose views, now discredited and abandoned, still obtain some following in India, traced this «-l-» to the «-ta, -ita» affix of OIA. direct: either along this line: «-ta, -ita» > «-da, -ida» > «-ḍa, -iḍa» > «-la, -ila» ; or along this: «-ta, -ita» > «-da, -ida» > «-la, -ila» (cf. Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 306). But neither of the above lines of change are known to have taken place on any large scale in IA. ; and although there are cases of 'spontaneous cerebralisation' (*supra*, p. 487), and although there are a few cases where NIA. «-l-» (< earlier «-l-» ) corresponds to Skt. «-ḍ-» (*supra*, p. 548), a wholesale change of MIA. «-d-, -ḍ-» to «-l-» is not attested. Under influence of preceding «r, ṛ», a dental «-ta» became a «-ṭa» in 'Old Māgadhī,' and the normal change of it in Second MIA. Māgadhī would of course be «-ḍa» ; in fact, Vararuci notes two cases, «kaḍa, maḍa < kaṭa, maṭa < kṛta, mṛta» and a third «gaḍa (< gata)» by analogy apparently ('Prākṛta-prakāśa,' XI, 15) ; and many more can be attested from MIA., from Sanskrit, and from the NIA. speeches (like «\*saḍakka > saṛakṣ» *street* from «sṛta», «\*dhaḍa > dhaṛṣ» *torso* from «dhṛta», «\*bhaḍa > bhaṛṣ» = *surname* in Bengali = *servant* from «bhṛta, bhaṭa»). In all these cases we find «-ṛ-» in NIA. (< «-ḍ- < «-ṭ- < «-ṛt-»), and never «-l-». The equivalent of «kaḍa, maḍa» should be «kaṛṣ, maṛṣ» or «kaṛā, maṛā» in NIA., and not «kaila, maila» as in Early Bengali or in the Bihārī dialects. In fact, the «-ṛ-» form, «māṛā» < «maḍa», has continued apart in Bengali, in the sense of *dead body, corpse*, and this is quite distinct from the verb «māilā = \*maa-illa = mṛta + illa».<sup>1</sup>

The adjectival accented «-lā» (Whitney, 'Skt. Grammar,' §§ 1189, 1227) became «-lla» in Second MIA. (Pischel, 'Grammatik der

<sup>1</sup> As has been noted before, the genuine, inherited Māgadhī forms in «-ṛ-,» «-ḍ-» < «-ṭ-» < «-ṛt-, -ṛt-» were largely ousted from or restricted in the eastern dialects, probably during the Second and Third MIA periods, by new formations which did not show cerebralisation, but simple elision of the «-t-»: see *supra*, p. 487. This was either due to the analogy of the larger number of «-ta-» participles in which there was no scope for cerebralisation and the «-t-» was duly lost in Second MIA. ; or it may be that here there was strong influence from the Western speeches due to the continuous immigration of Westerners into the East—Bihar and Bengal—during the formative period of the Eastern languages.

Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 194). It is just possible that the doubling was due to the fact that it was a *ts.* (or *sts.*) affix introduced in Transitional MIA., at a time when original *tśh.* or inherited intervocal «-l-» tended to become cerebralised to «-l̥-», and that its *ts.* character as an intervocal dental or alveolar sound was sought to be preserved by this doubling. Another explanation, quite possible, would derive the MIA. «-lla» from the OIA. «-la», strengthened by «-ya» (also an adjectival affix): «\*-l-ya > -lla» (Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 256). In any case, the fact remains that in Second MIA. it became «-ll-». In NIA., in those speeches where the cerebral «-l̥-» is preserved, this «-l̥-» stands on a MIA. single intervocal dental or alveolar «-l-»; and where in NIA. it is a dental «-l-», the MIA. source of it is double «-ll-», and not single «-l-». This has been shown for Marāṭhī (Sten Konow, JRAS., 1902, as cited above; cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' §§ 144 ff.), and for Gujarātī by Turner (JRAS., 1921, pp. 527-528, 535, 537, 538). It is also the case with Oṛiyā: e.g., Oṛiyā «kālā» *black*, «kālī» *ink* (< kāla-), «bēlā» (< vālā), «dēulā» (< dēvakula), «tilā» (< tila), *ts.* «tālīlā» (< tāila), with «-l̥-», but «kālī» (*kallim*, *kalya-*), «bēla» (*bēlla*, *bīva*), «tēla» (*tēlla*, *tāilā*), etc. (see *supra*, p. 538): and for the past tense and pass. part. adj., Oṛiyā has «-l-», not «-l̥-», which thus must rest on a MIA. «-ll-». The same seems also to be the case with Panjābī. So that Apabhraṅśa (Eastern, Western, Southern) «\*kaa-illa-, \*kaya-illa-, \*kaa-alla-; \*gaa-illa, \*gaya-illa, \*gaa-alla; \*calia-illa > \*calilla, \*callēlla \*calla-illa (= \*calya- + -ita- + -la)» etc. can alone be the sources of Early Bengali «kāila», Bihārī «kail», Oṛiyā «kālā», Marāṭhī «kālā, gālā», Gujarātī «karēlo» (= \*karia-illa), Sindhī «kayalū, kitalū» (the last = \*kitta-alla-); and Bengali «gālā, cālilā», Oṛiya «gālā, cālilā-» Bihārī «gail, calal-», beside Oṛiyā «cālilā», Gujarātī «cālēlō», etc.

684. Another view about the origin of the NIA. «-l-» is that it is an independent affix occurring in Indo-European itself, preserved in NIA., but ignored or left unnoticed in OIA. S. H. Kellogg first suggested this in his Hindi Grammar (cf. p. 340, second edition), and Beames connected this «-l-» with the «-l-» affix indicating the past tense in the Slav languages, and compared Slav (Russian) preterit

forms in «-l-» with those of the Marāṭhi as a typical Indian language with the «-l-» past ('Comp. Grammar,' III, pp. 135-136). But this connexion is not proper. We have seen that the MIA. form of the suffix was «-ll-» < OIA. «-l-» and that it is adjectival (diminutive or pleonastic) in its nature, whereas the «-l-» affix that we find in Slav is entirely different. The latter is a participle affix, forming *nomina agentis*, with an active present participle sense, and in Slav it is used to form periphrastic tenses with the substantive verb: and this «-l-» or «-lo-» affix has been found, in addition to the Slav, in Latin, Greek, Armenian and Tokharian among Indo-European speeches (A. Meillet, 'Le Slav Commun,' Paris, 1924, § 281; French trans. of Brugmann's Short Comparative Grammar, Paris, 1905, p. 351; S. Lévi and A. Meillet, 'Remarques sur les Formes grammaticales de quelques Textes en Tokharien B.: I: Formes verbales,' Extrait de Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, Vol. XVIII, Paris, 1912, p. 22).

685. The «-l-» affix is established for the past tense in Bengali and other Magadhan speeches, so that its use in the Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa can reasonably be presumed. The «-l-» affix is absent for the past tense in Eastern Hindi, Western Hindi, Panjābī, Rājasthānī, Gujarātī, Sindhī: in the source Apabhraṅśas of these, therefore, it would be reasonable to think that it was not present there, or in any case it could not have been so prominent. But the «-ll-» form did not entirely supplant the simple passive participle in «-(i)a» in the East: from Old and Middle Bengali and from Early Oṛiyā and Early Maithilī, we can see that the passive participle in «-ita > -ia» without the strengthening «-illa, -alla» was actually used predicatively for the past base. Examples are given below. The non-l form of the passive participle has given the Bengali passive participle in «-ā»: «calita- > calia- + -ā > calā». This non-l form occurs also in Eastern Hindi as well as in Western Hindi: but in NB. it is attributive, and not predicative. All this would show that the «-ll-» and the non-l forms were used side by side in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, but the NIA. Magadhan speeches decided for the «-ll-» form for the past base as well as for the

adjectival participle base : in Modern Bengali, in the standard language however, the non-l form is employed as the adjective, and the «-l-» form has been restricted to the predicate.

686. The following tables recapitulate the position in the NIA. languages :

[a] Non-l Forms in NIA.

(i) OIA. «calita-» > Second MIA. «calia-; (nominative) caliō, caliē» > Apabhraṅśa «calia-; caliu, \*calii»;

(ii) OIA. «calita-ka-» > Second MIA. «caliaa-; (nominative) caliaō, caliaē» > Apabhraṅśa «caliaa-; caliaü, \*caliaī».

From MIA. passive participles of the above type are derived :—

Western Hindi (Braj-bhākhā) passive participle adjective and past base

		«calyau»;	
„	(Kanauji)	„	«calō»;
„	(Hindōstāni)	„	«calā»;
Eastern Panjābi	„	„	«caliā, caliā»;
Western Panjābi	„	„	«callā» (with personal terminations added optionally to form the verb past);
Sindhi	pass. part. adjective and past base	«haliō» (with personal terminations added in the intransitive);	
Gujarāti	pass. part. adjective and past base	«cālyō»;	
Rājasthāni	„	„	«cālyō»;
Pahāri (Khaskurā)	„	„	«cālyō»;
Eastern Hindi	„	„	«calā» (with personal terminations added to form the past tense);
Early Maithili	past form	«calia, cali, calu»;	
Early Oriyā	past form	«cāji»;	
Oriyā	past participle	«cājā»;	
Old Bengali	past participle and past form	«calia, cali, caliā, calā (caliō, caliu, calu)»;	
Middle Bengali	past form	«cāli (cālō?)»;	
New Bengali	passive participle	«cālā (cāliyā?)»;	
New Bengali and Assamese	verbal noun	«cālā»;	



[b] Forms with adjectival or pleonastic «-l-» in NIA.

OIA. «calita-» > MIA. «calia-» + «-illa-, -ĕlla-, -alla-» > Ap.  
«\*calilla-, \*calĕlla-, \*calialla-».

From «-ll-» forms of the above types in Apabhraṅśa are derived :—

Sindhī passive past participle	«halyalū» ;
Gujarāṭī            ,,	«cālĕl, cālĕlō» ;
Marāṭhī             ,,	«cālālā» (with personal terminations added to form the past tense), besides a double «-l-» form, «cālālĕlā» ;
Marāṭhī verbal noun	«cālālĕ» ;
Bihārī past base, passive participle adjective, & verbal noun	«calal-» ;
Oṛiyā past base and passive participle adjective	«cālīlā» ;
Bengali past base and passive participle	«cālilā-» ;
Assamese past base	«cālil-».

687. Examples of non-l and «-l-» forms from OB. and MB. are given below.

Old Bengali : non-l forms.

In OB., as in the Caryās, the adjectival nature is still clear in many cases. The form expected in OB. would be «-ia > -ī», or «-ia» + definitive «-ā» = «-iā» ; «-iā» is found, and «-ī» also ; and «-ia», with the final «-a» retained, is also found as an archaic literary survival (cf. Bengali treatment of final MIA. vowels, *supra*, pp. 301 ff.). Besides, forms in «-iō (-ō), -iu, -u» due to Western influence also occur (see *supra*, p. 115). This «-iu, -u, -iō (-ō)» is not found in MB. and NB.

Caryā 1 : «paiṭhō» (= pavīṭṭhō, pavīṭṭhāō = praviṣṭa-, -ṣṭa-ka-) ; «āmhē sēṇē diṭhā» (dṛṣṭa-) ; «bāiṭhā» (cf. বৈঠা মানুষ «bāiṭhā mānuṣ» *sitting man* in Chittagong Bengali, and বঠিয়া «bāṭhiyā» *having sat* in 'Māṅik Candra Rājār Gān,' VSP., p. 82—which show that «bāiṭh-» was a good OB. form, though now supplanted by the root «bāis») ; Caryā 7, «bhinnā» ; 9, «haria» ; 10, «chāḍī» ; 11, «paiṭha, kiū, bhaia» ; 13, «kia, māṛī» ; 16, «paiṭha, paiṭhā, diṭhā» ; 17, «picīu = ? cāpiu, kia, biṣpiu» ; 18, «bāhia, biṭaliu, ṭāliu» ; 19, «uohaliṣ, caliā, ahāriū, kia» ;

20, « saṅghārā »; 26, « ahāriu, caṭāriu »; 27, « bikasāu, unhasiu, cālia, gaū, bujhia »; 28, « khāi?, pōhāi? »; 30, « phariā, uittā, bujhjhia »; 31, « ṇaṭhā, paiṭhā, bihariu, nivāriu »; 34, « bādhā (< baddha-), laḍhā = lādhā (< labdha-) »; 36, « pabāri, ahāri »; 44, « miliā, ūiā, paiṭhā, biṇaṭhā »; 47, « jalia (< jwalita), paṭā (= patita-) »; 49, « bāhiu, luḍiu, ṇaṭhā, paiṭhā, thākiu, laiā ».

Old Bengali : « -l- » forms.

Caryā 2, « cauri nila, cōrē nila, nida gēla »; 3, « āila, paiṭhēla »; 4, « ubhila »; 6, « bēṭila = bēḍhila »; 7, « rundhēlā, bhāila, āilā, gēlā, bhāila = bhāilā »; 8, « gēli, mēlili, milila »; 10, « mōē ghalili »; 12, « jitēla »; 13, « calila »; 14, « buḍili, bhāilā, caḍilā »; 15, « gēlā, bhāila »; 16, « lāgēli »; 18, « sutēli »; 28, « maulila, lāgēli, paḍilā, chāili, pōhāili »; 30, « uḷōli » (= udyōtitam); 31, « chāḍila » (cf. Commentary); 32, « mukala, bhāilā »; 33, « duhila (adj.), biāēla »; 35, « hāu acchilē (= āchilē? āchila?), māi bujhila, dila, ahāriḷa, laiā, ahārā-kaēla »; 36, « nida gēlā, sutēlā, māi dēkhila »; 37, « ṭuṭi-gēli, acchilēsa »; 39, « nilēsi, bhāgēla »; 41, « phulilā »; 44, « āilēsi, biccharila »; 47, « lāgēli āgi, uṭhi-gēla »; 49, « bhāili, lēli »; 50, « phuṭilā, tāēla = uēlā? bhāēlā?, phiṭēli, phulīa = phulilā, pākēlā, māṭēlā, bhēlā, bhāilā, (gaḍila), hakaēlā, mārila, bhāilā, phiṭili ».

In OB. the affix is commonly « -il- », as in Bengali, Assamese and Oriyā, and at times it occurs as « -ēl- ». Except in « mukala », « -al- », characterising Central and Western Magadhan, is not found. The affixing of personal terminations has started already in OB. (e.g., acch-il-ēsa, n-il-ēsi); but the old adjectival nature is sufficiently present, making the form take up the « -i (-ī) » affix of the feminine when the subject is feminine for the intransitive verb and when the object is feminine for the transitive.

688. Examples of the Middle Bengali verb in « -i, -i < -ia < -ita », without the « -l- » :

SKK. : p. 75. মৌন করিয়া দুই থাকি এক পাশে « māunā kariā duhē thāki (= thākilā) ēkā pāshē » *keeping silent, the two remained on one side*; p. 217, যেহেন বাহির ভেহেন ভিতর সন্নপে লাগিলো তোরে । কপট সাগর হরয় ভোঙ্কার

নাহি মোর গোচরে ॥ « jehēnā bahirā tēhēnā bhitarā, sārūpē jāpilō tōrē : kāpātā sāgarā hṛdayā tōmhārā, nāchi (=nā āchilā) mōrā gōcārē » *as on the outside, so within : I have known you in your true form ; your heart is an ocean of deceit, this was not known to me ;* p. 325, সন্নপে ব্রিলোঁ মো কাহাঞি তোৱ বাঁশী আন্ধে নাহি পাই « sārūpē buyilō mō Kānbāñi, tōrā bhāñi āmhē nāhi pāi (= pāilā) » *I have said in sooth, O Kānha, I have not found your flutes* (note: past form with নাহি « nāhi ») ; p. 343, তোকে তষ বোলোঁ চন্দ্রাবলী । বোড় হাথ কৰী বনমালী ॥ তাত বড় পাইল আপমান । তেঁসি তোকা ছাড়ী গেল কাহ ॥ « tōkē tātwā bōlō Cāndrābālī, jōrā hāthā kāri (=kārilā) bānāmālī : tātā barā pāilā āpāmānā, tēsi tōmhā chārī gēlā Kānhā » *I tell you the truth, O Candrāvalī : the one garlanded with wild flowers (Kṛṣṇa) folded his hands (before you) ; through that he has felt insulted, that is why Kṛṣṇa has left you and gone away ;*

Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā Kāṇḍa' (VSPd. ed.) : p. 16, ছই চক্ষু ঢাকিঞা রাণী হেঁট মাথা কৰি । নারদ মুনি তবে দিল টিটকারী ॥ « dui cakṣu ḍhakiñā rāñī hēṭṭ māthā kāri (=kārilā), Nārādā-muni tābē dilā ṭiṭkāri » *closing both her eyes, the queen (Mēnakā) hung down her head, and then the sage Nārada said words of scorn* : p. 17, হাথে ধরি কস্তা আনিল দেব শূল-পাণি ॥ কস্তা লঞা হর ছায়ামণ্ডপে বসি । চারিদিকে বেঢ়িল সব দেব ঋষি ॥ « hāthē dhāri kānyā ānilā dēbṣ Śūlapāñi ; kānyā lāñā Hārā chāyā-māṇḍāpē bāsi (=bāsilā), cāri dikē bēṛhilā sābṣ dēbṣ ṛṣi » *holding her by the hand, the Trident-bearer led the bride (Umā) : Hara (Śiva) then sat in the pavilion with the bride, and all the gods and sages surrounded them on four sides ;* p. 14, পুষ্পকরথ সাজিঞা ব্রহ্মা তাহাকে দিল দান ॥ ব্রহ্মার বরে তুষ্ট হইলা বাপেরে নমস্করি । জত বর পাইল তাহা বাপকে গোচরি ॥ দুর্ভত বর ব্রহ্মা যোকে দিল দান । « puṣṣpākṣ-rāthṣ sājiñā Brāhmā tāhākē dilā dānṣ, Brāhmārṣ bārē tuṣṭā hāñilā, bāpērē nāmāskāri (= -kārilā) ; jātā bārṣ pāilā, tāhā bāpṣkē gōcāri (=gōcārilā) : 'durlābhṣ bārṣ Brāhmā mōkē dilā dānṣ' » *Brahmā prepared the (aerial) flower-chariot and gave him as a gift : he was pleased at Brahmā's boon and saluted his father, and told his father about all the boons he received : 'rare boons has Brahmā made a gift of to me' ; etc., etc ;*

Chuṭi Khān's 'Mahābhārata' (VSPd. ed.) : p. 144, এত বুলি অহুণাল করএ বিনয়, প্রীত হই আলিঙ্গি কৃষ্ণ মহাশয় « ētā buli ahūṇāl karāḍa bināyṣ, prītā hāi

ālingi (=ālingilā) Kṛṣṇā māhāsāyāḥ > saying all this Anuśālva does courtesy ; being glad, the great-hearted Kṛṣṇa embraced him ;

Māladhara Vasu's 'Bhāgavata' (VSP., p. 771) : তার দন্ত উপাড়িয়া নিল ছই ভাই । সেই দন্তে, মাহত মারি যম্বরে পাঠাই ॥ < tāra dāntā upāḍiyā nilā dui bhāi, sei dāntē māhutā māri Jambhāre pāṭhāi (=pāṭhāilā) > the two brothers pulled out his tusks, and with those tusks killing the elephant-driver sent (him) to the abode of Yama ;

Vijaya-gupta's 'Padmā-purāṇa' (see supra, p. 735) : p. 108, গোসাঞি কোন দোষে শাপি < gōsāñi kōṇḥ doṣē śāpi > through what fault did the lord curse ? p. 109, কলসী ভরিয়া স্বত নাগ সবে ঢালি < kālāsī bhāriyā ghr̥tā nāgā-sābē ḍhālī > the Nāgas poured ghee in full jars ; p. 214, পদ্মার বচনে বেহলা মনে মনে হাসি < Pādmārā bācānē Bēhulā mānē mānē hāsi > Bēhulā laughed in her heart at Padmā's words ; etc. ;

'Caitanya-caritāmṛta,' Ādi-līlā, Chap. 13 : শ্রীকৃষ্ণ চৈতন্ত নবদ্বীপে অবতরি । অষ্ট চল্লিশ বৎসর প্রকট বিহরি ॥ চৌদশত সাত শকে জন্মের প্রমাণ । চৌদশত পঞ্চাশে হৈলা অন্তর্ধান ॥ < Śrī-kṛṣṇa-cāitanyā Nābād-wipē ābātari, āṣṭā-cāllīśḥ bātsārḥ prākṭḥ bibhāri ; cauddā-sātā-sātḥ śākē jānmērḥ prāmāṇḥ, cauddā-sāta-pāñcānnē hāilā āntārdhānḥ > Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya came down to Nāvadvīpa ; he sojourned in manifest form for 48 years ; the date of his birth, Śaka 1407 ; he disappeared in 1455 ; also cf. VSP., p. 1222, যে পথে যে গ্রাম নদী শৈল যাই হই গীলা । বলভদ্র-ভট্টাচার্য্য-স্থানে সব লিখি নিলা ॥ < jē pāthē jē grāmḥ nādī śāilā jāhā hāi līlā, Balābhadrā-bhāṭṭācāryyā-sthānē sābḥ likhi nilā > in all the ways, in all villages, rivers and hills, wherever there were any events, he wrote down all from Balābhadrā Bhāṭṭācārya ; etc.

### The Past use of the Present Tense in Bengali.

689. The < -i > affix in the past is thus found in MB., although it is not so common ; and this can only be expected, considering that in OB. the non-l form is hardly obsolete, although the < -l- > has well-established itself. But in MB. and NB. we meet with a very common use of what is apparently the present tense in the past, in historical narrative generally : e.g., NB. গেল বছর যখন আমি কাশী যাই (= গিয়াছিলাম) < gēlā bācārḥ jākhāṇḥ āmi Kāśī jāi (=giyāchilāmḥ) > when I went to

*Benares last year ; ভারতে আৰ্য্যদের আগমন কখন হয় জানা যায় না « Bhārātē Āryyādērḥ āgāmanḥ kākhānḥ hāyḥ jānā-jāyḥ nā » it is not known when the first coming of the Aryans into India happened ; সম্রাট আকবর প্রায় ৫০ বৎসর রাজত্ব করেন « sāmṛāṭ Akbarḥ prāyḥ pañcāśāḥ bātśārḥ rājātvaḥ kārēnḥ » Emperor Akbar reigned for nearly 50 years ; etc., etc. In MB. (and also in NB.), this 'present' is very frequently used side by side with the ordinary «-ilā » past, and is not distinguished from the ordinary present in any way as a present used especially for the past. This usage seems however to point to a continuance in MB. and NB. of the OB. passive participle without «-l- », used for the past tense. The regular form would be «-ita > -ia > -ī, -i », which is not uncommon in MB., as in the instances given above ; but it seems that when «-ila » became established as the characteristic past base in OB. and MB., the «-i » form was not properly understood : in the 1st person it could easily be confused with the 1st person present affix, and in connexion with the 3rd person the final vowel could be changed to «-ē » as in the 3rd person present ; and in this way the old passive participle adjective could formally merge into the present tense, retaining its old past sense. This gave rise to what at first sight looks like a past use of the present. Once this construction was accepted, in Early MB., substitution for the «-i » participle by the 2nd personal affix «-ā » and by the honorific «-ēntā, -ēnḥ » was a matter of course. The use of the present for the historical past is of course a most natural thing, being found in many languages, Sanskrit and the Prakrits and the NIA. languages included. But the presence of the «-i » past for all persons in MB. points to «-ia < -ita » ; and also the use of «-i » and the «-ēnḥ, -ā, -ē, -i » forms along with «-ilā » in the same sentence or proposition seems to indicate that the passive participle without «-l- » had something to do with the so-called 'present' tense for the past in MB. and NB.*

Examples of this promiscuous employ of «-ilā » with the non-l forms can be found in the passages quoted in § 688, and further instances are given below :

ŚKK., p. 19, এ বোল সুশিখা নাগরী রাখা হাণএ সকলগাএ । বত নানা ফুল পান করপুৱ সব পেলাইল পাঞ ॥ « ē bōlā suṣiḥā nāgārī Rādhā haṇāḥ sākalaḥ

gāṣ, jāṭā nānā phulā pānā-kārapurā saba pēṣilā pāṣ = *hearing this talk, winsome Rādhā struck all over her body; all the various flowers, betel leaves and camphor and all she scattered with her feet*; p. 240, হেন বুলী রাখা কলসী লক্ষী। আএ গজগড়ি ছালে ..... পাইল রাখা কালীদহ-কূল = *hēnā buli Rādhā kalāṣi lakṣī jāṣ gājā-gaṛi chāndē ..... pāila Rādhā Kalīdaha-kūla* = *saying this Rādhā took her jar and went with the gait like that of an elephant, and she reached the shore of Kālī lake*; p. 24, সকল গোআল যুবতী রহিলা বেক কনক পুতলী ॥ এখো পাঅ কেহো চলিতে নারে বুলিতে নারে বচনে। = *sakalā gōṣāḷa jubāṭi rāhilā jēnhā kānāka-putāli: ōkhō pāḷa kēhō calitē nārē, bulitē nārē bacanē* = *all the young girls of the cowherds stood still like images of gold, not one of them could walk even one step, nor could utter a word*; etc., etc.;

Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 29, ফলফুল আনি দিল ঠাকুর লক্ষণ ॥ পিণ্ডান করেন রাম রাজীবলোচন। = *phāḷaḷ-mūḷaḷ āni dila ṭhākuraḷ Lakṣmaṇaḷ, piṇḍā-dānaḷ kārenā Rāmaḷ rājībā-lōcanāḷ* = *worshipful L. brought fruits and roots, and lotus-eyed Rāma offered piṇḍas*; p. 17, সীতারে কহিল, ফল করগা উক্ষণ। ফল হাতে করি কহে, ধরহ লক্ষণ ॥ = *Sitā-rē kāhila, 'phāḷaḷ kāraḷgā bhākṣaṇaḷ'*: *phāḷaḷ hātē kāri kāhē, 'dharāhā Lakṣmaṇaḷ* = *he said to Sitā, 'eat (these) fruits'; taking the fruits in his hand he said, 'hold, Lakṣmaṇa'*; 'Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' p. 5, মঙ্গল জব্বা লক্ষা আইলা সখীগণ মেলি। কস্তার অধিবাস করে দিয়া হলাহলী ॥ অধিবাস সঙ্গে হৈল সিদ্ধ সব কাজ। হেমন্তে মেলানি করি চলে মুনিরাজ ॥ = *māṅgalaḷ drābyā lakṣā āila sakhi-gaṇaḷ meli, kānyārā ādhivāsaḷ kāre diyā hulaḷhulī: ādhivāsaḷ sāṅgē hāila siddhaḷ sabaḷ kājaḷ, Hēmantē melāni kāri calē muni-rājaḷ* = *the girl-friends (of Umā) came in company, bringing auspicious articles, with the hula sound (of joy); the adhivāsa with all the ceremony was complete, and the prince of sages (Nārada) left, taking farewell from Himananta*; etc., etc.;

Chuṭi Khān's 'Mahābhārata,' p. 54, প্রবীর পড়িল হেন বোবে সর্বজন। দূরে থাকি নীলধ্বজ শুনে ততক্ষণ ॥ হা হা পুত্র করি রাজা হৈল বাহির। = *'Prābirā pāṛila' hēnā ghōṣē sārba-jānaḷ, dūrē thāki Nīla-dhwajaḷ ṣunē tāta-kaṣaṇaḷ: 'hā hā putrā' kāri rāja hāila bāhiraḷ* = *'Pravira has fallen,' so shouted every one: then from a distance Niladhwaḷja heard it; the king came out with 'ah, ah, my son!'*;

Kavikāṅkaṇa Mukunda-rāma (Vāṅgavāsī edition) : p. 14, কোলেতে করিয়া রামা হেলি করে পার ॥ প্রবেশ করিল হেলি গহন কানন । « kōlētē kārīyā rāmā chēli kārē pārḥ : prābhōḥ kārīlā chēli ḡhānāḥ kānānāḥ » *the lady took the goats across in her lap: the goats entered the dense forest*; p. 155, হাত পরিহাসে দৌহে বসিলা দম্পতী । জিজ্ঞাসে ঘরের বার্তা সাধু ধনপতি ॥ লহন, কহিল, প্রভু তুমি ভাগ্যবান্ । « hāyā pārihāṣē dōhē basilā dāmpatī; jijñāsē ḡhārēḥ bārttā sādhu Dhānāpātī: Lāhānā kāhilā, 'prābhū! tumi bhāgyābān' » *the two, husband and wife, sat, in laughter and in jest; the merchant Dhanapati asked about the news of home: Lahanā said, 'my Lord! you are fortunate indeed'*; p. 175, তাহার পশ্চাতে আইল দাস নীলাধর । আদর করিয়া আইসে উজানী নগর ॥ « tāhārḥ pāścātē āilā Dāsḥ Nīlāmbārḥ, ādārḥ kārīyā āisē Ujānī-nāḡārḥ » *behind him came Nīlāmbara Dāsa, doing (proper) respect he came to the city of Ujānī*; p. 185, সম্মুখ দ্বারে অগ্নি দিলেন খুলনা ॥ ছরারেতে যার অগ্নি, সাতাইল ঘরে । প্রবল হইল অগ্নি জড়রের উপরে ॥ জড়গৃহে বাঢ়ে অগ্নি ক্রোশ পরিমাণ ॥ « sām̄mukḥḥ duārē āgni dilēnḥ Khullānḥ: duārētē jāy āgni, sām̄bhāilā ḡhārē; prābālḥ hāilā āgni jāū-ōrḥ upārē, jāū-ḡrḥē bārḥē āgni krōḥḥ-pārimāṅḥ » *Khullanā set fire to the front door: the fire came through the door, and entered the house; upon the lac, the fire became strong, and the fire grew a krōḥa measure within the house of lac; etc., etc.;*

Vaṅśī-dāsa, 'Padmā-purāṇa,' (ed. Rām-nāth and Dwārakā-nāth Chakrabarti) : p. 207, আশুবাড়ি ওঝারে আনিল আনিল চন্দ্র ঘরে ॥ পরম গৌরবেতে করিল সজ্জাষণ । ধ্বস্তরি আগে আনে মড়া ছয়জন ॥ « āḡu-bārī ōjḥā-rē ānilā Cāndrā ḡhārē, pāramḥ ḡaurābētē kārīlā sām̄bhāṣāṅḥ; Dhānwantāri-āḡē ānē māḡā chāyḥ-jāṅḥ » *Candra advanced and brought the snake-doctor home, greeted him with great honour and they brought the six corpses before Dhanvantari; etc.;*

'Caitanya-caritāmṛta,' Madhya-līlā, Chap. 9: রাজিকালে রায় পুন কৈল আগমন । ছইজনে কৃষ্ণকথার করে জাগরণ ॥ ছইজনে কৃষ্ণকথা হয় রাজিদিনে । পরম আনন্দে গেল পাঁচ সাত দিনে ॥ « rātri-kālē rāyḥ punā kailā āḡamāṅḥ; dui jānē Kṛṣṇā-kāthāyḥ kārē jāḡarāṅḥ: dui jānē Kṛṣṇā-kāthā hāyḥ rātri-dinē, pāramḥ ānāndē ḡēlā pācḥ sātḥ dinē » *the king came again at night time; both of them kept awake discoursing about Kṛṣṇa; there was*

*discourse about Kṛṣṇa between them, night and day; some 5 or 7 days were thus passed in great bliss; Antya-līlā, Chap. 9: এত বলি বোড়া আনি রাজঘারে ধরি ..... এক রাজপুত্র বোড়ার মূল্য ভাল জানে। তারে পাঠাইল রাজা পাত্র-মিত্র সনে ॥ সেই রাজপুত্র মূল্য করে ঘাটাইয়া। গোপীনাথের ক্রোধ হৈল মূল্য তুলিয়া ॥ « ētā bhāli ghōṛā āni rāja-dwārē dhāri ..... ēkṣ rājṣ-putrā ghōṛārṣ mūlyā bhālā jānē; tārē pāṭhāilā rājā pātrā-mitrā sanē; sēi rājṣ-putrā mūlyā karē ghāṭāiyā, Gōpināthēṛṣ krōdhṣ hāilā mūlyā ṣuniyā » saying this and bringing the horse, they kept before the king's palace-gate: a prince knew well the price of horses; the king sent to him with his courtiers and friends; that prince fixed the prices very low, and hearing that (low) price, Gōpinātha's anger rose; etc., etc.*

Such cases of indiscriminate use of the « -ila » and the present forms are exceedingly common in MB. Where continuous action is meant, it may be admitted that the form in use can very well be that of the present, since in the syntax of Bengali, action is viewed as happening before our eyes as much as possible. But we have also cases of finite or transitory action, and there the use of a present form would be difficult to justify even from the point of view of Bengali syntax. It is to be noted that with this so-called present past, the negative form which is employed is নাই « nāi », which seems to be itself a past form (see *supra*, p. 555).

In the 'Prākṛta-Pāṅgala' we have a few instances of a form in « -ē » (for the third person), analogous to the Bengali 'present' past: *e.g.*, p. 334 (Bib. Ind. ed.) « jīṇi Kāmṣa viṇāsia kitti paṣsia Muṭṭhi Ariṭṭhi vināsa karē; Jamalajjuṇa bhaṅjia paa-bhara ganjia Kālia-kula-saṁhāra karē, jasa bhuaṇa bharē..... »; p. 576, « bappaa ukki sirē jīṇi lijjia, tējjia rajja vaṇanta calē.... ». In the above cases, all the commentators are agreed (except in one or two instances) in regarding « viṇāsia, paṣsia, bhaṅjia » etc. as well as the « -ē » forms—« karē, dharē, bharē, calē » as being passive participles in « -ia < -ita », with the instrumental form « jīṇi = yēna » as the subject (cf. *supra*, p. 124). The final « -ē » (instead of « -ī ») is due in the 'Prākṛta-Pāṅgala' to reasons of rime or rhythm in some cases, but as the work was finally redacted in the second half of the 14th century, the influence of the present tense third person in altering



the final vowel as in Bengali is also quite conceivable here. With the forms in «-ā» as above, one can compare certain other forms in «-u», genuine Western Apabhraṃśa inheritances, in the 'Prākṛta-Pāṅgala': e.g., p. 570, «jiṇa vā dharijjā...dantahi ṭhāu (= sthāpita) dharā...daha-muha kappē (= kartitaḥ)».

690. The non-l past form is found occasionally in Early Oṛiyā also, where it ends in «-i». Thus Jagannātha-dāsa, 'Uṣā-haraṇa' (Contai ed.): p. 6, «pārighā-prāhārē bināsi, simhā yēśāṇē pāsu grāsi: pārighā-ghātā bājra-prāyē, jibānā nāsilā thōkē: kāhārā bhujā-dāṇḍā chinḍi, pālāi gālē bālā chāḍi: dēkhiṇā Aniruddhā-gāti, nāgā-bāndhanē māhārāthi Aniruddhā-ku bēgē bāndhi: tā dēkhi Uṣā kāndi» *he slew with a blow of his mace, as if a lion devoured a beast: the blow from the mace was as a thunderbolt, it destroyed the lives of some; the hands and arms of some were torn away, they ran away leaving the forces: seeing Aniruddha's devoir, the great warrior quickly bound Aniruddha with snake-bonds: seeing that, Uṣā wept*; p. 9, «Kṛṣṇā upārē bāṇā bindhi» *the arrow pierced Kṛṣṇa*; p. 10, «sābhāyē dāsā digā cāhi» *looked at the ten quarters in fright*; p. 11, «jñānā pāsila nija dēhē: uṭhi sambhāli kāṣārā» *senses came back into his body: getting up, he took care of his person*; ibid, 'Kaṇsa-janma': p. 2, «Kṛṣṇa-bāiri-bhābā icchi» *desired the inimical attitude of Kṛṣṇa*; p. 16, «dēbē pālāi swargā chāri» *the gods fled, leaving heaven*; 'Rukmiṇi-haraṇa,' p. 15, «jētē āyudhā hāstē dhāri, sābu chēdilē Nārāhāri» *Narahari (Kṛṣṇa) cut to pieces all the weapons that he took in hand*; ibid., «Kṛṣṇā dhāilē Rukmā-sirā: tāt-kṣāṇē tāṣē tāku pāri, pāficā prakārē kāṭi dāṅhi: tā dēkhi Rukmiṇi sundāri, Kṛṣṇārā hāstā bēgē dhāri» *K. seized Rukma by the head; at once flinging him down on the ground, cut his beard in five places: seeing that, fair Rukmiṇi quickly took K.'s hand*; etc., etc. Examples are fairly common in Early Oṛiyā.

In Early Maithili also, we have equally the non-l form: but it seems owing to the strong influence exerted by the Western Apabhraṃśa, the remains of Early Maithili literature that we have show the non-l form with the characteristic Western «-u» (as much as in OB.). This «-u» form so far as Maithili is concerned was purely literary, and has no

place in Modern Maithili. Examples: Vidyāpati (VSPd. ed.), Pada 32, « sasana parasa khasu ambara rē, dēkhala dhani-dēha » *with the touch of wind the garment fell off, ho, the damsel's frame was seen*; Pada 40, « saba-jana ēka ēka cuni sañcaru, Śāma-daraśa dhani lēla » *all (her friends) moved about picking (pearls dropped from her necklace) one by one, and the damsel had her view of Śyāma (Kṛṣṇa)*; Pada 50, « ambara bighaṭu akāmika, kāmīni karē kuca jhāpu suchandā » *of a sudden the garment slipped, and the lady with her hands covered her breasts with great grace*; *ibid*, « sundari rahu sira lāi » *the fair one remained hanging her head*; Pada 52, « candanē caracu payōdhara » *the breasts smeared with sandal-paste*; Pada 60, « takhanē upaju rasa, bhēliḥu mōñē parabasa » *sentiment (of love) was born even then, (and) I became another's thrall*; Pada 75, « jakhanē duhu-ka dīṭhi bichūrali, duhu manē dukha lāgu : duhu-ka āsā-dīpa mijhāela, madana-ākura bhāgu.....bāma nayanā jañō bhēla dūtē, ō dāhina rahu lajāi » *when the two were out of (each other's) sight, sorrow afflicted the hearts of both; the lamp of hope of both went out, and the sprout of love was broken; .....the left eye was a messenger, but the right one remained in bashfulness*; Hara-gaurī Pada 9, « pāhuna śela, Bhabāñi bhāga-chāla basaiē dia āñi » *the guest came and Bhavāñi (Umā) brought the tiger-skin to sit upon*; etc., etc.

The non-l adjectival forms in Middle Bengali and New Bengali.

691. The non-l form gave OB. « -l », e.g., « calī »: with the definitive « -ā », Māgadhī Ap. « calia » became « calīā », and then by loss of the « -i- », it became « calā » by Early MB. times. A similar loss of the « -i- » occurs in the Western Hindi: cf. Hindōstāñi—« calā », Kanaujī « calō », beside Braj-bhākhā « calyau (= caliaū) », 'Vernacular Hindōstāñi' of Ambala « calīā » (cf. also Bānggarū of Karnal « kahyā » = Hindōstāñi « kahā »). The « -i- » seems to be preserved in the perfect tense in Standard Bengali « caliyā-chē » and dialectal « calī-chē [tsoīse] < calī-chē », where « caliyā (calī) » is in all likelihood the passive participle (see *infra*, under 'Compound or Periphrastic Tenses').

In the ŚKK., the non-l form is rather rare, *ts.* forms in « -ita » and the « -l- » participle adjective being more common; but instances

do occur: e.g., p. 259, চলি ভৈলী চক্রাবলী < cali (= calitā) bhāilī Candrābālī > *C. was gone*; p. 381, বাহতে কনক চুড়ী, মুকুতা রতনে জড়ী < bāhutē kanakā curī, mukutā rātānē jarī > *on her arms gold bracelets, encrusted with pearls and gems*; etc. (these two examples < cali, jarī > are feminine). Examples of the < -ā > form are plentiful in other MB. literature: to quote a few random instances, Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā-kaṇḍa,' p. 177, পথে স্থা কুকুর < pāthē suā kukurā > *a dog lying on the way*; Vijaya-gupta, 'Padmā-purāna,' p. 12 ভিতা বস্ত্র < titā bāstrā > *wet cloth*, p. 38. টুটা < tuṭā > *broken*, p. 55 ভাঙ্গা < bhāṅgā > *broken*, এড়া রুটী < ēṛā ruṭī > *cast-away bread (= leavings of a meal)*, p. 58 তোলা জল < tōlā jalā > *water drawn (from well or tank)*, p. 107 পোড়া কপাল < pōṛā kapaḷā > *burnt forehead = bad luck*, p. 69 মরা মানুষ < mārā mānuṣā > *dead man*, p. 132 পাকা মূলা < pākā mūlā > *ripe radish*, p. 158 দন্তগুলি ছোলা < dāntā-gulī chōlā > *the teeth were well-scraped*, etc.; VSP., p. 386 লেখা < lēkhā > *written*, p. 989 আবোলা < ābōlā > *not uttered*, p. 1057 হারা < hārā > *lost*, etc.; Chuṭī Khān's 'Mahābhārata,' p. 55 বাণ কাটা গেল < baṅā kāṭā gēlā > *the arrow was cut into pieces*; etc., etc.

The < -l- > form in Middle Bengali.

692. Examples need not be adduced for the verb past tense, as < -il- > is the past base of Bengali. Passive participial adjectives in < -il- > were very much in evidence in MB. In the NB. the non-l adjective in < -ā > has practically superseded the earlier, more common < -il- > adjective (except in one or two phrases like গেল বছর < gēlā bāchārā > *last year* in the Standard Colloquial: in the dialects it is still living, in forms like জুড়াইল দুধ < juṛāilā dudhā > *cooled milk*, সুতিল মানুষ < sutilā mānuṣā > *sleeping man*, করাইল কাম < kāṛāilā kāma > *done work*, ভুখিল ছাইল্যা < bhukhilā chāilyā > *hungry child*, etc.). The < -l- > form continues in full vigour in Oṛiyā and in the Bihārī dialects as an attributive adjective.

Examples from OB.: Caryā 6, < bēḥhila hāka > *a tumult that has been surrounded*; 8, < gēli (= gēlā?) jāma bahuḍāi kaisē > (printed text = বহু উই < bahu uī >, but cf. Commentary translation = < vyāghuṭati >) *how can a birth that is past (gēli = gata-) come back?* 14, < rathē-caḍilā bāha-bāna >

? carriage-riding scholars; 33, «dubila dudhu ki bēṅṅṅe śāmkya», see *supra*, p. 263.

From MB.: SKK., p. 26, ভাঁগিল নেহা «bhāṅgila nehā» *shattered love* (NB. ভাঙ্গা «bhāṅgā»); p. 45, আরতিল কাক «ārātīlā kākā» *greedy crow* (from *ts.* noun «ārati», or «āratta = ārakta»); পাকিল বেলা «pākīlā bēlā» *ripened (ripe) bael-fruit* (= NB. পাকা «pākā»); p. 54, পাইল নিধি «pāilā nidhi» *received wealth* (= NB. পাওয়া «pāwā»); p. 99, ভুখিল বাঘ «bhukhīlā bāghā» *hungry tiger* (< *ibh.* noun «bhukha»); p. 163, আউলাইল চিকুর «āulāilā cikurā» *dishevelled hair*; p. 171, ভরিল যমুনা «bhārīlā Jāmunā» *full Yamunā*; p. 195, ফুটিল বান্দলী ফুল «phuṭīlā bāndhālī-phulā» *blooming bāndhulī flower* (cf. ফুটিত পদ্ম «phuṭītā pādmā» *blooming lotus*, with *ts.* «-ita», in the same page); p. 216, রোবিলি রাধা দিল খর বচন «rōṅilī Rādhā dīlā khārā bācānā» *angry Rādhā gave (spoke) sharp words*; p. 207, পাকিল জাফা «pākīlā drākṣā» *ripe grapes*; p. 246, আস্থখিল হইল «āsukhīlā hāilā» *became unwell* (from *ts.* noun «asukha»); p. 304, মজিল চিত না জাএ ধরণ «mājīlā citā nā jāē dharaṅṅā» *heart lost (in love) cannot be retained*; p. 370, দগধিলী রাধা জাএ ভোর দরণনে «dagādhīlī Rādhā jāē tōrā dāraśānē» *Rādhā burnt (with love) as it were, will live (only) at thy sight. (sts. dagadha < dagdha)*; p. 392, বিবাইল কাণ্ড «biṣāilā kāṅṅā» *poisoned arrow* (from noun «viṣa»); *ibid.*, বজরে গঢ়িল বুক না জাএ ফুটিয়া «bājārē gaṛhīlā bukā nā jāē phuṭīyā» *heart built of thunder-bolt does not burst* (NB. = গড়া গাড়া); p. 398, কাটিল দ্বাঅত লেধু রস «kāṭīlā ghāātā lēmbū-rasā» *lemon-juice in an incised wound, etc.*; from Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttara Kāṅṅā'; p. 272, ভরিল সমাজে «bhārīlā sāmājē» *in full assembly*; *ibid.*, 'Ayōdhyā Kāṅṅā'; p. 21, কাটিল কদলী যেন পড়ে ডালে মূলে «kāṭīlā kāḍālī jēnā pāṛē ḍālē mūlē» *like a plantain tree that has been cut down, which falls with its branches and its roots*; Kavi-kaṅkaṅa, p. 118, ভুখিল বাঘিনী «bhukhīlā bāghīnī» *hungry tigress*; p. 160, রাহুর ভুখিল বেলা «Rāhurā bhukhīlā bēlā» *at Rāhu's hungry time*; Vaṅṅī-dāsa, 'Padmā-purāṅa,' p. 48, কুপিল নন্দী «kupīlā Nāndī» *angry N.*; p. 644, হারাইল ধন «hārāilā dhānā» *lost wealth*; etc., etc.

The adjectival use of the «-l-» forms in OB. and MB., as well as in Early Maithili (see below) establishes the passive construction as having originally obtained in place of the active one in the eastern languages.

When these <-I- > participles qualify feminine nouns (either subjects, as in the case of intransitive verbs, or objects, as in the case of transitive ones), in OB., in eMB., and in Early Maithili, they take the feminine affix <-I, -i > (see before, pp. 672 ff.): thus, in OB., <mēlilī kāchi > (Caryā 8); <ghalilī māli > (10); <buḥilī Mātangī > (14); <lāgēli tāntī > (17); <lāgēli jāli, sēji chāīli, rāti pōhāīli > (28); <ṭuṭi gēli kankhā > (37); <lāgēli āgi > (47); <gharīṇī caṇḍāli lēli > (49); <phīḥilī ṣabarālī > (50): eMB. ŚKK., p. 72, কোণ পুরাণে কারু হেন শুণিলী কাহিলী <kōṇā purāṇē Kānhā hēnā ṣuṇilī kāhīlī > *in what Purāṇa, O Kānhā, has such a tale been heard* (passive construction lingering in MB., with transitive verb); p. 9, বড়ারি চলিলী আন পথে <bāṛāyī cāḷilī ānā pāthē > *the old dame went by another way*; p. 14, সে কি রাধিকা ভৈলি সীতা সতী নারী <sē ki Rādhikā bhāīli Sītā sāti nārī > *is it that R. has become a chaste wife (like) Sītā*; p. 22, রাধা সিজী বসিলি শয়নে <Rādhā siḥ bāsīli śāyanē > *R. having come sat down on the bed*; p. 144, মথুরা লড়িলী বড়ারি হজী আশুআনী <Māthurā lāḥilī bāṛāyī hāḥ āḡuānī > *the old dame moved (towards) Mathurā, being the leader*; p. 145, বুলিঙে লাগিলী বড়ারি <buliṅṅē lāgīlī bāṛāyī > *the old dame began to say*; *ibid.*, গেলী রাহী <gēli Rāhī > *Rādhikā went*; p. 156, হেন শুণী মনত চড়িলী রাধা নাঞ <hēnā ṣuṇī manā-tā cāḥilī Rādhā nāḥ > *thus pondering in mind, R. got into the boat*; p. 266, জিলী পদ্ময়ার জী <jīlī Pādumārā jhī > *Padmā's daughter lived (again)*; etc., etc. In Late MB., and in NB., as the <-I- > form lost its original adjective nature, and became more and more a verb, this affixation of the feminine <-I, -i > went out of use. The same thing has happened in Maithili, though to a lesser extent.

Instances of the <-I- > adjective from Early Oṛiyā: 'Dhruba-carita,' p. 11, <āpāṇē ārijilā kārmā āpāṇē bhūñjāi > *one tastes (the results of) one's deeds done by oneself*; p. 73, <Dhruvārā arjilā bibhūti > *merits earned by Dhruva*; 'Rukmiṇī-haraṇa,' p. 11, <ōṣṭhā pācīlā phāḷā bimbā > *lips (like) ripe (i.e. red) bimba fruit*; etc., etc. It is common also in Modern Oṛiyā.

Instances from Early Maithili: Vidyāpati, (VSPd. ed.) Pada 37, <titala basana > *wet clothes*; 9, <nahāīli gōri > *bathing fair woman*;

62, « mūruchali abañō » *am one that has fainted*; 41, « nagara bharālā » *a well-filled city*; 21, « kāmīni kōnē garhālī » *by whom (this) woman was created?* (fem. affix «-i »); Hara-gauri Pada 17, « Śaṅkarē Gōrī karē dhari śnalī maṇḍapa-mājhē » *Gaurī was brought to the middle of the pavilion by Śankara holding her hand*; etc., etc.

Western Hindi shows adjectives in «-l- » which are extended forms from nouns: e.g., « lajlī (lajjā), sawādila (svāda), adōkhila (dōṣa), haṭhīlī (haṭha), rangīlā (ranga), caṭakīlā (caṭak splendour), chaīla (chavi) » etc. occur in Bihārī's 'Sata-sai'; and similar forms like « laḍīlī » *petted* (√laḍ : > Bengali লড়লী « laḍḍīlī »), « bhīgīlā » *wet*, « kaṭīlī » *cut*, « rasīlā (rasa) », « ghāyala (ghāta) », « gaila » *lane* (gata) etc. are fairly common in Braj-bhākhā and other Early Western Hindi literature. The extension of the passive participle form occurs, but that is rare.

## (2) THE PAST CONDITIONAL OR HABITUAL.

693. The Past Habitual or Conditional occurs in most NIA. speeches. Of the Eastern languages, Assamese, however, does not show it. This past base is simply the old Present Participle, the Oṛiyā forms (retaining as they do the full «-nt- »: see next section) are clear on this point: OIA. «-ant-, -ayant- » > MIA. «-anta-, -enta- » > OB. «-anta-, -enta- » > MB. ऐत «-it- » (cf. Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, §§ 298-300, §§ 506 ff.). To denote the conditional or habitual, «-it- » is inflected with the personal endings as an ordinary past form. The conditional or finite use of the present participle occurred in Second MIA. (cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.', § 123). Both the conditional and habitual uses of the present participle seem to be connected with the sense of *when, while, whilst, when that* etc., which is inseparable from this form when it is not frankly attributive: and this sense of duration implying almost a condition is emphasised in the locative absolute with the present participle, a construction which is found in the language of the Rig-Veda. The conditional and independent use of the present participle could thus normally evolve out of it. Cf. e.g., the Pāli Jātaka formula, « attitē Bārāṇasīyath Brahmadaṭṭē rajjasm kārentē », followed invariably by a past verb.

OB. as in the Caryās has the locative absolute with the present participle: e.g., Caryā 42, « muḍhā acchantē lōa na pēkhaī » *people do not see while they are ignorant*; quotation in Commentary to Caryā 48, « ghara acchantē mē jāṅga (= jāha? jāwa?) baṇē » *when there is a home, go not (let us not go?) to the forest*; etc. But an example of the past conditional or habitual tense does not occur in the Caryās. In Early MB., this habitual or conditional past is fully established as a tense; and judging from its occurrence also in Early Oṛiyā and in Bihārī, it may be inferred that this temporal employment goes back to Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa.

Examples from MB.: ŚKK., p. 164, ডুবিল মরিতো যবে না থাকিত কারে « ḍubiā mārītō jābē nā thākitā Kānhē » *I would have died by drowning if Kṛṣṇa were not (there)*; p. 256, জীৱন্ত থাকিত যবে নাথের নন্দনে । এত খনে আবসই হৈত দরসনে « jīyāntā thākitā jābē Nāndērā nāndānē, ētā khānē ābasāī hāitā dārasānē » *if the son of Nanda were living, by this time certainly we would have seen him (lit. his viewing would have taken place)*; p. 223, জানিতো নাসিতো, যাইতো, « jānitō, nāsītō, jāitō » *I would know (if I had known), I would not come, I would go*; p. 284, দিতো « ditō » *I would give*; p. 307, চাহিত « cāhitā » *I would ask*; etc., etc.; Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' p. 103, আমি যদি থাকিতাম « āmi jādi thākitām (= thākitām) » *if I had remained*; Kavi-kaṅkaṇa, p. 128, প্রতিদিন কিতিনাথ অঙ্গে বুলাইত হাত, চন্দনে করিয়া বিভূষিত । স্বৰ্ণ পিঞ্জর পর পুষিতেন নৃপবর « prāti-dinḥ kṣiti-nāthḥ aṅgē bulāitā hātḥ, cāndānē kāriyā bibhūṣitā: subārṇa-piñjarā-parḥ puṣitēṅ nṛpā-bārḥ » *everyday the lord of earth would rub with his hand on its body, adorning with sandal (paste); the good king would tend it in a cage of gold*; etc., etc. Examples are copious in MB.

#### 694. Forms in the other Magadhan speeches:

Oṛiyā	Maithilī
1. calānt-i—calānt-u;	1. dēkhit-ī;
2. calānt-u—calānt-ā;	2. dēkhit-ah, dēkhit-ē;
3. calānt-ā—calānt-ē.	3. dēkhaīt, dēkhit-athi.

(The affixes are those of the verb simple past.)

(Besides a number of forms with pronominal affixes.)

## Magahi

## Bhōjpuriyā

- |                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| 1. dēkhat-ī, dēkhait-ī, -ī ; | 1. dēkhat-ī, (fem.) dēkhat-yī ;          |
| 2. dēkhait-ā, dēkhait-ai ;   | 2. dēkhat-ā, -as, -is ; <i>pl.</i> -ah ; |
| 3. dēkhait, dēkhait-athi-n.  | 3. dēkhit, dēkhat—dēkha(i)t-an.          |

(Besides forms with affixed pronouns.) (Besides a few other forms for the third person.)

Assamese expresses the past conditional by affixing the word « -hētēn » to the inflected « -il- » past form : « kārīlō-hētēn, kārīlō-hāk-hētēn » etc. This « hētēn » occurs in Early Assamese as « hētē » (as in « pāīlō-hētē » *I would receive* in 'Ādi-caritra,' p. 67), and it is undoubtedly the present participle of « √ah, ha » *to be*, in the locative absolute, « \*ahantahi » > \*ahētahi » hētē », a variant of the other form « hāntā, hātā » (see above, p. 739).

The « -it-, -at- » Future in the Modern Magadhan Speeches.

695. In Maithili and Magahi, there is the use of the present participle form in « -t- » for the Future. In both these forms of Central Magadhan, the « -t- » future has ousted « -b- » future (for which see *infra*) in the 3rd person : in Maithili there are also alternative « -t- » forms for the 1st and 2nd persons. Thus—

Maithili, 1st person : « dēkhat-iaī, dēkhit-āhū (dēkhat-iaī-nhī) » ;

2nd person : « dēkhat-iaī (dēkhat-iaī-nhī) » ;

3rd person : « dēkhat (dēkhāt-ai) », fem. « dēkhati », besides forms with the pronouns affixed — « dekhāt-ai-nhi, dēkhātah, dēkhathu, dēkhathūnhi, dēkhathīnhi », fem. « dēkhatihī ».

Magahi, 3rd person, only : « dēkhat (dēkhāt-ai) », besides « dēkhatāhin, dēkhātān, dēkhātathi, dēkhātīn, dēkhātathīn, dēkhātathīn(i) ».

Leaving apart the extended forms, with the pronominal affixes, the simplest form for the 3 person future in both Maithili and Magahi is « dēkhat » : thus, « sē dēkhat » *he will see*. Here we have the simple participial base apparently : < « sē \*dēkkhanta » = *he seeing*. But in the



past conditional it is « sē dēkhait », which seems to represent an old oblique form, a locative absolute apparently: « tasmin \*dṛkṣati (base \*dṛkṣant-) > \*tabī dēkkhantē, dēkkhanti > sē dēkhati, dēkhait (by epenthesis) ».

In dialectal Bengali, of Eastern Bengal (specially in the East Vanga area), there is also a future use of the « -t- » forms: thus, in East Sylhet Bengali, we have 1 pers. দেখতাম « dēkhtām » *I shall see*, also *I would see, if I saw*; 2 pers. দেখতায় « dēkhtāy », দেখতে « dēkhtē »; 3 pers. দেখতো « dēkhtō », দেখত « dēkhtā » (LSI., V, I, p. 226). From the future, an imperative use also seems to be found occasionally in East Sylhet: e.g., আপত্তি করলাম, তিল কাটত না « āpatti kārām, tilā kātā nā » *I objected, 'don't cut the sesamum'* (LSI., V, I, p. 232). Similar use is found in Tippera, in Noakhali, and in Chittagong: e.g., দিত না « ditā nā » *he will not give*, করতাম ন « kārām nā » *I shall not do*. The following peculiar construction is also noticeable, with the « -t- » conditional or future, to denote purpose or desire: আমি যাইতাম চাই « āmi jāitāmṣ cāi » *I want to go* (besides যাইতে, যাইবার « jāitē, jāibārṣ » as in Standard Bengali), তুমি যাইতায় চাও « tumi jāitāy cāo » *you want to go*, হে যাইত চায় « hē jāitā cāy » *he wants to go*, honorific তাইন যাইত চাইন « tāin jāitā cāin » (as in Eastern Sylhet: LSI., V, I, p. 227). Cf. also দিতাম পাইরতাম না « ditām pāirtām nā » *shall not be able to give*, কইরতাম দিতাম ন « kairtām ditām nā » *shall not allow (them) to do* (as in Noakhali), আমি যাইতাম লাগ্গিলাম « āmi jāitām lāggilām » *I began to go*, তুই যাইত লাগ্গিলা « tui jāitā lāggilā » *you began to go*, হিতে যাইতে লাগ্গিল « hitē jāitē lāggil » *he began to go* (as in Chittagong: cf. Basanta Kumar Chatterji in VSPdP., 1926, p. 114, = Standard Bengali « jāitē lāgil- » for all persons). Here we have simply the present participle adjective inflected as a tense even when it is not a finite verb. Such use is found in South-East Bengali of several centuries ago: thus in the Chittagong poet Ālāol of the 17th century, we have a line like কুবোল সহিতাম নারি « kubōlṣ sâhitāmṣ nâri (= nâ pâri) » *I shall not be able to endure bad words* (VSP., p. 1142). The « -t- » future is also found in Mayang or Bishnupuriyâ (LSI., V, I, p. 424), which seems to be an old extension of Sylhet Bengali in the Tibeto-Burman tracts of the east. With the « -r- » affix (see *infra*, 'Pleonastic Affixes'), Sylhet Bengali and

Mayang, again, have some forms with the « -t- » conditional or future to indicate the present or future (LSI., V, I, pp. 226, 423, 424).

This future use of the present participle in the Bengali dialects of the extreme east is not shared by the other forms of the language, and seems only to be a local development. But the point is not clear. It is plain that in Central Magadhan, the future use of the present participle made a start with the third person, and Magahī did not go beyond it. The future use of the third person is found in the 14th century Maithilī of Vidyāpati quite plentifully, but mainly in the third person. It cannot be surmised definitely whether this idiom originated in the Māgadhi Apabhraṅśa period as a form inherited equally by Central and Eastern Magadhan.

Mārkaṇḍeya in his 'Prākṛta-sarvasva,' notes that in Nāgara (i.e., Western) Apabhraṅśa, the present participle is used for all the tenses : thus, « sarvadā śatṛ : 'hontō' = bhavan, babhūva, bhaviṣyati vā » (XVII, 62, Vizagapatam ed., p. 119). This note is interesting : « hontō » is actually the source of the Gujarātī « hatō », Rājasthānī « thō » and Western Hindī « hatau, hutau, hatō, thō, thā » *was* (Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' §§ 113, 123), and of the Gujarātī and Western Hindī (Hindōstānī) present participle « hōtō » and « hōtā » besides ; and further, the present participle affix « -ant- » has given the Western Panjābī, and Sindhī affix « -nd- » for the future base. These are all Western languages. But how far the future use of the « śatṛ » of Sanskrit characterised Māgadhi Apabhraṅśa cannot be known.

### (3) THE FUTURE TENSE.

The OIA. Sigmatic or Inflected Future in NIA.

696. The future *was* formed by adding « -sya- » (with or without the additional vowel « -i- ») to the root in OIA. This inflexional or sigmatic future is preserved in many forms of NIA. as « -s-, -ś-, -h- », in W. Panjābī, Rājasthānī (Jaipurī and Mārwarī), Gujarātī and W. Hindī (Braj-bhākhā, Kanaujī, Bundelī), and partially in E. Hindī (in the 3rd person only in Awadhī and Baghēlī, and in all the persons in Chattisgarhī ;

the « -b- » future also occurs in the E. Hindi dialects, but never in the 3rd person). Of the Magadhan languages, Bhōjpuriyā preserves it in the 3rd person only, and in 2nd person as future precativē; Magahi, 3rd person (beside the « -t- » future), and in the 2nd person as future precativē; in Maithili and in NB., it is found in the 2nd person as a future imperative (see *supra*, p. 908); and in Assamese and Oṛiyā, it seems to have been entirely lost.

The sigmatic future at one time was present in the East, and traces of it continued down to eMB. The OIA. sibilant has survived as a sibilant in Gujarātī, in some of the Rājasthānī dialects, in Western Panjābī (the MIA. « -ss- » < OIA. « -sy- » doubtless being retained as a single « -s- » in the latter: cf. *supra*, pp. 549-550, p. 79.). Thus: Gujarātī 1. « māriś (māras)—māriśū (mārsu) », 2. « māraśē (mārsē)—mārasō (mārsō) », 3. « mārasē (mārsē) » = OIA. « mārayisyāmi », etc.; Jaipurī 1. « mārasyī — mārasyā »; 2. « mārasī — mārasyō »; 3. « mārasī — mārasī »; Lahndā 1. « mārēś — mārēśh, mārēśh », 2. « mārēś — mārēśō », 3. « mārēśī — mārēśin ». In the rest, where the « -sy- » form is preserved, it occurs as « -h- »; and this change of « -s- » to « -h- » is an unexplained problem in MIA. and NIA. phonology (see *supra*, pp. 549-550, p. 783). Thus, Mārwarī 1. « mārahū — mārahā », 2. « mārahi — mārahō », 3. « mārahī — mārahi »; Braj-bhākhā 1. mārihaū — mārihaī », 2. « mārihai — mārihau », 3. « mārihai — mārihai »; Awadhī 3. « mārihai (> mārē) — mārihai », Bhōjpuriyā 3. « māri — mārihē, mārihen », etc. The « -h- » is thus further lost intervocally in the Eastern languages: thus, « māriyati » > MIA. « mārihai, mārihi » > NIA. « mārihi, māri » (as in Bhōjpuriyā).

In Early MB. we have cases of the sigmatic future for the third person also. A number of instances occur in the SKK., and a few could be culled from 15th century Bengali: after which period it died out evidently when the intervocal « -h- » was slurred, and the form became confused with the present indicative (or the passive present, which itself was merging into the present active). No instance of the sigmatic future in the first person has been found, either in OB. or in MB.; and no

case of third person occurs in the Caryās ; only of the second person (see *supra*, p. 908).

SKK., p. 65, বর্বে তোরে য়ারিহে পরাশে । তর্বে তোক র়াখিব কোশ জনে ।  
 « jābē tōrē mārihē parāṣē, tābē tōkā rākhibā kōṣa jānē » *when he will strike you in life, then who will protect you?* ; p. 100, ক়ারিআ আণারিবৌ ক়াশে । পাহে কাহাক্রি য়োকে না দিহে দোবে ॥ « kāriā jāṅyibō kāṣē, pāhē kāhākri mōkē nā dihē dōbē » *I shall lament and inform Karṣa, and Kṛṣṇa will not (= should not) blame one after that* ; p. 180, হাথ দিঙে লিহে কলিআ « hāthā diṅgē lihē kaliā » *the black (stain) will smear (itself) on placing the hand* ; p. 251, কেহো যবে বেকত করিহে এহা কাজ । আদ্বার ঝাঁখার তর্বে তোকে পাইবে লাজ ॥ « kēhō jābē bēkātā kārihē ēhā kāja, ādhārā ṅhākhārā tābē tōmhē pāibē lāja » *when someone will make this affair known, then (there will be) blame for me, and you will have shame* ; p. 267, নিবধ রাধাক যতনে ॥ আর বার হেন না করিহে । পুরুষের আখি নিবারিহে ॥ « niśadhā Rādhākā jātanē : ārā bārā hēnā nā kārihē, puruṣērā ākhi nibārihē » *carefully forbid Rādhā, that she will not do like this again, she will avoid a man's eyes* ; p. 323, শুণিআ কি বুলিহে বলভদ্র ডাই « ṣuṇiā ki bulihē Balābhādrā bhāi » *what will brother B. say on hearing (this)?* ; p. 324, শুণী সব দেব গণে কি বুলিহে আদ্বারে « ṣuṇi sabbā dēvagaṅgē ki bulihē ādhārē » *what will all the gods say to me hearing this?* ; p. 336, বর্বে কাল না মিলিহে করমের ফলে । হাথে তুলিআ য়ো খাইবৌ গরলে ॥ « jābē Kāhā nā milihē kāramērā phalē, hāthē tuliā yō khāibō garalē » *if, through the fruits of karma, Kṛṣṇa will not be obtained, then I shall eat poison with my own hands* ; cf. Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā-kaṇḍa,' p. 59, column 117, আইহুক জুগুয়ার তর্বে সি প্রাণ জাইহে « āihuk jāiḥē » *let B. come, then indeed life will depart.*

The « -itavya > -b- » Future in NIA.

697. The characteristic suffix for the future base in Bengali as well as Assamese and Oṛiyā is « -ib- », = « -ab- » of Bihārī and of Eastern Hindi. About the origin of this affix, there is no difficulty: it comes from the OIA. future passive participle gerundive in « -tavya- » or « -itavya », in Second MIA. « -(i)avva-, -(i)abba-, -ēbba » and other

forms (Fischel, 'Gramm. der Pkt.-sprachen,' § 570). This affix does not occur in the Rig-Veda, and it is rare in other Vedic literature: it is a new formation, and replaces the Vedic gerundive «-tua» or «-tva». In MIA. and in Classical Skt. it became much more evident. In Early MIA. it has the force of an imperative: e.g. Aśōkan, Rock Edict I Girnar, «na prajuhitavyatñ na ca samājō katavyō»; Sarnath, «iyāñ sāsanē vimñapayitaviyē», etc., etc. There is here a vague mandatory sense, with an express future implication. The simple future notion evolved gradually; side by side with it, the old notion of an action which is to be done continued, and was modified into simply the notion of an act. In NIA. both the uses of this form occur: as a future passive participle (which finally became the future tense), and as a verbal noun. Thus, Gujarātī has verbal nouns in «-vū», «karvū = kariavvaūm, \*karitavyakam, kartavyakam», Rājasthānī (Mārwāṛī) in «-bō», «mārabō = \*māriabbaūm, māritavyakam», and Western Hindī (Braj-bhākhā) «māribau, māribau», (Kanaujī) «māribō»; Marāṭhī has a subjunctive base in «-āv-», e.g., impersonal «myā uṭhāvē» *I should rise*, lit. *it is to be risen by me* (= \*mayā ut-sthātavyam), active «mī uṭhāvā»; and the Eastern languages, Eastern Hindī, Bihārī, and Bengali-Assamese and Orīyā, have the verbal noun in «-ab-, -ib-» as well as «-ab-, -ib-» as the base of the future tense, with personal terminations added.

As it has been noted before, the «-(i)tavya- > -iabb- > -ib-» is not a native *tbh.* form in the East (*supra*, pp. 374, 375, 486-487). In the Eastern dialect, whether 'Old Ardha-Māgadhi' or 'Old Magadhi' of the First MIA. stage, as we can see from Aśōka inscriptions, OIA. «-vya-» became «-viya-», not «-vva-» (as for instance at Girnar). This First MIA. «-viya-» could only give «-vi, -i, -i» in the Modern Prācya languages. The change «-(i)tavya > -(i)abba» is a later, post-Transitional MIA. feature in the eastern dialects, and «-iabba» is either a *semi-tatsama* form introduced from Sanskrit in the Transitional period (before the softening and final dropping of the intervocal «-t-» in «-itavya» was carried out), or was an imposition from some Western dialect which normally changed «-vya-» to «-vv-» and then to «-bb-».

The « -(i)tavya » > « -ib- » was originally a verbal adjective, and the construction with a transitive verb was in the passive, the « -ib- » form qualifying the object in that case. This old usage is still in force in OB., as in the examples from Caryā 29 below.

Cases of « -ib- » future in OB.: Caryā 6, « tumhē hōiba » (= yuṣ-mābhir bhavitavyam); 7, « kariba nivāsa » (= nivāśaḥ kartavyaḥ); 10, « tōḥ sāma karibē (= ? kariba; ? < kariabbaī = \* kariabbaē = kartavyakaḥ) ma (= mai) sānga » (= tvayā samatḥ kartavyō mayā saṅgaḥ); 14, « jāiba puṇu jinaūra » (= yātavyaḥ puṇaḥ jina-puram); 23, « tumhē jāibē »; 28, « lōḍiba » (= Comm. « anvēṣayitavyaḥ »); 29, « māi dibi piricchā » (= mayā dātavyā pṛcchā: dibi = \*diabba, + fem. -I); 36, « kariba »; 39, « thākiba, khāiba māi »; 40, « kahiba » (kathayitavyaḥ); etc.

It will be noted that in the Caryās, the form is « -ib- », and not « -ab- » as in Central and Western Magadhan, showing that the language of the poems belong to the East Magadhan group. Like « -illa- : -alla- », this affix, « \* -iabba, \* -iēbba, \* -ēbba » in Mag. Ap., ranged itself into two groups « -ibba- : -abba- », the Eastern Magadhan speeches adopting the former.

The affix for the 1st person future in many Bengali dialects (both in MB. and NB.) show « -m- », as « mā, -mu », and « -ṅ- = -ṅ- » as « -ṅā, -ṅ », instead of « -bā, -bō, -bū, -bō, -bōhō ». This is merely a phonetic change, a softening of « -b- » in connexion with the nasal to « -ṅ-, -m- », which has been discussed before (pp. 531-532). This « -m- » has been wrongly referred to the Sanskrit affix « -maḥ » for the 3 pers. plural indicative present by some Bengali writers on Bengali philology.

#### [G] PERSONAL AFFIXES

#### [I] ACTIVE (KARTARI), PASSIVE (KARMAṆI) AND IMPERSONAL (BHĀVĒ) CONSTRUCTIONS (PRAYŌGA) IN NIA.

698. The personal affixes of the present or radical tense in NIA. are the phonetically decayed forms of those of OIA. Affixation for the participial tenses is a NIA. development. The future in Bengali and other

Magadhan languages, and in NIA. generally when it is of participial origin, followed the fortunes of the past. The formation of the past tense in typical NIA. of the first few centuries of the 2nd millennium A.C. agrees in principle with that of MIA. But subsequently, or it may be from the very beginning of the NIA. stage, there were new developments in some of the various groups of IA. The central language, W. Hindi, together with Eastern Panjābī, is most conservative, and has resisted innovations in the formation of the past, keeping true to the MIA. principle. The past tense in these speeches retains its MIA. character as the passive participle adjective qualifying the nominative when it is intransitive, and the object when it is transitive, the subject in the latter case being in the instrumental—the past of the transitive verb being thus a true passive albeit the construction of the phrase in nominal. Besides these active (intransitive) and passive (transitive) constructions for the past (« kartari » and « karmaṇi prayōgas »), the central speech has preserved (though dialectally) the old neuter or impersonal construction (bhāvē prayōga) for the intransitive verb, and has further extended this neuter construction to the transitive verb (cf. LSI., IX, pp. 50-52). Thus, OIA. « Kṛṣṇaḥ calitaḥ (calitakah) » > MIA. « Kaṇhō caliaō, Kaṇhu caliaü » > NIA. (W. Hindi, Braj-bhākhā) « Kānha calyau » (Active Construction); OIA. « Kṛṣṇēna pustikā paṭhitā, \* Kṛṣṇa-karṇēna pustikā paṭhitikā » (=MIA. idiom with instrumental postfix « -karṇa » and feminine in « -ikā ») > MIA. « \* Kaṇha-(k)añṇē(ṇa)ṁ pōtthiā paḍhiā (paḍhiā), \* Kaṇha-aṇṇēṁ, Kaṇha-aṇṇaḥ pōtthia paḍhia » > NIA. (Braj-bhākhā) « Kānha-naī, -nē pōthi paḥi » (Passive Construction); OIA. « Kṛṣṇēna (\* Kṛṣṇa-karṇēna) calitam (calitakam) » > MIA. « Kaṇha-(k)añṇē(ṇa)ṁ caliaaṁ, caliauaṁ » > NIA. « \* Kānha-nē calyau », not found in Standard Hindōstānī or Braj-bhākhā, but occurring in Vernacular Hindōstānī (Neuter Impersonal Construction); and on the basis of this last, a new formation with transitive verbs (Impersonal Construction with the Transitive Verb) was established in NIA., as in W. Hindi (Braj-bhākhā): e.g., « Kānha-nē Rāhi-kaū dēkhyau », of which the OIA. translation, word for word, would be « Kṛṣṇēna Rādhikāyāḥ-kṛtē dṛṣṭam » for « Kṛṣṇēna Rādhikā dṛṣṭā ».

This MIA. principle of « karmaṇi, karttari » and « bhāvē » constructions, together with the NIA. extension, is substantially preserved in Rājasthānī, in Gujarātī, in Marāṭhī, in Western Panjābī, and in Sindhī, despite certain innovations. Rājasthānī in general agrees with W. Hindī, but its congener Gujarātī has confused the transitive impersonal construction with the transitive passive one, by making the past participle form qualify the object in the former construction as much as in the latter : *e.g.*, « tēṇē rāṇīnē jōi » *by-him with-reference-to-the-queen she-was-seen*, instead of « jōyū » *it-was-seen*. In this confusion some Rājasthānī dialects agree with Gujarātī.

Marāṭhī despite its affixing « -l- » to the passive participle has on the whole kept true to the MIA. standard : it has the active construction with intransitive verbs, and the passive with transitive ones, besides the impersonal with transitives. Its great innovation is adding personal affixes to the intransitive verbs (and following that, to some transitive verbs also : LSI., VII, p. 26), by which the past intransitive (also transitive in some cases) has become a regular inflected active past form, as much as in the Sanskrit perfect aorist or imperfect, or in the Bengali « -il- » past. Thus, « mī uṭhal-ḷ » for « mī uṭhalā » *I rose* (i.e. « aham utthita-laḥ + mē, mayā », instead of « aham utthitalaḥ = utthitaḥ », active), « myā rāṇī pāhīlī » (= « mayā rāṇī dṛṣṭā », passive), but « myā rāṇī-s pāhīlī » (= « mayā rāṇī-ṣayē dṛṣṭam », impersonal). The extension of the active construction to the transitive verb in some cases (*e.g.*, « mī bōlalḷ », or « bōlīḷ, bōlīḷ » *I said*, as in the 'Jñānēśvari,' instead of the passive « myā bōlalā, bōlālī » etc. or impersonal « myā bōlalḷ ») shows that the old system has not been kept intact.

The Pabhāṛī speeches on the whole agree with W. Hindī, and in some cases with Rājasthānī-Gujarātī in mixing up the impersonal and the passive. The Eastern Pabhāṛī speech, Khaskurā, on the other hand shows a mixing up of the passive and active, by putting the subject in the instrumental, and the passive participle instead of qualifying the object is conjugated like a verb, taking affixes corresponding to the subject : *e.g.*, « mai-lē pāp garē (garyē, garyā = garya- < karia, \*karita, kṛta + mē) »



*I sinned*, lit. *by-me sin done-by-me* or *did-I*). The MIA. principle is thus obscured here. (Cf. LSI., IX, pp. 26, 37, 147, 294, 323, 398-399, 466, 489, 572, 678, 695, 727, 783, etc., etc.)

The languages of the extreme west, W. Panjābī and Sindhī, both maintain the adjectival character of the passive participle, modifying it according to the gender and number of the object. But at the same time W. Panjābī employs pronominal affixes to emphasise the proper subject of the transitive verb (really instrumental), in addition to that of the intransitive; and Sindhī regularly adds these affixes to the intransitive (cf. LSI., VIII, Part I, pp. 270-271, and Trevor Bomford, 'Language spoken in Western Panjab,' JASB., 1895, p. 317, for W. Panjābī; LSI., VIII, Part I, pp. 67-68, for Sindhī). The use of pronominal suffixes in these western speeches is not confined to the passive participle only, but to other forms of verbs, and to nouns as well (LSI., VIII, Part I, pp. 42, 261), and is a special development in these, which is unknown to other cognate NIA., or to MIA. and OIA. The affixed pronoun in the passive participle or verb past base is to some extent necessitated in these speeches to ensure definiteness of the subject, as the instrumental post-position is frequently dropped (as in Panjābī, both Western and Eastern), or is non-existent (as in Sindhī, in which the oblique is employed for the instrumental). The affixation is merely formal, and does not imply any alteration in the old passive conception of the transitive past.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The use of the pronominal affix with nouns (e.g., W. Panjābī 'ghar-am' *my house*, Sindhī 'piu-mē' *my father*), as well as dative and accusative use of the affixed pronouns (e.g., W. Panjābī 'Sahiban mut-ōi khatt' *S. has sent-to-thee a letter*, 'kitu-s mōṭā' *he-made-it fat*, 'bukhār hī-s' *fever is-to-him*, etc.) in these western languages, as well as in the extra-Indo-Aryan (Dardic) Kāsmīrī, resembles the Iranian enclitic pronouns which one finds, e.g., in Persian, in Paṣtō, and in Balōc (cf. Geiger's 'Grundriss der iranischen Philologie': O. Salemann, 'Mittel-persisch,' p. 291; P. Horn, 'Neu-persische Schriftsprache,' p. 118; Geiger, 'Die Sprache der Afghanen,' p. 217; 'Die Sprache der Balutschen,' p. 240). The whole of the Indo-Iranian area from Persia right up to the frontiers of the old Śaurasēnī (W. Hīndī) area,—including the W. Panjābī (and probably also E. Panjābī in early times) and Sindhī tracts (among areas occupied by the NIA. speeches), the Dardic tracts, and those occupied by the Iranian speeches—seems to have been an area where

699. In the Magadhan languages, as well as in Eastern Hindi, on the other hand, the construction has become purely active, and the old MIA. principle has been completely ignored. The subject of a past sentence is in the nominative now at the present day, whatever might have been its nature originally. Traces of an instrumental affix may be found in the subject (e.g., «-ē» in Assamese and Bengali), but the instrumental idea is now entirely absent. The personal forms, which (as in Sindhī and W. Panjābī) doubtless originally emphasised the instrumental-nominative, have in the Eastern languages lost their enclitic, emphasising character—have become personal inflexions pure and simple. Judging from indications in the earlier as well as later phases of these eastern speeches—OB., MB., NB., Early Maithilī, etc., as well as Early Awadhī and Modern Awadhī, and from comparison with other NIA. speeches and with the habits obtaining in MIA., we can surmise that the personal affixes were not added to the past passive participle (and to the future passive participle) in Māgadhī Apabhraṇśa, and that this affixation was not indispensable in the early stage of the neo-Māgadhan speeches. Thus, Māg. Ap. in all likelihood had «\*haū (?hai), tūm, sē calilla(a)» (= aham, tvam, saḥ calitaḥ) and «\*amhi, tumhi, tē calilla(a), calillahi» (= vāyam, yūyam, tē calitāḥ), beside «\*maī, ambaḥī, taī, tumbaḥī, tē, tēhī rāa dēkkhilla(a)» (= mayā, asmābhiḥ, tvayā, yuṣmābhiḥ, tēna, tāiḥ rājā dṛṣṭaḥ), and «\*maī, ambaḥī, taī, tumbaḥī, tē, tēhī raṇṇī dēkkhillī» (= mayā, asmābhiḥ, tvayā, yuṣmābhiḥ, tēna, tāiḥ rājā dṛṣṭā). Beng. made the first «nui, āmi, tui, tumi, sē, tēhē calila» and «mui etc. rāya, rājā dēkhila (rāṇī dēkhili)» and then by affixation, «mui dēkhil-i, -ā-hō, -ō, -ū, -ām; tui dēkhil-i, -is;

the old Aryan enclitic pronouns were retained as living forms, and were later turned into suffixes: and these suffixes therefore were different in origin from the personal affixes of the Eastern languages (e.g., OIA. 'mayā kṛtam, kṛtam mayā, kṛtam mē' > Lahndā 'kitu-m'; Old Persian 'mana kartam' > Middle Persian [Pahlavī] 'man kart, am kart,' and 'kart-am' > New Persian 'kard-am': [cf. Horn, *op. cit.*, p. 148]: compared with this, Early Bengali মূই কৈলুম 'mui kailum' I did is a different thing, originating in NIA. times from 'maī kaila'; and Hindi 'main-nē kiyā' is of course entirely different, showing no kind of personal or pronominal affixation).

tumi dēkhil-*a*, -*āhā*; sē dēkhil-*anti*, -*enta*, -*ēn*, -*āin*, -*āni* (calil-*i*, calil-*āhā* etc.) ». (Besides, the « bhāvē prayōga » with the object in the dative with « -*kē* » etc. was evolved: see *supra*, pp. 897-898.) Affixation was not fully established in Bengali even in the 15th century, as we can see from MB. literature, where the base form in « -*ilā* » is frequently used for all persons: and in fact, in some dialects even now the base form is used for the third person (*e.g.*, Standard Bengali « sē dēkhilā », Dacca « sē dēkhlā, dēkhlō », *he saw*, base only, but Calcutta Bengali « sē dēkhl-*ē* » with « -*ē* » suffix for the third person; so Dacca « sē kāirbā, kōrbō » *he will do* beside Standard « sē kārib-*ē* », Calcutta « sē kōrbē »). Similar affixation has taken place in other Magadhan, and in Eastern Hindi (*e.g.*, Awadhī: 1. « dēkhēū, dēkhiū, *pl.* dēkhlī, dēkhā, dēkhan, dēkhēn »; 2. « dēkhisi, dēkhēs, *pl.* dēkhēn, dēkhā, dēkhlī »; 3. « dēkhisi, dēkhaj, *pl.* dēkhin-*i*, dēkhēn » etc.).

Pronominal affixation apparently was carried on independently in each of the various groups of dialects in the Magadhan area,—in West Magadhan (Bhōjpuriyā), in Central Magadhan, in the various Bengali and Assamese dialect groups, in Oṛiyā. But some common tendencies were shared by all or most of them. The most remarkable development has been in Central Magadhan (Maithilī and Magahī), which display a greater richness and variety in the matter of pronominal affixation than any other NIA. language—by which two or even three pronominal forms can be tagged on to the verb base. Thus we have Bengali য়াৰিলায়, † য়াৰিলুম or † য়াৰিলি « māril-*ām*, † māril-*um*, † māril-*i* » *I, we beat* (past), = Oṛiyā « māril-*i*, māril-*ū* », Assamese « māril-*ō* », Bhōjpuriyā « māral-*i* », Maithilī « māral-*ahū*, māral-*i* »; but also we have Maithilī « māral-*i*-*au*-*k* » *I struck you*, or « māral-*i*-*ai*-*nhī* » *I struck him or them* (honorific object). We have here practically cases of polysynthesis, of long sentence words resulting from affixation. In this matter there may have been a strong influence of Kōl on Central Magadhan in the formative period of Maithilī and Magahī: with forms like « māral-*i*-*au*-*k* » or « māral-*i*-*ai*-*nhī* », we can compare Kōl (Munḍārtī) « om-*ad'*-*iñ*-*āē* » *he-gave-it-to-me* and « lel-*k*-*iñ*-*ako* » for « \*lel-*ked'*-*iñ*-*ako* » *they-saw-me*. The affixation in Eastern Magadhan is simpler, and approximate rather than of modern Dravidian

(e.g., Bengali. « pāṛ-il-ām » *I read* = Tamil « paṛ-itt-ēṁ », root + tense affix + personal termination : see *supra*, p. 175).

700. Grierson, in two noteworthy papers to the JASB. for 1895 ('Suffixes in the Kāc̣mīrī Language' and 'Radical and Participial Tenses in the Modern Indo-Aryan Languages') has tabulated the various affixes of NIA. and suggested their etymologies. The Eastern languages have these affixes for the verb past tense, and the future tense; the Western languages have also the pronominal adjuncts; the Southern language Marāṭhī partially employs them. All this is opposed to the Midland language, W. Hindi. In this Grierson finds a point in support of the theory of Inner and Outer Indo-Aryan groups (see *supra*, *Appendix A to Introduction*, pp. 165-166; JASB., 1895, p. 351). But the conjugational system cannot be assumed to prove much, as has been said before. The languages started in the East without the personal terminations, and in later times only they entered into the habit of affixation; whereas it seems likely that in the Western languages the enclitic has persisted from OIA. times (or might have been due to the influence of the contiguous Iranian), and were at once the cause and the effect of the absence or rare use of the instrumental post-position. Grierson derives all the affixes of the past verb in Bengali etc. (equally with those in other languages) from pronouns. But in some cases at least, they were merely extensions of the affixes of the present or radical tense. Bengali, Assamese and Oriyā, again, show a development distinct from Maithilī, Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā within the Magadhan family.

Except in the 3 sg., there is no distinction in Bengali-Assamese in the affixes of the intransitive and transitive verbs past tense. In Oriyā, the same affixes, sg. « -ā », pl. « -ē » are found for the verbs of both the kinds.

The affixes may now be discussed.

## [II] AFFIXES FOR THE PAST TENSE.

701. MB. and NB. forms are given below. The affixes are added to the base in *इत्* « -il- » of which the « -i- » is dropped in most NB. dialects after influencing the preceding vowel.

*First Person* : অ < -ঙ > ; ই < -i > ; উম্, উঙ, উঁ (নু, নু' > হু), ওম্, অম্, ওঁ, ওহৌ, আহৌ, ওহো, আহো, ও < -um, -uŋ, -ü (-lum, -lü > -nu), -öm, -šm, -š, -öhš, -ähš, -öhō, -ähō, -ō > ; আম, আঙ, এম্ < -ām, -āŋ, -ēm > ;

*Second Person* : অ < -ঙ > ; ই < -i > ; ইস, এসি, এস < -is, -ēsi, -ēsš > ; উ < -u > ; আ, আহা < -ā, -āhā > ; এ, এঁ, এহেঁ < -ē, -ēš, -ēhš > ;

*Third Person* : no affix, simply ending in -ইল্ < -ilš > ; অ (ও) < -ঙ, (-ō) > , for both transitive and intransitive verbs ; আ < -ā > ; এ < -ē > for transitive verbs only, dialectally ; আক, ওক, এক < -ā-kš, -ō-kš, -ē-kš > , for both transitive and intransitive verbs ; besides অস্তি, আস্তি, অস্ত, আস্ত, এস্ত, এন, আইন, আঞ্জি, আই < -ānti, -ānti, -āntā, -āntā, -ēntā, -ēntā, -āinš, -āini, -āi > , honorific.

Standard NB., literary and colloquial, recognises only the following :—

*First Person* : আম < -ām > , colloquially also এম, উম < -ēm, -um > , and in poetry occasionally হু < -nu > ;

*Second Person* : non-honorific, ই < -i > ; ordinary, এ < -ē > ; poetical আ < -ā > ; honorific এন < -ēnš > (with আপনি < āpni > ) ;

*Third Person* : অ < -ঙ > ; এক < ēkš > (rather archaic) ; এ < -ē > dialectally for transitive verbs ; poetical আ < -ā > ; besides honorific এন < -ēnš > .

### (1) THE AFFIXES FOR THE FIRST PERSON PAST.

**702.** The affix অ < -ঙ > . This is the simple base form, and is found in MB. and OB. : আমি চলিল < āmi cālilā > *I went*, আমি, মুই রাখিল < āmi, mui rākhilā > *I kept* ; cf. OB. Caryā 35 < maī bujhila > *I understood* (see *supra*, p. 808). The source of this ইল < -ilā > is Māgadhi Ap. < -illaa, -illawa (< -ila-ka) > , MB. < -ilā, -ilā > , in NB. pronunciation often ইলো < -ilō, -lō > . This simple base is not found in NB., although it is common in eMB., becoming less common in lMB., and found but infrequently in post-17th century MB. As indicated above, the absence of affix means preservation of the OIA. conditions.

In OB., the < -ila > base had a feminine for < -ilī, -ilī > , according as the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive one was feminine. Early MB. carried on this feminine affixation, but it has died out from eMB. times. Examples have been given above, p. 958.

703. The affix ई «-i». This is now confined to the dialects of West Rāḍha, and to 'S.-W. Bengali,' and in any case is regarded vulgar. It was fairly common in MB. It seems originally to have been a (West) Rāḍha form. Although used for both singular and plural, the evidence of Oṛiyā shows it to have been originally singular: Oṛiyā « mū āsil-i », pl. « āmbhē āsil-ū » *I came, we came*; « mū dēkhil-i, āmbhē dēkhil-ū » *I saw, we saw*. The affix seems only to be an extension of the present (singular) «-i» to the past tense (*supra*, pp. 934, 935).

704. The affixes উম্, উঙ্, উ ( লুম্, লু > হু ) ওম্, অম্, ওঁ, ওহৌ, আহৌ, ওহৌ, আহৌ, ও «-um, -uṅ, -ū, (-lum, -lū > -nu), -ōm, -ām, -ō, -ōhō, -āhō, -ōhō, -ō». These form one group, and in their formation, two affixes seem to have converged: the «-ō» of the present (=OB. -awa < MIA. -ama < OIA. -amaḥ: *supra*, pp. 934-935), and the old first personal pronoun nominative «\*haū, hāu» as in OB. (pp. 807-808 *supra*) agglutinated to the past base (in «-ilā, -ilā»); «\*haū» seems to have been added to the present base (see *supra*, p. 934), and an extension of it to the past was a matter of course. Of the fuller forms, ইলাহৌ «-ilā-hō» occurs in eMB. (as in the ŚKK.), and হৈলাহৌ «-ilō-hō» is found in the Early Assamese; and this and \*ইলাহৌ «-ilā-hō» seems also to have occurred in MB. and the other forms, with loss of nasalisation, are found in MB. and Early Assamese. As can be expected, «\*haū > hō» as the nominative pronoun should occur with the intransitive verb; and that is what we find from eMB. In the ŚKK., the ইলাহৌ «-(ilā)-hō» form occurs with six verbs, all intransitive: আহিলাহৌ «āchilāhō» *I was*, আইলাহৌ, আয়িলাহৌ «āilāhō, āyilāhō» *I came*, জিলাহৌ «jilāhō» *I lived*, পড়িলাহৌ «pāṛilāhō» *I fell*, বাঢ়িলাহৌ «bāṛhilāhō» *I increased*, হয়িলাহৌ, হৈলাহৌ «hāyilāhō, hāilāhō» *I was* (to which we may add a seventh intransitive form showing «-hō», although in a different tense—মরিতাহৌ «māritāhō» *I would die*): Kṛtti-vāsa similarly has তপত্ কৰিল আমি নহিলাহৌ অমর «tāpasyā kārila āmi, nāhilāhō āmarā» *I performed austerities, but did not become immortal* ('Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' p. 29); নিমন্ত্রণে গেলাহৌ «nimāntraṇe gēlāhō» *I went to an invitation* (*ibid*, p. 15); also হইলাহৌ «hāilāhō» (pp. 26, 30, 36). MB. «jilāhō, pāṛilāhō» etc. would thus agree with Skt. «jīvitō' haṃ, patitō'ham».

The ŚKK. uses «-ḥ» (at times «-ō» by dropping the nasalisation) with both transitive and intransitive verbs. This apparent complot of the full «-hḥ» form with intransitives only was not maintained in Assamese: in the Early Assamese of the 15th and 16th centuries, we find it employed with transitive verbs also—*e.g.*, Dēvēndra Nāth Bēz-baruwā, 'Asamiyā Bhāṣā Ārū Sāhityar Burāñji,' Jorhat, Saka 1833, pp. 75, 173, «kārīlōhḥ» *I did*, p. 89, «lābhilōhḥ, pāṛhilōhḥ» *I received, I studied*, p. 138, «cinīlōhḥ» *I recognised*, p. 169, «bulīlōhḥ» *I said*. In Early Maithili, the corresponding «hḥ» form seems to be restricted to the intransitive: *e.g.*, Vidyāpati has «bhōlihu» *I was*, «mōñē cukalihu» *I ceased*, «achaliḥḥ» *I was*, «gōlihu» *I went*, etc. (Pada 63); but in later Maithili, «-hḥ» is found for both the kinds of verbs. It has apparently become «-ḥi» in Magahi. From the 14th century, the «-hḥ» and the «-ḥi» forms had merged together, and the former occurs in the ŚKK. as a survival only (*e.g.*, for *one* «āchilāhḥ» there are some *six* cases of «āchilḥ»); «āilḥ» occurs 11 times beside «ā(y)ilāhḥ» 9 times, and other intransitive verbs show only the «-ḥi» form). The Oṛiyā «-ḥi» of the plural seems to represent the «-ḥi (<āmah)». The OB. «acchilḥ» (see *supra*, p. 808) seems to be scribe's error for «āchila», or it might be for «āchilḥ»; in the latter case, the affixation for the past in imitation of the present could be said to have begun from OB. times.

The form «-ilāhḥ» thus converged into «-ilḥ», but «-ilāhḥ» could also give «-ilāḥō», and these would easily result in the MB. and NB. forms «-ilṭ, -ilṇ, ilum, -ilōm, -ilām, -inu» etc., since in MB. «m» final and intervocal interchanges with «ṃ», written ॐ «ṇ»; and MB. forms like «-ilḥ, -ilṭ» could develop the off-glide «ṃ» (-ilōṃ, -ilṭṃ), which would easily resolve into «m».

705. The affixes आर, आठ, एम् «-ām, -āṇ, -ām». It is not unlikely that «-ām» has partly evolved from «-āhḥ» as above (-ilāhḥ > -ilāḥō, -ilāṃ > ilāṇ, -il-ām). But this «-ām» should rather be affiliated to आरि «-āmi» *I (we)*, affixed to the past base, for this reason that in all the spoken dialects, where «-ām» occurs, the «-m» is retained intact, and there is no trace of a nasalised form «\*-ilḥ» or «\*-inḥ» such as

we might expect to be present in MB. or NB. if « \* -ilāw < -ilāhō » were the only source.

By Vowel Harmony, « -ilām » gives « -ilēm », which is regarded as a refined form, and is frequently used in literature and formal discourse.

706. A plausible etymology for the « -āmi, -ām » affix would be the OIA. substantive verb « asmi »: the use of the passive participle with « asmi » in the active sense is found in MIA. and medieval Skt. (e.g., « viditō'smi, vismptō'smi » etc.: cf. E. J. Rapson, 'Specimens of the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Dr. Stein at Niya in Chinese Turkestan: Tentative Transcriptions and Translations,' British Museum, 1903, p. 7). The Sinhalese past tense is formed on the same plan by affixing forms of « √ as » , present tense, to the passive participle (Geiger, 'Litteratur u. Sprache der Sinhaläsen,' § 60). The same method seems to occur in the Bengali perfect tenses (see *infra*, 'Compound or Periphrastic Tenses'). But « asmi » does not occur as « āmi » either in Bengali or in other Magadhan: the equivalents of « asmi » in Bengali are « āchi » (\*acchāmi) and « hāi » (\*asāmi). A source like « paṭhita + asmi » is untenable for the NB. « paṭilām », not only because of the non-continuance of OIA. « asti, asi, asmi » in Bengali, but also because of the fact that personal affixation is late in the language, and is either pronominal, or is by analogical extension of affixes from the present.

Hoernle explained the « -ām » affix as being the Skt. « -āmi », present sg. affix: according to him, Bengali has preserved the original present indicative termination « -āmi », in forms like « paṭ(b)ilām » = Māgadhī « \*paṭhidāmi ». But this derivation is inadmissible: MIA. « -d- » does not become « -l- » in Bengali (see *supra*, p. 433), and « -m- » intervocal of OIA. occurs in NIA. only as the nasalisation of the contiguous vowel.

## (2) THE AFFIXES FOR THE SECOND PERSON, PAST.

707. The affix « -ā » is the simple base form without any personal termination, found in MB. for the 2nd person as much as for the other two persons, but is now obsolete.



The affix  $\ddot{r}$  «-i» is of obscure origin. It occurs with the past in «-il-» and in the future in «-ib-». It is not found in the radical tense and with the past conditional. Bengali-Assamese alone among Magadhan speeches has it. The fact that it is contemptuous, being used with the familiar «tui (tōrā)» form of the 2nd personal pronoun, shows that it was originally a singular affix. The corresponding affix in Oṛiyā is «-u», e.g., «tu thil-u» *thou wert*, «tu dēkhal-u» *thou didst see*. The Central Magadhan languages have confused the plural and singular; but it seems that the 2 pers. affix «-ē» in Magahī (as in «hal-ē» *thou wert* or *you were*, «dēkhal-ē» *thou didst see* or *you saw*, beside «halē, dēkhal-ē»); Maithilī does not possess the «-ē» form, but the nasalised one only) and in Bhōjpuriyā (as in «dēkhal-ē, dēkhal-as» singular, «dēkhalāh < \*dēkhalahu» plural) is connected with the Bengali «-i», it being exceedingly probable that the «-ē» was formerly «-a-ī» (cf. Maithilī «dēkhalāi» beside «dēkhalē, 2 personal forms).

There is the other singular 2 personal affix «-is, -s» (see p. 979 below) with which the «-i» cannot be connected. In the absence of any other indication as to its source, it can only be referred to the 2 sg. imperative in «-hi, -a-hi» (see *supra*, p. 904), which would give «-i, -ai (-ai, -ē)» by loss of «-h». The Oṛiyā «-u» similarly can be best explained as the 2 sg. imperative in «-hu» (*supra*, p. 906). This «-hi» lost its original function as an imperative affix, and became associated, first, it would seem, with the future base, and then with the past: we should note that «-i» is the only 2 personal contemptuous or singular affix for the future, whereas «-is» may be used for the past; and «-i» is not found with the past habitual («cālib-i, dib-i», but «chil-is» beside commoner «chil-i», and «cālit-is, dit-is»); but we never find «cālib-is, dib-is»): this apparently shows that «-i» became first definitely attached to the future base, and then it was extended to the past; and the use of the future and the imperative should be taken into consideration in this connexion. There is an «-ahi» affix (< OIA. -asi) for the 2 sg. present tense in Western Apabhraṅśā, whence the imperative «-ē, -āi» affix in the Western languages, e.g., Hindōstānī «tū kar-ē» Gujarātī «tū

kar-ē >; and Mārwarī < t(h)ū kar-āi > (< tū kar-ahi >); but this present < -ahi > apparently did not occur in Māg. Ap., and is not represented in Bengali, which has only < -as, -is > < < -asi >.

708. The affixes ইল, এলি, এস < -is, -ēsi, -ēs > are contemptuous in sense, being used with < tui, tōrā >, and were consequently originally singular. They represent the OIA. < -asi > which is preserved in the radical tense. The affix < -asi > has been partly extended to the past base, but the future did not take it up, apparently deciding for the < -hi > -i > from the imperative. The forms < -is > etc. are exceedingly rare with the past tense in NB., the employ of it with the < -il- > past being only occasional. MB. instances also are rare. In NB. it may be used with the past of < √āch > *to be*, as ছিলিস < chil-is > *thou wert*, both by itself as well as in the past progressive and perfect tenses, e.g., বাছিলিস < jāchhilis > *thou wert going*, গিয়েছিলিস < giyēchhilis > *thou hadst gone*, দিয়েছিলিস < diyēchhilis > *thou hadst given*; but the < chil-i > form would be preferred. We may similarly occasionally hear নিলিস, দিলিস < nil-is, dil-is >, but such forms would not be regarded as normal in the Standard Colloquial. It seems that analogy tried to attach < -is > to the past base, but has failed so far, although apparently this analogical use began early. We have thus in Kṛttivāsa ('Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' VSPd. ed., col. 124) ব্রহ্মবধ করিয়া তুমি লুকাইলিস ডরে < brāhmā-bādhḥ kāriyā tumi lukāilīs ḍārē > *killing a Brahman, you hid in fear* (here we see the improper use of < tumi >, instead of < tui >, with an < -is > form). I have not found < -is > with the past in the ŚKK., but apparently there is one case in the Caryās, e.g., Caryā 37, < jaisanē acchilēsa taichana (= taisana) accha > = ? *as thou wert, so be thou*; in Caryā 39, we have < baṅgē jā nīlēsi parē bhāgēla tōhāra biṅṅā > *thy science (vijñāna) fled away after thou didst take a wife in Vaṅga*: here < nīlēsi > may be either an < -ēsi > form, or it is < nīlē > (conjunctive in < -ilē >) + < si > emphatic particle, as in Caryā 20—< jaubaṅa mōra bhailē si pūrā > *on my youth being mature*. The < -ēsi > would thus seem to have been attached to the past as early as OB. The vocalism in < -ēsi, -ēsa > seems to be due to a combination of the base form in < -a > + < -isi > (see p. 935): < \*acohilla-isi > \*āchilais(i) > āchilēs(a) >.

709. Grierson explained the «-i» as an instrumental pronominal enclitic: «mār-il-i» = *struck-by-thee* (karmaṇi prayōga), «cal-il-i» *gone-by-thee* (bhāvē prayōga); and the «-is» was explained by him (as an affix for the past habitual derived from the present participle) as being 'the direct pronominal suffix for the nominative'—«-s-» and «-i-» being respectively nominative and oblique forms of a second personal pronoun (JRAS., 1895, I, p. 371). There cannot be any question of a 2nd personal pronoun in «-s-» from the existing specimens of IA., and Grierson considered this «-s-» (as in Bengali «-is» in «mār-it-is» etc.) 'as a termination borrowed either from the first or the third person,' but at the same time the possibility of «-is» being the OIA. «-asi» is admitted by him (*op. cit.*, p. 374). The «-s-» form of the first person occurs in Lahndā and Sindhī, and in the Dardic Kāsmīrī: it is a singular form, if derived from OIA. «asmad»; but the whole question is rendered extremely problematical (*op. cit.*, p. 365 for the «-s-» for the 1st person). The use of the 3rd person «-s-» (<Prakrit «sē» *his*, which is an enclitic: Grierson, *op. cit.*, p. 347) for the 2nd pers. is hardly more satisfactory as an explanation. The well-known «-asi» which has survived in the radical sense should not therefore be ignored. And as for regarding «-i» as an oblique form of the 2nd personal pronoun, and referring it to the MIA. «bhē» or «nyhē» (JASB., 1895, p. 374, p. 346), there is this great difficulty that in Bengali-Assamese, which alone preserves the «-i», the form is contemptuous and as such cannot originally have been a plural suffix, whereas the MIA. «bhē, nyhē» are definitely plural ones.

710. The affix উ «-u» is found dialectally in 'South-West Bengali' and in North Central Bengali, and is distinctly of Oriyā affinity: কৈলু «kailu» *thou didst do*, গ্যালু = গেলু «gyalu = gēl-u» *thou didst go*, etc. It is singular in origin, and can only be referred to the imperative in «-hu, -u» (see above, p. 906). It is found in the present also, e.g., আছু «āchu» *thou art*.

711. The affixes আ, আরা «-ā, -āhā» were originally plural, being used with «tumi (tōmāra)», the old plural of the 2nd person, and never

with « tui ». They seem to be the same affix as the « -aha » of the radical 2nd plural (see *supra*, p. 935). The past base to which this 2nd person pl. affix was added (in Bengali-Assamese) apparently was extended by the definitive « -ā » : « calilā + -aha > \*cāliāha, cāliāha, \*calilā, cāliā » (cf. « khāhā, jāhā » for the imperatives: *supra*, pp. 903, 907). The « -ā » might, again, be simply the base in definitive « -ā », without the personal termination « -āhā ». The « -āhā » form occurs in eMB. (ŚKK.) and in Early Assamese side by side with « -āhā, -ā ». Late MB. has only « -ā » ; and as a result of Vowel Harmony, through influence of the « -i » of « -il- », this « -ā » can be altered to « -ē » in NB., as in the Standard Colloquial চ'লে « cōllē » < « cāliā » you went (*supra*, pp. 400-401). Among ŚKK. forms in « -āhā » may be quoted আহিলাহা « āhilāhā » you were, গেলাহা « gēlāhā » you went, পড়িলাহা « pāṛilāhā » you fell, হয়িলাহা « hāyilāhā » you became ; cf. imperative ওলাহা « ōlāhā » beside ওলাহ « ōlāhā » take down, put down. In Modern Assamese, the affix is « -ā », honorific ; and Oṛiyā has retained it as « -ā (< -āhā) ». Cf. Maithili simple form for 2nd person past « dōkhalāh < dōkhalāhū », and Bhōjpuriyā « dōkhalāhū », where we have the « -ahu » form as in the imperative.

712. The MB. forms এ, এঁ, এহেঁ, « -ē, -ē, -ēhē » make one group. Judging from the ŚKK., the nasalised form « -ēhē » is the proper one for this affix, and this is only shortened from the older and fuller « -ēhē ». In the ŚKK., it is either « -ēhē », or « -ē » : and it is rarely « -ē » without the nasalisation : thus আণিলেঁ, আণিলেহেঁ « āṇilē, āṇilēhē » you brought, এড়িলেহেঁ « ēṛilēhē » you abandoned, কইলেঁ « kailē » you did, করাযিলেঁ « kārayilē » you caused to make, গড়িলে « gaṛhilē » you built, নিলেহেঁ « nilēhē » you took, সাধিলেহেঁ « sādhilēhē » you performed, চাহিলেঁ « cāhilē » you looked at, etc. No instance of « -ē, -ēhē » with intransitive verbs occurs in the ŚKK. : originally it was probably used with transitive verbs. « -ēhē » > « -ē » is thus its development in NB. (Of course, in NB. the « -ē » can also be from « -ilā » by Vowel Harmony ; see preceding paragraph.) This affix is unknown to Assamese and Oṛiyā. But Maithili « -ē, -ā », Magahi « -ē, -āhī » (« dōkhalē, dōkhalāhī ; dōkhalē, dōkhalāhī ») seem to be the same affix.

The source of this « -əhē, -ē, -ē » is obscure. The full form being « -əhē », connexion with the Prakrit enclitic 2nd pers. pl. « -bhē, -uyhē » as suggested by Grierson (JASB., 1895, pp. 374, 346) is not impossible, but « bhē, uyhē » are otherwise unknown. It is a politer form than the « -i, -is » ones, both in MB. and NB. Is it that here we have the instrumental of the respectful or polite form for the pronoun of address « ahē, ahāi », which is still current in Maithilī? (see *supra*, pp. 850-852). The fact of « -əhē, -ē > -ē » not being found with intransitive verbs in the ŚKK. should be recalled: « āṇilēhē » can therefore very well be from MIA. « \*āṇilla- » + « \*ahāhi, \*ahēhi » = instrumental pl. of « ahā- » (= OIA. āṇita-la- + āyuṣmadbhiḥ).

[3] THE AFFIXES FOR THE THIRD PERSON, PAST.

713. The oldest Bengali had three forms for the passive participle as used with the pronoun third person or with the noun: « -ila (< -illa) », the simple base without any affix; « -ilāwa, -ilaa (< -illa-a, i.e., -illa- + -ka) », with an extension by the pleonastic « -ka > -a » (*supra*, pp. 652-653); and « -ilā (< -ila + -ā) », strengthened by the definitive « -ā » (*supra*, pp. 658 ff.). The NB. equivalents of these are respectively, *ইল, ইলা, (ইলা), ইলা* « -ilā, -ilā (-ilō: MB. -ilā), -ilā ». All the three are found: « -ilā » is dialectal, occurring in North Bengali and North Central Bengali (with both transitive and intransitive verbs), as well as in Eastern Vanga dialects (Sylhet, Kachar, Mayang, Chittagong and Chakma, where « -ilā » seems to be preferred with intransitive verbs); « -ilā » is also restricted to the intransitive verb in Modern Assamese; « -ilā » is found in the « sādhubhāṣā » and in the East Bengal dialects with both transitives and intransitives, and in the Standard Colloquial with intransitive verbs (see *supra*, p. 974); while « -ilā » is now archaic and poetic for NB., and is found commonly in MB. and in Early Assamese, and in Oṛiyā « -ilā » is the only form in which this affix occurs for the 3rd person singular (« -ilā » however, occurs in Eastern Vanga, in Mayang as honorific, i.e. plural).

All these three forms « -ila > -ilā; -ilaa, -ilā > -ilā; -ilā » lack a personal or pronominal termination and this colourless form was accepted for

the third person. Doubtless there were slight shades of difference between the three; «-ā» and «-ā̄» forms were possibly more emphatic. Also the base form without any affix, «-ila > -ilā̄», retained its old adjectival nature unmodified in connexion with intransitive verbs, and this distinction is largely maintained now. In the Caryās, we find both «-ila» (= «-ila» as well as «-ilaa, -ilawa») and «-ilā̄» (see *supra*, p. 947).

714. The affix «-ē»: occurs in West Bengali (including the Standard Colloquial), North Bengali and Assamese, with transitive verbs only: e.g., Standard Colloquial সে চ'ল, সে গেল, [ʃe tʃollo, ʃe gælo] *he walked, he went*, North Bengali চলিল, গেল [tsolil, gəl], Assamese «si cālil, si gəl», but for *he gave, he ate*, we have Standard Coll. সে দিলে, খেলে [ʃe dile, khele], North Bengali দিলে, খাইলে, খালে [dile, khaile, khale] besides দিল, খাইল [dil, khail], and Assamese «dilē, khālē». The Bihārī dialects show a similar differentiation (see *supra*, p. 93). No such differentiation between intransitive and transitive verbs is found in the East Bengal dialects, in which typical forms would be [tsoŋlo, tsoŋlo; gəlo] and [dilo, khailo], or as in Chittagongese [tsolil, gəl] and [dilo, khailo].

The restriction of the «-ilē» affix to the transitive verb past tense in a continuous tract embracing Rāḍha, Varēndra and Kāma-rūpa, and excluding Vaṅga (E. and S.-W.) and Caṭṭala (S.-E. Vaṅga), is noteworthy: equally noteworthy is the occurrence of the «-ila > -ilā̄» for the intransitive in Varēndra (partially), in Kāma-rūpa, and in E. Vaṅga and Caṭṭala. The «-ē» affix occurs in the future 3rd person (-ib-ē) for all verbs, in the both «sādhu-bhāṣā» and in the Standard Colloquial, but not in East Bengal dialects, in Assamese, in Oṛiyā, which use the «-ā» (-ibā, -bā). The usage in the future does not help us here.

The explanation seems to be as follows. The intransitive past is in its origin a verbal adjective qualifying the subject: here no special verbal suffix was necessary, for the adjectival nature remained long with intransitive, right down to eMB. (see *supra*, p. 958,—the feminine adjectival «-i» continued to be used with both the kinds of roots). Hence the simple «-ila > -ilā̄», or «-ilaa > -ilā̄ > -ilā̄, -ilō», was enough for it. But the

transitive past was not like that, and its nature developed into that of a proper verb with an object. So too the future form, both transitive and intransitive, partook more of the nature of the verb. In some of the dialects of the Bengali group, an affix gradually came to be attached to these. And that affix we find in NB. as « -ṣ » for both transitive past, and transitive and intransitive future.

The « -ṣ » was never a literary favourite in MB., the simple « -ṭ » or « -ṣ » base being commonly employed for the past third person. The composite « sādhu-bhāṣā » here followed the MB. preference for « -ṭ » in the past tense, but not in the future. But nevertheless, the « -ṣ » is found in MB. works—in the ŚKK., for instance. Thus, as 3 personal forms, we find in the ŚKK., for *he did*, কৈলে, কইলে « kailē, kailē » 4 times, করিলে « karilē » once (= NB. Standard Coll. করলে, কলে [korle, kolle]), while কইল, করিল « k(y)ilā » occurs 17 times and করিল « karilā » 6 times (= NB. করল, কল [korlo, kollo]); for *he received*, পাইলে « pailē » (= NB. পেলে [pele]) occurs once, but পাইল « pailā » (= NB. পেল [pelo]) 7 times; for *he sent*, পাঠাইলে, পাঠায়িলে « pāṭhā(y)ilē » (= NB. পাঠালে, [paṭhale]) 3 times, পাঠাইল, পাঠায়িল « pāṭhā(y)ilā » (= NB. পাঠাল [paṭhalo]) 4 times; for *he said*, বুলিলে « bulilē » (cf. NB. বললে [bolle]) once, বুঝিল, বুঝিল « bu(y)ilā » (cf. NB. বলল [bollo]) 28 times; for *he gave* দিলে « dilē » once, দিল « dilā » 10 times; for *he took*, নিলে « nilē » 5 times, নিল « nilā » 6 times, and আপিলে « āpilē » *he brought* is found once. The « -ṣ » for the 3rd person thus goes back to the 14th century. It is not, however found in the Caryās.

This « -ṣ » affix I take to be the « -ṣ » of the radical or present tense, 3rd person, extended to the past transitive base: দেখিল « dēkhilā » *seen*, *he saw* changed to দেখিলে « dēkhil-ṣ », NB. দেখলে « dēkhl-ṣ », on the analogy of দেখে « dēkh-ṣ » *he sees*; but an intransitive form like গেল « gēlā » = *gone*, fem. গেলি « gēli », sufficiently retained its adjectival nature not to require a verbal affix. We should note that the plural affix « -ānti, -āntā, -entā » was similarly extended to the past verb, as an honorific form merely (see *supra*): « -ṣ » was the characteristic 3rd pers. affix, and the plural as an honorific form was less frequent. This

extension of the «-ē, -ānti» etc. was accomplished possibly during the transition from OB. to eMB.: it was established by the end of the 14th century, and if the ŚKK. does not use it exclusively, it is because the literary speech tends to preserve the older tradition (in keeping to the older, unaffixed «-ā» form).

A partial agreement with Maithilī may be noted. In Maithilī, in the honorific, the transitive past base takes the affix «-thi» (< -anti) of the present honorific (= original plural), because its nature is that of a verb: «dēkhala-thi» *saw*. But the intransitive past base (with its adjectival nature) to denote the honorific takes the affix «-āh(a)» which is found with *nouns* and *adjectives* in Early Maithilī: «sūtal-āh(a)» *slept*. (This «-āha» is very common in the 'Varṇa-ratnākara' MS., see *supra*, pp. 102-103: it seems to be the Māg. Ap. genitive in «-āha» extended to form the plural, like «-rā» of Bengali, «-kā» of Bhōjpuriyā).

In the Standard Colloquial, some intransitive verbs are seen to employ the «-ē» affix, in apparent contradiction to the rule that it is confined to transitives only: thus নাচলে «nāc̣lē» *he danced*, কাঁদলে «kāḍlē» *he wept*, হাঁটলে «hāṭlē» *he walked*, খাটলে «khāṭlē» *he laboured* (but খাটিল «khāṭilā» *it fitted*). Cases like these can be explained as a phonetic development out of «-ilā» forms of MB. — < «nāc̣ilā, kāḍilā, hāṭṭilā, khāṭilā» etc. (see *supra*, pp. 400-401): but the proper explanation is that these verbs are really transitives with cognate objects like নাচ, নাচা, নাচন «nāc̣, nāc̣ā, nāc̣ān» , কাঁদা, কাঁদা, কাঁদন «kāḍā, kāḍnā, kāḍān» etc. understood and sometimes expressed. The «-ē» is thus never extended to intransitives in the dialects in which it is employed. On the other hand, through the influence of the «sādhu-bhāṣā» and of East Bengal dialects, the «-ā» form is now being used at times by Standard Colloquial speakers with the transitive also—e.g., পেলা, খেলা, দেখল, দিল «pēlā, khēlā, dēkhilā, dilā» *he obtained, ate, saw, gave*, beside the proper «-ē» forms.

The credit of first noticing the difference between the intransitive and transitive past bases in Bengali as well as of suggesting explanations belongs to Grierson (JASB., 1895, pp. 366, 374, 350; LSI., V, I, 1903, p. 13, foot-note; cf. also 'Prabāsi' for 1920, Pauṣa, pp. 382 ff.). In



the JASB. article, a form like *मारिलेक*, « *māril-ē-(kṣ)* » *he killed* Grierson sought to explain (on the analogy of Maithili forms with affixed object and subject pronouns) as being from « \**māril-ai-ka* », being either < « \**māril-āya-ka* » = *killed-this(object)-by-him*, where « *āya* » was the (Western) Apabhraṅśa equivalent of Skt. « *idam* », and « *ka* » was a third personal pronoun with instrumental power having affinities in Kāśmīri; or < « \**māril-ahahī-ka* » = *killed-that(object)-by-him*, where « *ahahī* » was the oblique of « *aha* », the (Western) Apabhraṅśa equivalent of Skt. « *adas* ». But there is nothing in MB. and OB. to warrant such derivations. We have the « *-ēka* » affix with intransitive verbs from the eMB. period. Grierson formulated another explanation in the LSI: *খালে* « *khālē* » *he ate* = « *khālī* » *eaten* + « *-hi* » *by him, by them*. But this « *-hi* » as an enclitic instrumental pronoun cannot be otherwise assumed from MB. and OB.

715. The « *-kṣ* » affix in the forms *अक, उक, एक* « *-ākṣ, -ōkṣ, -ēkṣ* » in the past tense is pleonastic: possibly it was polite or honorific in Early Bengali. This is discussed below, under 'Pleonastic Affixes,' pp. 989 ff.

716. The honorific forms — *अन्ति, आन्ति, अन्, आन्, एन्*, « *-anti, -ānti, -antā, -āntā, -ēntā* » and *एन, आहिन, आहि, आहै*, « *-ēnṣ, -ānṣ, -āni, -āi* » have been extended from the present tense by adding to the past base in « *-ilā ilā* ». As has been explained before, they form two groups—the verbal « *-anti* » and the nominal « *-āna, -ana, -ān-i, -an-i* », the latter having ousted the former (see *supra*, p. 936). In the eMB. of the SKK., we find the verbal « *-nt* » forms only: *काङ्गिलाङ्क* « *kāṅghilāntā* » *look off*, *चाङ्गिलाङ्क* « *cāṅghilāntā* » *looked at*, *गेलान्ति* « *gēlānti* » *went*, *कहिलाङ्क, कहिलेङ्क* « *kāhīlāntā, kāhīlētā* » *said*, etc.; and there are no « *-n(i), -ni* » forms, which came in later. Early Assamese has « *-āntā* » — « *thāilāntā, bhāilāntā* » *was (were)*, « *kāilāntā* » *did*, etc. Maithili and Magahī also have « *-thi* » (< *-anti*) » (*supra*, p. 937): but in Maithili « *-thi* » occurs only with transitive verbs (Maithili « *dēkhalṣ-thi* », but « *calal-ṣṣṣ* », whereas Magahī has both « *dēkhalṣ-thi, calalṣ-thi* »).

In later MB., « *-nt* » and « *-n* » occur side by side in the texts. « *-āntā, -antā* » are the common affixes in Chuṣṭi Khān's 'Mahābhārata' (VSPd. ed.): and « *-ēnṣ* » is already well-established in Kṛttivāsa. The

nominal «-n-» form may thus be said to have successfully invaded the domain of the verb in the 15th century. In the 'Padmā-purāṇa of Vaiṣṇī-dāsa (17th century: Maimansing), «-ñi (<-āni)» is almost the rule for the past third person honorific: e.g., p. 43, পুলতা कहिलॉई «Pulastya kāhilāi» *P. said*; p. 71, कहिलॉई मेनकासुन्दरी «kāhilāi Mēnakā-sundarī»; p. 98, ब्रह्मा चलि आईलॉई «Brāhmā calī āilāi» *B. came away*; p. 109, धरिलॉई «dhārilāi» *caught*; p. 185, दिलाई «dilāi» *gave*; p. 194, बलिलॉई «balilāi» *said*; p. 196, भाविलॉई «bhāvilāi» *thought*. The «-āni, -āni, -ñi» form is still current for the honorific in E. Vanga.

The nominal «-n-» figures in Bhōjpuriyā (e.g. «rahal-an» *was, were* = Bengali रहिलेन «rāhil-ēṅṅ», «dekhān-an, dekhān-ani» *saw* = Bengali দেখিলেন «dēkhil-ēṅṅ»). In Assamese «dēkhilā-hāk» *you saw*, «dēkhilō-hāk» *we saw*, the affix «-hāk» is found with the 2nd and 1st person to form the plural, and this also is undoubtedly the nominal «-na, -nha» with pleonastic «-ka». In Maithilī and Magahī, the nominal «-nh-» is added to the verb, but commonly with a dative-accusative (and not nominative-instrumental, or simple plural) force: e.g., Maithilī «dēkhathī» *he* (honorific) *sees* (< *they see*), but «dēkhathī-nhi» (honorific) *he sees* (< *they see*) *them* (i.e. a respected person), and «dēkhiai-nhi» *sees them* > *sees a respected person*: and so with the past tense—«dēkhalṭ-thi» beside «dēkhalṭ-nhi» (here active «-nhi» as an equivalent of «-thi»), «dēkhalṭ-k-ai» (object), «dēkhalṭ-thi-nhi» (object). In the intransitive, «-nhi» is used for the indirect object only. So Magahī «dēkhalṭ-thī», «dēkhalṭ-thī-n» (object «-n-»). Oriyā too adds the plural affix (found with the noun) to the past and future bases of the verb, but it is not «-n-» of the genitive, but «-ṣ-» < «-ahi» of the instrumental (see *supra*, p. 724): e.g., sg. «dēkhilā», pl. «dēkhil-ṣ» *saw*; sg. «hōilā», pl. «hōil-ṣ» *were*.

### [III] THE AFFIXES FOR THE FUTURE TENSE.

These are exactly on the lines of the past, and detailed treatment is not necessary.

717. The forms for the First Person in MB. and NB. are: अ (७), उहॉ, उ, (वॉ, वू > वू, वू, उ), आय «-ā (-ṣ), -ōhṣ, -ṣ (-b-ṣ, -b-ū > -mu, -m,

-*ṅ* = *ṅ*), -*ām* >. The base in < -*ā* > —ইব < -*ib-ā* > —occurs in OB. and MB. (including the ŚKK.), and has been adopted as the < *sādhu-bhāṣā* > form, without any personal affix. In the ŚKK., < -*ṣ* > is the affix for the first person, and < -*āhṣ*, -*ōhṣ* > do not occur there; but the < -*hṣ* > forms may be attested for eMB. from Early Assamese < *hāibō-hō, dibō-hō* > beside < *hāibō, dibō* > (= New Assamese < *hām, dim* >) *I shall be, I shall give*. The eMB. < -*ṣ* > may have been also the result of < -*aṣa, -ama* >. In any case, it would seem to have extended from the past; and in the past, already in the 14th century, < -*ilā-hṣ, -ilō-hṣ* > had given < -*il-ṣ* >. The Early MB. < -*ṣ* > lost its nasalisation through confusion with the base in < -*ā* >, and the Standard Colloquial < -*ō* > (-*bō*), is commonly written ব < -*bā* > following the < *sādhu-bhāṣā* > spelling. The < -*m*-, -*ṅ*- > forms have been noted before (p. 967). The affix < -*ām* > is found in Maimansing, and is evidently the same form as in the past (see *supra*, pp. 976-977).

718. The affixes for the Second Person are (in addition to the base form অ < -*ā* > in MB. and OB.): ই < -*i* > contemptuous or familiar; উ < -*u* > contemptuous and familiar, in MB.; এ, এঁ, এহে < -*ē, -ē, -ēhṣ* > polite, of which the shortened form < -*ē* > alone occurs in NB.; and আ, আহা < -*ā, -āhā* > polite and ordinary (besides এন্ < -*ēnṣ* > with আপনি < *āpni* > honorific, from 3rd person).

Of these, < -*i* > and < -*u* > are the same as in the past tense (pp. 978-980). < -*ēhṣ* > is found in the ŚKK., e.g., উঠিবেহে < *uṭhibēhṣ* > *you will rise*, কৰিবেহে < *kāribēhṣ* > *you will do*, रुषिবেহে < *ruṣibēhṣ* > *you will be angry*, etc.; also the contracted < -*ē* > and the denasalised < -*ē* > are found there; and in the same work < -*ibēhṣ* > occurs as a contracted < -*ibhṣ* > in বহিতে < *bāhibhṣ* > *you will carry* (p. 175). This < -*ēhṣ, -ē, -ē* > has also apparently been extended from the past. So, too, < -*ā, -āhā* >, also polite forms. < -*ā* > is found in MB.—চলিবা, কৰিবা < *calibā, kāribā* >; and this < -*ā* > might by Vowel Harmony give the Standard Colloquial চ'লবে, ক'ৰবে [č'olbe, korbe]. These last two forms (-*ā, -āhā*) are not found in the ŚKK., but the < -*āhā* > can be attested from Early Assamese: e.g., < *kāribāhā* > (as in p. 852 *supra*). The < -*ā* > affix is now quite common in East Bengal dialects: the Standard Colloquial prefers < -*ē* >.

719. The affixes for the Third Person are: অ -*ā*> (< -aa, -ā) the base, in OB. and MB. (found at the present day in East Bengali and in Modern Assamese); এ -*ē*>, in the «*sādhu-bhāṣā*» and in the Standard Coll. (= same as the «-ē» of the 3rd person past: some influence of the «-ē» in the 3rd person sigmatic future of eMB.— «-hē» —described before at p. 965 —is very likely here: «-ibē» is found in the ŚKK., in both transitive and intransitive verbs, and also in Early Assamese); and the honorific অন্ত, এন্ত, এন, অঞ্জে, অঞ্জে etc. «-āntā, -ēntā, -ēnā, -āñi, -ēñi», as in the past tense. Besides, there is the affix এক «-ēkā» with pleonastic «-ka», found in the ŚKK. and in Early Assamese, and also in the NB. «*sādhu-bhāṣā*» and in West Rāḍha dialects: this is discussed below.

[IV] THE AFFIXES FOR THE CONDITIONAL OR HABITUAL PAST.

720. They also agree with those for the other two participial tenses. There are some restrictions: for the 1st person, ই «-i» does not occur; for the 2nd person contemptuous (= old singular), ইন্ «-is» is used, and never (or rarely in some dialects) ই «-i» or উ «-u»; and for the 3rd person, similarly, এ «-ē» is not found.

[H] PLEONASTIC AFFIXES.

[I] THE PLEONASTIC AFFIX «-KA».

721. The pleonastic affixes added to the tense forms are noteworthy in Bengali as in the other Magadhan languages. The most common of these affixes is «-ka».

In NB., the forms for the 1st person are free from the pleonastic affix, at least it is not added directly to the verb; but it is added to the 2nd person past and future (ordinary, with «*tumi*»), and to non-honorific 3rd person past and future (and in some dialects to the 3rd person past habitual), as well as 3rd person imperative, and but rarely to the 2nd person imperative: e.g., তুমি দিলেক, দিলাক, দিবেক, চ'ল্বেক «*tumi dil-ēkā, dil-ākā, dibē-kā, cā'lbē-kā*» (never, however, «*tui dibi-kā, cā'lbī-kā*»); সে দিলেক, চ'ল্বেক, দিবেক, চ'ল্বেক «*sē dilē-kā, cā'llē-kā, dibē-kā, cā'lbē-kā*»; সে দিক্, চলুক «*sē di-kā (< diu-kā), cālu-kā*». Except in the case of 3rd person

imperative, the use of « kṣ » is regarded as archaic in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and is to a great extent dialectal in Bengali.

Of the present-day dialects, that of West Rāḍha has a marked preference for the « -ka », commonly in the third person : and it is found also in North Bengali (which has a special employ with the 2nd person polite imperative = original passive? : e.g., ডাখেক « dyākhēkṣ < dēkhē-ka = ? \*dēkhiai + ka », p. 130, LSI., V, I; so রাখেক « rākhēkṣ < ? \*rākhiai + ka », p. 179, *ibid* ; also cf. p. 216, in Haijong dialect: see *supra*, p. 918), in Mayang (where it seems to occur as « -gā »), and in Chittagong (in the Chakma dialect, rather rarely). It is found pretty frequently in MB., from the ŚKK. downwards, generally with the third person, occasionally with the second, and very rarely with the first. Already in the ŚKK. we have forms like ধরিলেক « dhārilēkṣ » *caught*, চাহিলেক « cāhilēkṣ » *looked*, হিছিলেক « hiphilēkṣ » *cast*, নহিবেক « nahibēkṣ » *will not be*, করিবেক « karibēkṣ » *will do*, লৈবেক « laibēkṣ » *will take*, etc. In the ŚKK., it is noteworthy that the « -ka » has also been found with the 1st person future and with the 3rd person present—this sort of use with the first and third person is not noticed ordinarily: thus ŚKK. নিবৌক « nibō-kṣ » *I shall take* (p. 287), and পোড়েক « pōṛē-kṣ » *burns* (p. 110). In the NB. Standard Colloquial, however « -ka » may be used with negatives in all persons and tenses as a detached word, without any special force, unless it be of some sort of finality: e.g., দেবো না ক' « dēbō-nā-kṣ » *I shan't give*, দে দিলে না ক', দেয় নি ক' « sē dilē-nā-kṣ, dēy-ni-kṣ » *he didn't give*, তুমি দিও না ক' « tumi diō nā kṣ » *you won't give*, নাইক' = নাহি-ক' « nāi-kṣ < nāhi-kṣ » *is not, are not*; in cases like the above, the negative phrase may be taken as one group-word to which the affix is added.

The « -ka » for the 3rd person imperative is already well-established in the ŚKK., although the older form without the affix is still equally common (see *supra*, pp. 903, 907).

The « -ka » is absent in the Caryās as a verbal affix.

722. Of the other Magadhan Languages, Bhōjpuriyā alone seems not to employ it with the past and future bases. It is fairly common in Early Oṛiyā, specially with the past in the 3rd person (sg. « -ilā-kṣ »,

pl. and sg. honorific «-ilē-kā»): but Oriyā never used it with the 3rd person imperative. The «-ka» affix for the verb, however, has fallen into disuse in Modern Oriyā. So, too, Early Assamese shows as much preference for the «-ka» as Bengali; e.g., 'Ādi-caritra,' p. 3, «bhāilēkā» beside «bhāilā» was; p. 7, «bōlāntōkā» they say, «thākāntōkā» they are; p. 9, «thākibēkā» they will be, «bulibēkā» they will say; p. 20, «nā-hi-k-āntā» they are not; p. 28, «nā-hi-k-ay» is not; p. 36, «thāilēkā» was; p. 43 «yōgāilēkā» supplied, etc., and elsewhere «nu-hi-k-ō» I am not (cf. Standard Coll. Bengali नहै क' = नहिक' «nā(h)ī-kā» I am not, नहै क' «nā(h)ī-kā» he is not). All this usage is curtailed in Modern Assamese, where we find the «-ka» only with the 3rd person imperative, as in Bengali: e.g., «kār-ō-kā» let him do. The unstableness of the «-ka» in Oriyā and Assamese is remarkable: and it is almost equally unstable in M.B. and N.B., being commonly attached to the imperative only.

The «-ka» features also in Central Magadhan. Its use in Magahī is rather restricted, it being found only in the 3rd person past both transitive and intransitive. The root «√ha» to be in Magahī also occurs as «√ha-k», for all the three persons. But in Maithilī «-ka» has a greater importance. It is added to the 3rd person of the simple past tense of the transitive verb («dēkhala-k» beside poetic or earlier «dēkhala» he saw), where it apparently refers to the subject; but in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, it can be added pleonastically where the verb-form takes the pronominal affixes referring to the non-honorific object: e.g., 1st person: «dēkhal-I, dēkhala-hū, dēkhalḥ» I saw (simple form), «dēkhal-i-ai, dēkhal-i-a(h)u; dēkhal-ai, dēkhal-a(h)u» saw (with affixed «-ai, ahu» referring to the object in the 3rd and 2nd persons); and optionally, the latter group can have «-ka», as «dēkhal-i-ai-k, dēkhal-i-au-k; dēkhal-ai-k, dēkhal-au-k»; so 2nd person «dēkhal-āh» beside «dēkhal-ahā-k»; and 3rd person «dēkhala-k» he saw (simple), «dēkhal-k-ai, dēkhal-k-au» (with object pronoun «-ai, -au»), beside optionally «dēkhalḥ-k-ai-k, dēkhal-k-au-k» (in which two «-k-» affixes occur: the first «ka» refers apparently to the 3rd person subject, and the second «ka» is simply pleonastic). Early Maithilī as in literature does not show these curious extensions

the form for the 3rd person was simply in «-ala» — «dēkhala», and not «\*dēkhala-ka», as in Modern Maithili. This we find in the old poetry, in Vidyāpati, in the 'Varṇa-ratnākara.' The affixation of the pleonastic «-ka» etc. thus developed along independent lines in Maithili.

723. The usage in MB. and NB. and in Maithili shows that the «-ka» is not restricted to a single person: it is found with all the three. We have a very popular pleonastic «-ka» affix in Bengali with other parts of speech also: we find it with nouns (e.g., plural affixes গুলক «gula-kā» beside গুল «gula», আদিক > দিক «-ādi-kā > -di-gā» beside আদি > দি «ādi > -di», একটুক «ēkṭ-ṭu-kā» a little beside একটু «ēkṭ-ṭu»; etc.), and dialectally it is found with conjunctions (e.g., কিছুক for কিছু «kintu-kā = kintu» in North Bengali). This «-ka» is always handy to give a point, a supposed elegance to a form in the speech of the uneducated classes in many dialectal areas: we see that in the case of learned Sanskrit words. The pleonastic «-ka» with verb forms appears to be the same affix noted under 'Formative Affixes,' No. 36 (pp. 682-688). It came specially to be associated with the 3rd person past and future in Bengali because there was no prominent affix for these finite verb forms—nothing comparable with the «-āhō, -ō, -ām» etc. of the first person, or with «-is, -āhā, -āhō» of the second. Sometimes it was thought to be quite a polite form too. The same apparently was the reason for the other Magadhan speeches: and if Maithili restricted it to the transitive past 3rd person (e.g., «dēkhalak» beside «calak»), it was because the past intransitive still retained a great deal of the original adjectival nature.

The link vowel of the pleonastic «-ka» in the 3rd person already occurs as «-ē» (and not «-ā» or «-ā») in the ŚKK. In the future, the 3rd pers. affix was «-ē», and «-kā» was simply added to it. In the past, it was apparently the transitive verbs in «-ē» in the 3rd person that first took up the «-ka» (we should compare with the state of things in Maithili in this matter): in the few instances of «-il-ē-ka» that we find in the ŚKK., there is no case of an intransitive verb. From the transitive it was apparently extended, as «-ē-ka», to the intransitive forms from the 15th century onwards.

724. Grierson, basing his observations on the modern Maithili use of «-ka» for the 3rd person past of the transitive verb, explained this «-ka» both as an instrumental pronoun referring to the subject (e.g., «dökhal-k-ai» = *seen + by him* [k] + *object* [ai]), and as a nominative pronoun (e.g., «dökhal-I-au-k» = *seen + by me* [I] + *for you* [au] + *he* [k]: JASB., 1895, p. 350). But an ensemble view of the whole question would certainly connect other facts with what we see in Maithili, and make the simple explanation of the «ka» as the pleonastic affix as the more likely one, rather than regarding it as a problematic 3rd personal pronoun «-ka». Grierson found support in postulating the 3rd personal pronoun «k» from the Assamese forms «böpai» *my father*, «bäp» *your father*, and «bäp-ë-k» *his father*: but another explanation may be suggested for these forms: «-äi (böp-äi)» may be compared with the affix of endearment found in Bengali personal names (for which see *supra*, 'Formative Affixes,' No. 9, p. 662); «-ä (bäp-ä)» for the 2nd person is an affix of respect, such as we find in the Assamese 2nd personal forms of the verb; and «-k (bäp-ë-k)» is just the pleonastic affix, perhaps originally added as a polite form, to the naked word «bäp».

Among other NIA. speeches, the Jaipurī form of Rājasthānī has a fondness for this pleonastic «-ka» which can be compared with the Magadhān usage (LSI., IX, II, p. 35).

725. The «-ka» affix has had a very important place among the affixes of IA. Already in OIA., from post-Vedic times, this affix was employed with a variety of forces (cf. Franklin Edgerton, 'The *k*-suffixes of Indo-Iranian,' Part I, Leipzig, 1911). It seems to have been re-introduced in MIA., evidently through the influence of a large percentage of the Skt. *ts.* and *stts.* which showed it. The pleonastic use of it has been exhaustively noted by Pāṇini. We find that the «-ka» could be used in Skt. pleonastically, or with a sense of contempt, pity, littleness, or unfamiliarity, in connexion with all sorts of forms—inflected pronouns and inflected verbs (mainly 3rd pers. sg.), as well as indeclinables, in addition to noun bases (cf. Pāṇini, V, iii, 71-78, 85, 86): e.g., the instances given by the grammarians,



« uccaiḥ : uccakaiḥ ; śanaiḥ : śanakaiḥ ; tvayāḥ : tvayakāḥ ; yuvayōḥ : yuvakayōḥ ; yuṣṁāsu : yuṣṁakāsu ; jalpati : jalpataki ; pacati : pacataki ; pāti : pātaki ; svapiti : svapitaki ; śhi : śhaki » ; etc. It is not unlikely that a revived « -ka, -kka » should develop in MIA. and NIA. a similar employ as a pleonastic.

[II] THE PLEONASTIC AFFIX « -RA ».

726. An affix « -ra » occurs in dialectal NB. and in MB. In NB. this is found in West Raḍha (e.g., in the Sarāki dialect of Ranchi) in connexion with the conjunctive in « -i(y)ā » : e.g., বাইআর « jāiārā = jāiā-rā » *having gone*, খাইআর « khāiārā = khāiā-rā » *having eaten*, উঠিয়ার « uṭhiārā = uṭhiā-rā » *having risen* (LSI., V, I, pp. 88, 89) ; it is found also in the dialects of East Vanga—in Sylhet, Kachar and Mayang dialects, in Tipperah, Noakhali and Chittagong. The usage in East Vanga is more extensive : the « -ra » occurs not only with the conjunctive, e.g., Chittagong দিয়ারে, করিয়ারে, আইয়ারে « diyārā-rā, kāriyārā-rā, āiyārā-rā » *on having given, on having done, on having come*, Mayang « śilārā » *on having come*, but also with the present (radical) and the past conditional (< present participle) tenses, to indicate continuous or progressive action : e.g., E. Sylhet বাইয়ার, বাইয়াম, বাইয়াম « jāiyārā-rā, jāit-rā-ām, jāi-rā-ām » *I go, I am going* (beside বাইতেছি « jāitēchi » as in Standard Bengali) ; করি « kārāt-rā-ā » *is or are doing* ; বাইয়ার « jāit-rā-y » *you are going* (beside বাইতেছ « jāitēchā ») ; হয়র « hāyārā-rā » *is happening* ; and Mayang « pait-rā » *are getting*, « jā-r-gā » *he goes*, « tumi-te śho-r-ai (= āisa-r-āy) » *you are coming*, « sōre dākāite hin kortār-rā » *thieves and robbers are making destitute*, « āmi kākuti kōriyār » *we pray*, « bāpōk gum jā-r » *the father sleeps*, « tā huōr rākhe-r » *he tends swine*, « bōk paiyā mōring-kōrau-r-i » *I am dying of hunger*, etc., etc. (LSI., V, I, pp. 419 ff.) ; Chittagong করির beside করি « kāri-rā, kāri » *I (we) do*, করর beside করল « kārār-rā, kārās » *you do*, করের beside করে « kārē-rā, kārē » *he does, they do*, খাইর, খাই « khāi-rā, khāi » *I eat*, খায়র « khāo-rā » *you eat*, খায়ের, খার « khāyērā, khārā-rā » *he eats*, আই উরালে মরির « āi uāśē māri-rā » *I am dying through starvation*, আই তৌয়ার খেজমৎ করিরে « āi tōārā khēzmāt kāriyērā » *I am doing service for you*, etc. ; and Chakma « māṛāṅ-ārā » *I am dying*, « gārāṅ-ārā » *I am doing*, « bhābā-rā » *he is thinking*, etc.

The MB. examples are all found in the ŚKK., and the < -ra > there occurs, not with the conjunctive, but with the finite tense forms—present, past and future, as well as imperative: thus: p. 39, আছের < āchē-rā > is; p. 195, শোভের < śōbhē-rā > is beautiful; p. 69, বাজের < bājē-rā > sounds; p. 152, গেলির < gēli-rā > it went (= gēlā-rā?); p. 2, চিভির < cinti-rā > he deliberated (non-l past in < -i >: *supra*, p. 947); p. 50, বেড়িলের < bēṛhilē-rā > it surrounded; pp. 50, 193, 279, দিবোর < dibō-rā > I shall give; p. 84, হৈবের < hāibē-rā > it will be; p. 334, কহিয়ারেঁ < kāhiā-r-ē > let me narrate; p. 11, কহিয়ার < kāhiā-r-ā > do tell; p. 72, খায়ার < khāā-r-ā > do eat; pp. 16, 115, 319, 336, 394 দিয়ার < diā-rā > do give; p. 38, দিয়ার < diā-r-u > let him give. In the imperative forms, the base seems to be the non-l passive participle in < -iā >, to which < -rā > is added, and the whole is treated as a base to which the personal suffixes are attached. Cf. the Sylhet and Mayang forms, and the Chittagong idiom তুই দিয়ারে মুই দিরা < tui diyā-r-ē mui diyā > on your giving, I would give, or if you have given, then I have given also (VSPdP., 1926, p. 251).

727. The fact of this < -ra > occurring in the two extreme dialect areas of Bengali—in Early West Bengali, in modern dialectal West Bengali, and in modern extreme Eastern and South-Eastern Bengali—would suggest that it was a common Bengali affix, but its development has been localised in certain tracts. It seems to occur sporadically in other dialects also in MB.: e.g., Vijaya-gupta's 'Padmā-purāṇa' (Barisal), ফুপের ঘোঁরা দিয়ারে বাসিত করে বেশ < dhūpērṣ dhōā diyārē bāsitā kārē kēṣṣ > perfumes hair with incense smoke (VSP., p. 186).

The < -ra > affix apparently occurs in other NIA., outside Bengal and the Magadhan area. We find it in Rājasthāni (e.g., Mārwarī < hūya-r, whē-r > having become beside < hūy-naḥ, hō, hō-kar, whētō-kṣnaḥ >, < māra-r > having struck beside < mār-kar, mār-naḥ, māṛū-naḥ >; Central Rājasthāni, Jaipuri etc., < whai-r, hō-r > having become, < māra-r > having struck; Mēwāṭī < hō-r, mār-ar >), where the affix < -ra > is added to the conjunctive participle; we find it in Pahārī, e.g., Khas-kurā < gārē-ra > having done, < bhayē-ra > having been (where the < -ra > has been explained as a conjunction meaning *and*, which is added to the oblique form of the passive

participle), beside the «-i» conjunctive «gari, bhai» *having done, having been* (LSI., IX, IV, p. 36); Sirmauri «khāy-rō» *having eaten* (where «-rō» seems to be in a post-position: LSI., *ibid.*, p. 465); also «-rō» in other Pahārī dialects (LSI., *ibid.*, pp. 570, 602).

The etymology of the Bengali «-ra» is puzzling, and probably the source is not one, but many. In the NB. conjunctives, whether of West Rāḍha or of S.-E. Vanga, it can very well be post-positional in origin, from «pārṣ, pār-ē» *after*, used in an adverbial sense. We have Modern Bengali instances like W. Rāḍha বারে বাদে «jāyē bādē» *after having gone* (where «bādē» *after* is the Perso-Arabic «ba'd») = Standard Colloquial গিরে পর «giyē pārṣ»: Cf. Haijong dialect (Maimansing) উঠিযামি «uṭhiyā-mi» *after getting up*, দেখিযামি «dēkhiyā-mi» *on seeing* where «-mi» is the locative affix (see *supra*, p. 751); we can also compare Marāṭhī «uṭhilyā-var» *on having risen*, «sōḍilyā-var» *on having left*, where «var=par». The «-ra» in Khas-kurā, explained by Grierson as meaning *and* (<apara), can similarly be a postpositional form. In the present forms, in Bengali, the «-ra» can very well be the conjunction «āra, āara, aara <apara» *and*: «karē-rṣ» *does and=does, continues to do, is doing*. So, too, in the MB. past and future. But the addition of it to a verbal base, and then tagging on personal suffixes to it (as in the MB. imperative 1. «kāhiā-r-ō», 2. «kāhiā-r-ā», 3. «diā-r-u» and in NB. of E. Sylhet 1. «jāit-r-ām, jāi-r-ām» 2. «jāit-r-āy», 3. «jāit-r-ā», and Mayang 2. «āhō-r-ai», 3. «kōrtā-r-ā») is a unique phenomenon. I would suggest that here the «-r-» is the contracted form of «√kār», and the affix is simply the verbal auxiliary added on to the root: «kāhiārō <\*kāhiā+karō» = «kathitām karōmi» *I make it described*, for «kathayāmi» *I describe it*; «diāru <\*diyā+karu» = «dattām karōtu» for «dadāstu»: «jāit-rām = \*jāita+karō, \*karām» (Bengali «√kār + affix «-āmi») = *going I do = I go on, I am going*; and a form like «jāi-rām» or «āhō-r-ai» shows a combination of a regular conjugation in the present + the «-r- <√kār» and personal affixes combined. The genitive affix «kara >-ārṣ» implying connexion may also have something to do with it.

[III] THE PLEONASTIC AFFIX «-LI» OF 'MB.

728. The affix लि «-li» occurs in the SKK. less than half a dozen times with the future or precative imperative : e.g., करिहलि «kārīhāli» you will do ; दिहलि «dihāli» you will give ; गाँव गढ़ाहलि «gāṅv gaṛāhāli» you will roll (your) body ; चलिहलि «cālihāli» you will go. An equivalent of this affix has not been found in any NB. dialect Bhōjpuriyā among Magadhan speeches has an «-l-» form which is added to the old present (or radical) tense to form a present definite or future (LSI., V, II, p. 52). In some of the Rājasthāni dialects, in Marāṭhi, in Khas-kurā, and in Garhwāli and Kumāūni (Central Pahāri), the future is also expressed by an «-l-» form.

The MB. «-li», occurring as it does with an original future form to strengthen its force, seems to be equally a future-indicating suffix, as in the other NIA. speeches, and to be identical with that. Various derivations of this «-l-» suffix have been suggested (cf. Beames, 'Comp. Gramm.,' II, p. 163 ; Bhāṇḍārkar, 'Wilson Lectures,' p. 272 ; Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' §§ 501, 509 ; Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 241). The derivation suggested by Bloch for this suffix seems to be the most likely one : it is the passive participle of a Prakrit root «lā» to take (corresponding to the Skt. «√lā» : cf. similar alternation between Prakrit and NIA. «√dā» and Skt. «√dā»), such as we find, for instance, in Hindōstāni «li-ā», in Brajbhāṣā «li-nau», in dialectal Bengali লিলে «li-l-ā» (=in Standard Bengali নিলে «ni lē» with merging of नी «√ni» and लह «√lāh < √labh» in it). This «\*li(a) > li» would seem to be added pleonastically, and in MB. it is used in both genders. Cf. similar future use of «gā, gau (< gata)» in Western Hindi (and in Maithili).

[IV] THE PLEONASTIC AFFIX «KHAN» OR «KHUN».

729. The colloquial of Calcutta and the surrounding districts uses the word खन «-khānṣ» or खून «-khunṣ», or अखन, अखून «-ākhānṣ, -ākhunṣ» after vowels, pleonastically with all persons in the past and future tenses : e.g., बाबा-(अ)खन, दिग्ग-खून, हवे-(अ)खून «jābō-(ā)khunṣ,

ḍilum-khunḍ, habē-(ā)khunḍ > *I shall go, I (we) gave, it will be*. There is just a suggestion of the finality or instantaneous completion of the action : here the force of the OIA. « kṣaṇa » *instant*, its source, is preserved. Its origin has been given *supra*, p. 857, under 'Adverbs of Time in কন « khāṅḥ ».' It seems to occur also in Magahī, in forms like « kailḥkai-khan » *did*, « kahalḥkai-khan » *said*, « chōraḥkai-khan » *gave up*, « chōraulḥkai-khan » *caused to give up*, « ailai-khan » *came*, besides « kariai-khan » *I do, I shall do*, etc. (as in the 'Gospel of St. Mark, in Magadhi,' Calcutta, 1890 : a form which does not occur in Grierson).

In dialectal Bengali (Khulna, Jessore, etc.), this form has been reduced to « nē » ( < ānē < āānē < āhānē [oxone], = ākhānē) with the future only : দেবানে « dēbō-nē » *I shall give*, যাবানে « jābā-nē » [zabane] *you will go*, etc.

#### [V] THE PLEONASTIC AFFIX '-ṭā.'

730. The Mayang dialect apparently uses a pleonastic affix « tā » : thus, « eil-tā » *he came* « eilā-tā » *they have come*, « peilāng-tā » *I got*, « korauri-tā » *I am making* « ose-tā, āse-tā » *is*, beside « eil » *he came*, « dekhilo » *he saw*; « nā-peil-gā » *did not get*, « korauri » *I do*, « āse » *is*, etc. This « -tā » is found with nouns and pronouns also (LSI., V, I, pp. 419 ff.).

Mayang does not distinguish between cerebrals and dentals, as much Assamese, and this « -tā » can well represent a cerebral « -ṭā ». This « -ṭā » apparently is the 'Enclitic Definitive' noted at pp. 780-781, and at p. 686. Its use with verbs is not noticed elsewhere in Bengali, but it seems to be present in Oriyā as « -ṭi », especially in Early Oriyā : e.g., « tu jibu-ṭi » *will you go ?* (cf. LSI., V, II, p. 381, Expletive Additions) : Early Oriyā, 'Dhruva-caritra' (Contai ed., p. 16) « pāibā-ṭi kāhi » *where will one get it ?*; 'Bhāgavata, Vastra-haraṇa' p. 8, « nārākḥ pāribā-ṭi jāi » *will fall in hell*; 'Rukmiṇī-haraṇa,' p. 3, « sē dhārmē bhācā-ṭi-ki sukhē » *live happily in that dharma* (cf. Oriyā « ṭikē » = Bengali একটুকু, এক « ēkḥ-ṭu, -ṭu-kḥ », p. 780); 'Rāsa-līlā,' p. 8, « āmbhārā pūrilā-ṭi kāja » *my time is over*; etc.

[VI] THE PLEONASTIC AFFIX « -ḌA ».

731. In the OB., the two forms « gāi-ḍa » *sang* and « sanḍiḍa » *signified* occur (Caryā 2). They represent OIA. causative passive participles « gāpitam » and « sanḍhīḍitam » + the pleonastic affix « -ḍa > -ḍa » = « -ḍa » in NIA. (=Formative Affix No. 46, pp. 689 ff., *supra*). Use of this pleonastic affix for verb-forms is known in other NIA., although this figures no longer in that connexion in Bengali (of Rājasthāni dialects, LSI., IX, II, pp. 80, 59).

[I] THE PARTICIPLES.

[I] THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE.

732. The present participle occurs in Bengali in two forms: in the base-form in অত « -āntā », and in the locative in হৈতে « -itā ». It represents the OIA. active present participle in « -ant- » (the « śatṛ » of the Indian grammarians). These have been discussed under 'Formative Affixes,' Nos. 3 and 28. Other instances of the « -āntā » form may be given: পড়ত « par-āntā » *falling*, নিবত « nib-āntā » *dying out (as a flame)*, উঠত « uṭh-āntā » *rising*, জ্বলত « jwāl-āntā » *burning*, সাজত « sāj-āntā » *fitting*, ফুটত « phuṭ-āntā » *blossoming, boiling (bubbling)*, অকুরত « ā-phur-āntā » *unending*, etc. The affix « -āntā » is an archaic survival (doubtless a literary one) for Bengali, with the « -n- » fully retained: it ought to have been \*অত « -āt- »: we actually find « -āt- » in some rare instances in MB.: e.g., VSP., p., 658, জীৱত « jiyātā » *living*. The participle as an attribute of the subject of a sentence, e.g., as in Hindōstāni (cf. Platts, 'Hindustāni Grammar,' p. 332), is not found in Bengali. The Assamese equivalent is « -ūt- »: « kār-ūt-ā » *doer*, « cāl-ūt-ā » *walker*, « di-ūt-ā » *giver*, etc. Oriyā has a form in « -u, -ū » as in « kāru, kārū » (which is different in origin from the « -āntā » participle,) as the present participle absolute (see *supra*, p. 678). In Maithili, the affix occurs as « -ait », fem. « -ait-i », in Magahī as « -ait, -at, -it » (feminine with « -ī » added); and in Bhōjpuriyā the same forms as those of Magahī occur.

The absolute or attributive use of the « -āntā » participle is found only with one root in the Caryās: thus in 18, we have « jivantā maālā

(=mailē) nāhi bisēṣō » *there is no difference between the living and the dead*, where it is instrumental ; also in 49, « jivantē mailē nāhi bisēṣa » ; and in 23, « jivantē bhelā bihaṇi maēla » *died without having been a living one*, where it is apparently nominative. The form is also restricted in use in eMB., but a few instances are found : thus SKK., p. 256, জীবন্ত « jiyāntā » *living*, p. 276, মারাত্ম « mārāntā » *one who strikes*.

733. The present participle in হিতে « -itē » represents the proper Bengali transformation of the MIA. « -anta » to « -ita »—the native line of development in the language, represented in the Past Conditional or Habitual also. It is an inflected form—a locative absolute, and it indicates the condition under which an act is done. In dialectal Bengali, the uninflected form occurs either in forming the progressive tense (e.g., কর্তাহে [kōrtasē] < করিত্ + আছে « kārīt + āchē » in Maimansing Bengali), or to indicate either the simple participle, or when repeated a condition (e.g., আসিৎ আসিৎ « āsit āsit » *while coming* in Manbhum, Khārīā-ṭhār dialect: LSI., V, I, pp. 93, 94). A locative of the present participle in « -it- » with the common postpositional affix for the locative case, viz., ত « -tā », seems to feature in the progressive tense in dialectal North Bengali: see *infra*, under 'Compound or Periphrastic Tenses.' By repeating the « -itē » form, continuity of the conditional or concurrent event is indicated : thus, আমি যাইতে সে আসিল « āmi jāitē sē āsilā » *on my going (lit. I going), he came* ; আমি যাইতে যাইতে সে আসিল « āmi jāitē jāitē sē āsilā » *while I was going, he came* ; আমি খাইতে খাইতে বলিব « āmi khāitē khāitē bālibā » *I shall narrate while eating* ; তার এমন ভাই থাকতে সে কষ্ট পায় « tāraṅ ēmanāṅ bhāi thāktē sē kaṣṭa pāy » *with such a brother living, he suffers* ; সে নাচিতে নাচিতে আসে « sē nācitē nācitē āsē » *he comes dancing* ; গান গাইতে গাইতে স্নতা কাটে « gānāṅ gāitē gāitē sutā kāṭē » *spins while singing*, etc. The « -itē » form practically is in adverbial relation to the finite verb. This adverbial employ with an oblique form of the present participle is found in other NIA. speeches : e.g., Early Assamese « -āntē » (fairly common) ; Oriyā « āntē », e.g., (« kārāntē » *whilst doing*, also *on doing*, *about to do* : cf. « calāntē mēdini kāmpāi » *the earth trembles while he walks*, as in Jagannāthadāsa) ; Maithili « -itāhī », (e.g., « dekhitāhī » *on seeing*) ; Hindōstāni

«-tē» (see Platts, 'Hindustāni Grammar,' pp. 333, 335), e.g., «sāri rāt talaphtë kaṭi» *the whole night passed in restlessness* (lit. *I being agitated*), «ḍartē ḍartē mai pās giyā» *I approached (it) in great fear (fearing much)*, «ham gātē gātē sītī hai» *we (fem.) keep singing while we stitch*: in all the above, the oblique form is a locative; but in Old Western Rājasthāni, the source of Gujarātī and Mārwarī, where also this adverbial participle occurs, and in Marāṭhī similarly, the oblique form seems to be an absolute plural genitive (Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 124: but Jules Bloch and V.K. Rājawāḍē suggest the MIA. absolutive in «-tvā-nam, -ttānam» as in Pāli and Ardha-māgadhī as the source of the Marāṭhī as well as Gujarātī «-tā»: 'Langue Marathe,' p. 260).

In the Caryās, the locative or adverbial participle occurs in a number of instances: e.g., (15) jāntē, jāntē *while going*; (16) buḍantē *while sinking*; (20) biārantē *while discussing*, (23) paisantē *while entering*; (30) suṇantē *on hearing*; (31) cāhantē cāhantē *while seeing*; (39) amiā ācchantē bisa gilēsi *while there is nectar thou swallowest poison*; (42) mūḍhā acchantē lōa na pēkhai *while he remains a fool a man does not see*; dudha majhē laḍa ṇacchantē dēkhai =? dūdhā mājhē laḍa āchantē na dēkhai *he does not see the butter (fat) while it is the midst of the milk*; (44) aṇa cāhantē āṇa biṇaṭhā *while asking for the one, the other is destroyed*; (50) jāgantē *while keeping awake*; cf. also (6) «taraṅgantē = ? turam gantē» *going quickly*; and «ghara acchantē mā jāṅga baṇē», *supra*, p. 960.

MB. instances: ŚKK., p. 11, পাছে পাছে জাইতে পথ হারাইল আন্ধি «pāchē pāchē jāitē pāthā hārāilā āmhi» *I lost the way while going after (her)*; p. 15, বাহত বলয়া শোভে পাএত হুগুর। চলিতে চলিতে তোর রুগুরুগু বাজে ॥ «bāhu-tā bālayā śōbhē, pāē-tā nupūrā: cālitē cālitē tōrā ruṅu-jhuṅu bājē» *armlets grace (your) arms, on (your) feet anklets: while walking, these your (trinkets) tinkle*; p. 27, তাক সোঁঅরিতে মোর মনে বাঢ়ে তাপ «tākā sōāritē mōrā mānē bārhē tāpā» *sadness grows in my mind while I remember it all*; p. 355, বেবা কিছু হুখ দিলোঁ পার হৈতে নাএ «jēbā kichu dukhā dilō pārahāitē nāē» *all the trouble I gave (thee) while crossing in the boat*;



ibid, না শুনিলাম তোমার বোল লক্ষ্মী আইতে পানী « na śunilā tōra bōla lakṣmī jāitē pāni » *I did not listen to thy words while fetching water*; p. 376, চাহিতে চাহিতে পাইল আচম্বিত « cāhitē cāhitē pāilā ācambitā » *while seeking (looking for), found of a sudden*; etc., etc.; Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 24, কান্দিতে কান্দিতে যান ভরত শত্রুঘন « kānditē kānditē jānṣ Bhārataṣ Śātrughanaṣ » *Bharata and Śātrughna go weeping*; VSP., p. 709, নকুলক দেখন্তে সকল যায় মরি « Nākulā-kā dēkhāntē śakalāṣ jāyṣ māri » *all go dead while seeing N.*; ibid, p. 182, দুই চক্ষু থাকিতে « dui cākṣu thākitē » *while the two eyes exist*; etc., etc.

This adverbial or locative absolute present participle goes back to OIA., and occurs throughout the history of IA.: cf. Rig-Veda, I, 184, « uccāntyām uśāsi » *at Dawn as it shines forth > when Dawn shines forth* (Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar for Students,' § 205); see also *supra*, p. 959.

From MB. times, the adverbial present participle in «-itē» has been confused with the infinitive in «-itē», for which see *infra*, under 'Verbal Nouns and Infinitives.'

## [II] THE PAST (PASSIVE) PARTICIPLE.

734. The Bengali Passive Participle comes from the OIA. «-(i)ta», fortified either by «-ā» or by «-il-, -il-ā». We have thus two types, the «-ā» type, and the «-l-» type, of which the latter is obsolete in the Standard Colloquial. They have been fully discussed under the 'Past Tense,' *supra*, pp. 940-959. In NB., the perfect tenses are made with a verb form in ইয়া «-iyā» + the auxiliary substantive verb «āch» (and «thāk»): করিয়াছি «kāriyā-chi» *I have done*, করিয়াছিলাম «kāriyā-chilām» *I had done*, করিয়া থাকিব «kāriyā thākiba» *I shall have done*. In Early Bengali, this «-iyā» occurs as ই «-i», and also as ইয়া, ইয়াঁ, ইয়াঁ «-iā, -iyā, -iñā» etc.—and the nasalised forms are still in use in West Bengali dialects.

This «-iyā» form is commonly explained as the conjunctive form = *having done*, but in the periphrastic combination of the tense, it is likely that it is the passive participle rather than the conjunctive indeclinable (see *infra*, under 'Compound or Periphrastic Tenses').

That the « -iyā, -i » form represents the Passive Participle also (in addition to the conjunctive) is seen from its adjectival or adverbial employ which has occasionally a present participial force : thus, মাঝে লক্ষ্মীর মূর্ত্তি, দুই পাশে দুই হাতী শুঁড় উঁচু করিয়া দাঁড়াইয়া « mājhē Lakṣmīrṣ mūrṭṭi, dui pāsē dui hātī śūṛṣ ūcu kāriyā dāṛāiyā » *in the middle the figure of Lakṣmī, on two sides two elephants standing with trunks raised high* ; শিব নাচি নাচি যায় « Śibā nāci nāci jāy » *Śiva goes dancing* ; Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 20, কান্দিয়া কান্দিয়া রাণী আইল বাহির « kāndiyā kāndiyā rāṇī āilā bāhirṣ » *the queen came out weeping* : cf. কান্দিতে কান্দিতে যান ভরত শক্রবন at p. 1002. The transition in significance from the passive participle adjective to the active present participle can easily happen through intransitive verbs.

Causative and Denominative verbs form their passive participle in আন, আনো « -ānā, -ānō », which is discussed below under those verbs.

[ J ] THE CONJUNCTIVES.

735. There are two Indeclinable Conjunctives, or Gerunds, in Bengali, one ending in ইয়া « -iyā » (> Standard Coll. এ « -ē » with mutation of preceding vowel), the other in ইলে « -ilē » (> Standard Coll. লে « -lē », with accompanying mutation through influence of the « -i- »). Both mean *having done*, or *having finished*: but « -iyā » indicates merely a *succession of actions or events* done by or with reference to the *same* subject, while « -ilē » implies a *condition or precedence in a succession of acts* performed by the *same* subject or by *different* subjects : e.g., আমি আসিয়া দেখিলাম « āmi āsiyā dēkhillām » *having come, I saw = I came and saw* ; সে আসিলে (এলে) পরে আমি দেখিলাম « sē āsilē (ēlē) pārē āmi dēkhillām » *I saw after he came* ; আমি সময় মত ফিরলে যেতে পারি « āmi sāmāyṣ-mātā phirilē jētē pāri » = *I may go if I return in time* ; খেয়ে নাও, খেলে পর হাঁটতে পারবে « khēyē nāō, khēlē pārṣ hāṭṭē pārṣbē » *eat (your fill), you will be able to walk if you eat (enough)* ; আমি গেলে তুমি যেও « āmi gēlē tumi jēō » *you will go if I go (after I have gone)* ; দিলে দেয় « dilē dēy » *gives when one gives him*, পেলে দেয় « pēlē dēy » *gives if he gets beside* পেয়ে (পাইয়া) দেয় « pēyē = pāiyā dēy » *gives after he gets, etc., etc.* There are other points of difference in the idiomatic use of these two forms (cf. Milne, 'Bengali Grammar,' pp. 180-189), but

the outstanding fact is that « -ilē » is conditional with reference to the same subject or different subjects, and « -iyā » is sequential with the same subject.

[ I ] THE CONJUNCTIVE OR ABSOLUTIVE IN ইলে « -ILĒ ».

736. The conjunctive in ইলে « -ilē » is based on the passive participle in « -il- », and it is occasionally an adjective and occasionally a noun, like the « -(i)ta- » participle in Sanskrit and also like its cognate « -al- » form in Bihārī. It is adjectival in character when it occurs absolutely with a noun or pronoun : e.g., রাখে মারলেও ম'রবে, রাবণে মারলেও ম'রবে « Rāmē mārle-ō mōrbē, Rābāṇē mārle-ō mōrbē » *he (Kālanēmi) will die, whether Rāma kills him or Rāvaṇa*; আমি তাকে দিলে তবে সে বাচে « āmi tākē dilē tābē sē bācē » *he would live only if I give him*; and it is a verbal noun where it occurs with the genitive, e.g., আমার না দিলে কিছু আসে যায় না, কিন্তু তোমার দেওয়া চাই « āmārṅ nā dilē kichu āsē jāy nā, kintu tomārṅ dēwā cāi » *it doesn't matter (lit. nothing comes or goes) through my not giving, but you should give (lit. your giving is wanted)*; or where it forms an absolute clause word : e.g., দিলে হয় « dilē hāy » *it would be well to give, it won't be bad to give, lit. if there were a giving, it may be (good)*; cf. Standard Colloquial (dialectal) আমার আদেখলায় = \* আদেখিলাএ « āmārṅ ādēkhlāy < \* ā-dēkhlil-ā-ē » *me not seeing, during my not seeing.*

« -il-ē » is a locative form, and as a locative it has an absolutive or conditional force. It can be compounded with other verbs in « -itē » and in « -iyā », to express, in the former case, a subjunctive or purposive gerund (e.g., করিতে গেলে « kārītē gēlē » *if one is to do, when one is to do*, খাইতে দিলে « khāitē dilē » *when one gives to eat, if one is given to eat*), and, in the latter case, to denote a past conditional (e.g., খাইয়া গেলে « khāiyā gēlē », *after one has eaten or after one has started to eat on, or, after one has finished eating*, দেখিয়া নিলে « dēkhiyā nilē » *after one has finished seeing*, etc.). Unlike the conjunctive in « -iyā », it cannot be repeated to indicate repetition or continuity : e.g., করিয়া করিয়া, ক'রে ক'রে « kārīyā-kārīyā, kōrē-kōrē » *having done again and again*, but not « kārīlē-kārīlē », the reason apparently being that as a past base « -ilē » is already perfective and final, and continuous or imperfect action cannot be well expressed by it. This

doubling of the «-iyā» or «-i» conjunctive is found OB., and also its equivalent form in MIA. and OIA. (e.g., saṁsmṛtya saṁsmṛtya, pītvā pītvā, etc.)

Instances of the conjunctive in «-ilē» from OB. and MB. : (Caryā 2) «rāti bhailē» *when it is night*; (5) «sāṅkama-ta caḍilē» *after getting upon the bridge*; (20) «-jaubaṇa mōra bhailē si pūrā»? *as soon as my youth was mature*; ŚKK., p. 84, নান্দ গোপ শুনিলে হৈবের কোণ গভী «Nanda-gōpā ṣuṇilē ḥāiberā kōṅā gāṭi» *what will be the fate (then), when the cowherd Nanda hears?*; p. 98, তপত দুধ নালে ন পীয়ে, জুড়াইলে সোআদ তার «tāpātā dudhā nālē nā piē, jurāilē sōādā tāra» *hot milk is not drunk through a straw, its taste (comes) when it is cooled*; p. 107, বল কইলে জানারিবো রাজাএ «bālā kāilē jānāyibō rājāē» *shall make the king know if you use force*; p. 297, যে বৃধি করিলে রহে আক্ষার জীবন «jē budhi kārilē rāhē ākhāra jībānā» *by doing such contrivance by which my life can endure*; p. 299, হেন কাম করিলে নাসিবো তোর পাশে «hēnā kāmā kārilē nāsibō tōra pāshē» *shan'ti come near you if you do such a thing*; etc. etc.

The conjunctive use of the locative form of the «-il-» base is found in other Eastern Magadhan: e.g., Oriyā «dēkhilē» *if one had seen, when one has seen*; Assamese «hāl-ē, hāl-āt» (= Bengali «hailē, \*hailē-tē»). In Maithili, Magahī and Bhōjpurīyā, the ablative of the verbal noun in «-al-» is used: e.g., Maithili «carī nahī bhēṭṭālā-sā» *through not getting fodder*, «ghumalā-sā kī lābh ahī» *what profit is there from wandering about* (Grierson, 'Maithili, Grammar,' p. 48: the adjectival «-al-» is rather restricted in Maithili, see Grierson, pp. 113-114, and hence the locative absolute use of it is not found in Maithili, corresponding to Bengali সে এলে «sē ēlē» *on his coming*, etc.); Bhōjpurīyā «parhālē, parhālē-sē» (Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 488). With the locative use of the «-il-» participle in Bengali we may compare the Hindōstānī oblique use of the past participle to denote a condition or sequence (see Platts, 'Hindustānī Grammar,' pp. 337-338: e.g., kyī itnī rāt gayē tum āyē «*why have you come at this late hour of the night, lit. when so much of the night is gone*: = কেন এত রাত পেলে তুমি এলে «kēnā ētā rātḡ gēlē tumi ēlē»), «pahar din carhē, maī utrā» *when the sun had risen to one watch, I came down* = বেলা এক পহর হ'লে «bēlā

ekṣ pāharṣ hōlē »). Compare also Marāṭhī « cālalyā-s », dative of the perfect participle in « -l- », = *having walked*.

The use of the passive participle locative, absolutely, with a noun or pronoun in the locative, to indicate the conjunctive, is found in OIA. and MIA. : e.g., « dṛṣṭē sūryē, punar api bhavān vāhavēd adhva-sēṣam » (Mēgha-dūta) : « alē, lāa-sālaē haggē ; gōṇā maḷē (= maḍē), aṇṇē kiṇiśsam ; pavahaṇē bhaggē, avalam gha-śāśsam ; tumaṇ maḷē (= maḍē), avalē pavahaṇa-vāhakē huviśśadi » *I say, I am the king's brother-in-law ; if the oxen are killed, I shall buy others ; if the carriage is broken, I shall have another built ; if you die, then there will be another carriage-driver (Mṛcchakaṭika) ; etc., etc.*

(II) THE CONJUNCTIVE IN *ই* « -I », *ইয়া* « -IYĀ », *ইয়াঁ* « -IYĀ̃ ».

737. In the « sādhu-bhāṣā », the gerund or conjunctive is formed by adding « -iyā » to the root : চলিয়া « cāl-iyā » *having gone*, রাখিয়া « rākh-iyā » *having kept* : in the Standard Colloquial, this « -iyā » is contracted to « -ē », and there is mutation of the preceding vowel : চলৈ [ ɔ̃le ], রেখে [ rekhe]. In MB., especially in West Bengal texts, « -iyā » also occurs in a nasalised form, side by side with the non-nasalised one, and this is written *ইয়াঁ*, *ইয়াঁ*, *ইয়াঁ*, *ইয়াঁ* « -iyā̃, -iñā, -ñā, -iñā̃ » etc. This nasalised form was a living one in some forms of West Bengali, and at the present day it occurs as (*ই*)য়েঁ, *ইয়াঁ* « -(i)yē̃, -iyyā̃ » [iḥ] in the West Rājha dialects. In addition to this « -iyā, -iyā̃ », MB. (and the NB. language of poetry) has another form—in « -i » ; e.g., চলি, রাখি « cāl-i, rākh-i ». The Caryās show all the three, as « -iā, -iā̃, -i (-I) » : thus, « -i, -I » : (1) pāṇḍi *having spread* ; (2) duhi *having milked*, cauri *having stolen*, thira kari *making steady* ; (4) cāpi *having pressed*, cumbi *having kissed* (6) chāḍi *giving up* ; (7) dēkhi *having seen*, gaī *having gone* ; (9) paīsi *having entered* ; (15) chāḍi ; (16) suni *having heard* ; (21) uṭhi *having got up* ; (22) raci raci *building again and again* ; (26) dhuni dhuni *carding (cotton) again again*, etc., etc. ; « -ia » : (1) diṭa (=diḍha) karia *making firm*, pucchia *questioning* ; (5) phā(ḍ)ḍia *splitting* ; (10) bhāñjia *breaking* ; (15) bujia *having closed* ; (39) nāsia *destroying*, etc. ; « -iā » : (2) dēkhiā = ? dēkhiā *having seen*, bāhiā

walking (< bearing) ; (11) māriā having killed ; (12) tōḍiā destroying, kariā having done ; (35) bhaṇiā having spoken ; (50) laiā having taken » ; and « -iā » : « (26) laiā having taken, (50) diā having given (= instrumental postposition) » ; etc.

In South-East Bengali (Chittagong and Chakma dialects) there is an affix (ন « -nē » (-iā-nē), or নে « nāi » (-i-nāi) which figures in connexion with the « -iyā -i » conjunctives : e.g., আহিযানে « āiyā-nē » having come, on coming (Chittagong : LSI., V, I, p. 313), and « jēi-nāi » having gone, « ēi-nāi » having come (=āisi-nāi), « jāgi-nāi » having kept awake, « hāi-nāi » having become, « di-nāi » having given, « dēi-nāi » having seen (=dēkhi-nāi), « bēi-nāi » having sat down (< bahi-nāi, basi-nāi), etc. (LSI., V, I, pp. 324 ff.). This « -n- » affix seems to be connected with the « -ā, -nā, -yā » of OB., MB. and dialectal NB. (W. Bengali). We can compare the Early Oṛiyā conjunctive affix « -iṅā », found plentifully in literature (e.g., Jagannātha-dāsa's ' Bhāgavata, Kaṇṣa-janma ' : « emāntē śuṇi Śukā yāti, hāsiṇa rājā-ku kāhānti » hearing this, the sage Śuka after having smiled, says to the king : ibid., ' Rāsa-līlā, ' « pāsīṅā gālē ēhi bāṭē, dēkhiṅā cāhānti ucāṭē » entering, they went by this way ; seeing, they look sadly ; ' Rukmiṇī-haraṇa, ' « kānyāku kārāiṅā snānā » after having bathed the bride ; « bhājiṅā sārbe kālē cūrā » breaking, they pulverised everything, etc., etc., occurring side by side with the other Oṛiyā conjunctive affix « -i », the one which in actual use now. But apparently this « -iṅā » form is obsolete now.

In the other Magadhan speeches, the « -i » affix is the only one which obtains, and in the Bihāri dialects this « -i » conjunctive is strengthened by the conjunctive of « √ kar »—« kar-i » (also in Oṛiyā, where it often becomes « kiri », e.g., « dekhi-kiri » having seen), « kar », or by a dative postposition « kai, kā, kē ». The « -i » conjunctive features in other NIA. : the « -i » is sometimes dropped (as in Awadhī and Hindōstānī), but generally it is reinforced by « kari, kar » or by some post-position.

So far as Bengali is concerned, we have thus these forms : « -i ; -i-ā ; -i-ā » ; and connected with the last is S.-E. Bengali « -i-nē, -iā-nē ; -i-nāi, -iā-nāi », and Oṛiyā « -iṅā ».

In the Māl Pāḥāṛī dialect of Western Bengali (Santal Parganas), the word হেনক < hēnākṣ > is added to the conjunctive, which sometimes retains the nasalisation characterising this West Rājha speech : e.g., গুটিয়াই হেনক < guṭiyāi hēnākṣ > *having collected*, উঠি-হেনক < uṭhi-hēnākṣ > *having risen*, গয়ে-হেনক < gāyē-hēnākṣ > *having gone*, আদি-হেনক < ādi-hēnākṣ > *having come*, etc. (LSI., V, I, pp. 99, 100). This word < hēnākṣ > occurs also with the noun : e.g., চালচলন-হেনক < cālṣ-cālānṣ-hēnākṣ > *following (bad) ways, through bad ways*. This < hēnākṣ > is obscure, but it may be a verbal noun from < √hā—hāāṣ > (= Standard Bengali হান < hāōṣ >) put in the dative and used postpositionally (cf. the change of < √kār > to < √kēr > in the same dialect). In any case, the conjunctive with < hēnākṣ > stands apart in Bengali dialects.

738. The conjunctive has always had a most important place in the history of IA., and in giving this place to this form in IA., Dravidian influences seem to have something to do. In the Vedic speech, the conjunctive is formed by < -tvī, -tvā, -tvāya >, which are old cases of a verbal noun stem in < -tu > (this < -tu > also figures, in the accusative and dative < -tum > and < -tavē >, as infinitive affixes in OIA.), and by < -yā, -yā (t-yā, -t-ya) > (Whitney, 'Sanskrit Grammar,' §§ 989 ff.). The < -tvī, -tvā, -tvāya > group occurs with the root not compounded with a preposition, adverb or substantive, and the < -(t)yā, -(t)ya > group occurs with the root when it is so compounded : but this rule was not adhered to in many early Skt. works (Whitney, 'Sanskrit Grammar,' § 990, 2), and was entirely ignored in MIA., no discrimination along that line being made in their use. In addition to these affixes, it can be assumed, from the statements of grammarians (e.g., Pāṇini, VII, i, 48) and from the forms actually in use in Early MIA. (Pali, Aśōkan Prakrits), that other ones—< -tvī-nam > and < -tvā-nam >, and probably also < tū-nam >—were also in use in OIA., although they have not been found in Vedic and Skt. literature. In Early MIA., the affixes employed are : (Pali) < -tvā, -tvāna, -tūna, -ya > (the last often assimilated with preceding consonants), < -iya > (with a developed < -i- >, from the preceding one), and < -yā-na, -iyā-na > (a comparatively rare form, with < -na > added to < -ya >, or < -yā >, by analogy of < -tvā :

-tvā-na. : cf. W. Geiger, 'Pali Grammatik,' §§ 208 ff.), as well as «-tṛṇ» of the infinitive (in a few rare cases: E. Müller, 'Pali Grammar,' p. 128); and (Asōkan) «-tpā<-tvā», «-ti=-tti<-tvi», «-tunam», «-ya, -tya» (assimilated), besides «-tu» (= «tṛṇ» of the OIA. infinitive, transferred to the conjunctive: cf. A. C. Woolner, 'Asoka Inscriptions, Text and Glossary,' Calcutta, 1924, I, p. xxxvii). In Second MIA. the forms employed or noted are: «-tvā» > -ttā, -tā (after nasals); «-tvā» > \* -tu(v)ā > -dua»; «-tvānam» > -ttāṇam»; «-tvānam» > \* -tuvāṇam > -tuāṇam»; «-tūṇa(ṇ)» > -dūṇa > -ūṇa(ṇ)»; «-tvi» > -ppi, -pi, -vi»; «-tvīnam» > -ppiṇu, -piṇu, -viṇu»; «-tya» > -cca»; «-ya» > -ia» (also assimilated forms); and also «-(i)yāṇa(ṇ)», like the Pali «-(i)yāna»; and through a blend of «-tvā» and «-tyā, -tya», there is «-ccā», and through contamination with «-tvāṇa(ṇ)» > -ttāṇa(ṇ)» and «-yā» > -yāṇam», there arose also the further extended form «-ccāṇa, -ccāṇam»; besides, there is «-ā» (< OIA. -āya), as well as «-ya» > -ia > -i» as in Apabhraṅśa (Pischel, 'Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen,' §§ 581-594). And in addition to all these, a form «-dāṇi» is given by Vararuci (X, 16) for Māgadhī (this «-dāṇi» is probably for «-ttāna», with «-d» on the analogy of «-dūṇa < -tūna»).

Of all these forms found in Second MIA. through the whole of the Indo-Aryan tract, the employ of particular ones in different parts of the country can roughly be noted. The «-tvi(naṇ)» > -ppi(ṇu), -vi(ṇu)» form occurred in the Gujarātī-Rājasthānī area (cf. H. Jacobi, 'Bhavisatta-kaha,' p. 42; 'Sanatkumāra-carita,' p. 18; Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 131, 1). The «-tūna» > -dūṇa > -ūṇa» affix was current in Mahārāṣṭrī (but the Modern Marāṭhī «-ṇ» for the conjunctive, with the dental «-n», does not represent the Mahārāṣṭrī «-ūṇa», but is another form, «-ḍ-n-i, -au-n-i» in Early Marāṭhī, of nominal origin, in which «-n-i» is a post-position: cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' pp. 261-262). The affix which seems to have been commonly employed in the North-East, in the Midland, and in the North-West, and also in the South-West, in the Late MIA. period, was «-ya» > -ia, -i», and probably also «-i». The MB., Oṛiyā, Assamese, Bināri, as well as Eastern Hindī and Western Hindī «-i» is



obviously derived from it : also the OB. strengthened form «-I» ; and «-ia» occurs also as an archaic literary form in OB. It also seems very probable that the extended form of «-ya», namely, «-iyāna, -(i)yāna(ṁ)» (as in Pali and Ardha-māgadhī, the latter an eastern speech : Pischel, § 592) was current in the form of Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa prevailing in Bengal : and this «-(i)yāna(ṁ)» can easily give the dialectal Bengali *ইয়া* «-iyā», *ইয়া* «-iñā» : cf. MIA. «tāna(ṁ)» > *তা* «tā», «tāna(ṁ)» > *ত* «tā» (*supra*, p. 373). In S.-E. Bengali, the nasal could well be preserved (cf. East Bengali *তান* «tānṅ» honorific genitive < «tāna[ṁ] = tēsām»); and this «-iyāna(ṁ)» form (of which «\*-iṅa, -ina» is evidently a contraction), looking like a verbal noun, was put in the locative in Chittagong Bengali and in Chakma (-iyān-ḥ, -in-ai). Cf. the use of «-mi» in Haijong : *দেখিয়া* «dēkhiyā-mi» *having seen*, etc. (*supra*, pp. 751, 775). We cannot postulate any postpositional form «-inai» for the S.-E. Bengali (like the suffix in Gujarātī «kari-nē» *having done*, «thai-nē» *having been*): such a post-position («-nai < kaṅṅahī- < karṇa-» : Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.' § 131, § 71) is unknown to Bengali. The Orijā «-i-ṅa» is simply by analogical addition of the «-ṅa» to the «-i» form : MIA. «\*calia, caliyāna(ṁ)» probably gave rise to a similar juxtaposition in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa «cali, caliṅa(ṁ)». The Bengali strong form, and the most characteristic one, *viz.*, «-iā, -iyā» is apparently the «-i» form fortified either with the definitive «-ā» or with the «-ā» from «-iyāna(ṁ)» > «-iā».

739. Tessitori derived the Gujarātī conjunctive in «-I» (as in «cālī-nē» *having walked*, «mārī-nē» *having struck*) from the passive participle in «-ia» (nom. «-iu», locative «-ii», whence «-I»), rather than from the Apabhraṅśa absolutive in «-i» ('Grammar of OWR.' § 131). This is quite likely, and the use of the postpositional affixes is indeed a strong support. It is even probable that in the North Indian languages, where the conjunctive has been fortified by a postposition (like «kē» in Hindōstānī), the passive participle form had exerted some influence. But «OIA. \*cal-ya» > calia > calī, cali > NIA. cali, cal» is a perfectly normal development. And even the OB. form in «-I», «cāpī» *having pressed*, etc., can represent a MIA. «-ia» : it can be well surmised

that in some dialects of Apabhraṃśa, Second MIA. «-ia» became «-i» in the NIA. (cf. *supra*, 'Phonology,' pp. 302-303, 307), side by side with «-i» by simple dropping off the «-a» in this most commonly used affix.

740. The lavish use of the conjunctive is a noteworthy characteristic of Bengali, as of other NIA. speeches. Tibeto-Burman (Boḍo) influence has been suggested in this connexion (J. D. Anderson, 'The Origin of Bengali,' JRAS., 1911, p. 524). Dravidian influence is equally likely, or perhaps likely to a greater extent, from MIA. times (see *supra*, p. 175). For NIA., this is a characteristic inherited from MIA. There is nothing unnatural in a Bengali sentence like *জেরে উঠে, ঘান লেরে চারটি খেরে নিরে, জিনিবগুলো সঙ্গে বেধে নিরে গাড়ীতে চড়িয়ে দিবে, পথে তার বাড়ী হ'রে তাকে কুলে নিরে, সময় থাকতে ঠেগনে শৌছে টিকিট ক'রে আটটার গাড়ী ধ'রে চ'লে বেঙে* «bhōre uṭhē, snānṣ sēre cār-ṭi khēyē-niyē, jiniṣ-ḡulo sāṅgē bhēdhē-niyē ḡāri-tā cāriyē-diyē, pāthē tāṣ bārī hā'yē tā'kē tulē niyē, sāmāyṣ thāktē ṣṭhānē pāuchē, ṭikiṭ kā'rē ṣṭ-ṭā-rē ḡāri dhā'rē cālē jēḡ» (with 15 conjunctives and only one finite verb) = *get up early, finish your bath, have some breakfast (of rice, etc.), bind up the articles 'and take them with you, put them down on the top of the cab, go to his house on the way and pick him up, arrive at the station in time, buy your ticket and catch the 8 o'clock train and leave*: and such «-iyā > -ē» sentences have their prototype in MIA. —in Pali and in Classical Sanskrit : e.g., Pali, «cōrā kujjhivā,...tiṇhēna asinā brāhmaṇaṃ dvidhā chinditvā, maggē chaḍḍētvā, vāgēna anubandhitvā, tēhi cōrēhi saddhiṃ yujjhivā, tē sabbē pi māretvā, dhanam ādāya puna dvē kōṭṭhāsā hutvā, aññamaññam yujjhivā, aḍḍhatiyāni purisa-satāni ghātētvā, ētēna upāyēna yāva dvē janā avasiṭṭhā ahēsum tāva aññamaññam ghātayimsu» (Vūdabbha Jātaka); and Sanskrit, «atha sa brāhmaṇas tam paśuṃ rākṣasam matvā bhayād bhūmāu niṣipya dāivam nirbhartsya ḡṛham uddiṣya prasthitah», or «sa duṣṭāsāyō bakaḥ kramēṇa tēn prṣṭham ārōpya jalāsāyasya nātīdurē śilāṃ samāsādya tasyām ākṣipya svēchayā bhakṣayitvā bhūyō' pi jalāsāyam samāsādya jalacarāḡam mithyā-vārttā-sandēśāḥ manāṃśi rañjayann (=rañjayitvā) śhāra-vṛttim akarōt» (Pañca-tantra).

741. The conjunctive in «-iyā» is frequently used as an adverbial gerundive: it is either repeated, or is used singly: in the latter case, generally it is of similar meaning with the finite verb modified by it, and the two form a compound verb: e.g., কান্দিয়া কান্দিয়া রাণী আইল বাহিরে «kāndiyā kāndiyā rāṇī ailā bahirē» *the queen came out weeping* (Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhya-kāṇḍa,' p. 20); কব্বিয়া বাধা «kaṣiyā bādha» *to bind tight*; টানিয়া ধরা «ṭāniyā dhārā» *to hold tight*; চুটিয়ে বলা «cuṭiyē balā» *to speak fully, not to mince matters* (colloquial); চাপিয়া বসা «cāpiyā basā» *to sit heavy*; হাঁটিয়া > হেঁটে চলো «hāṭiyā > hēṭē calō» *walk quick!*; চ'লে এসো «ca'lē ṣō» *come quick!* (see *infra*, under 'Compound Verbs.')

742. Occasionally in MB. we find «-ā» for the «-i» of the conjunctive: e.g., SKK., p. 348, পরিধান কর নেত বাসে «pāridhānā karā nētā bāsē» *having put on a fine garment*; p. 361, কেন্বে সর আইতে মোকে বোল «kēbhē sarā jāitē mōkē bōlā» *why do you ask me to move away?*; VSP., p. 860, চরণ পাখাল আনুন মহাশয় «cāraṅḍ pākhalā āsunā mahāśayā» *please go wash your feet, sir* (lit. *come after having washed*). Cases like these do not demonstrate the presence of a form in «-ā» in MB., either a verbal noun, or due to the loss of «-i», for the conjunctive: these are simply due to scribe's mistakes for করি, সরি, পাখালি, etc. In (aryā 27: «adha-rāṭi bhara kamala bikasiu» *through half the night the lotus blossomed*, where «bhara» may be for «bhari», as in other NIA. speeches, or it<sup>h</sup> may be regarded as the second part of an adverbial compound «adha-rāṭi-bhara» (see *supra*, p. 702).

[K] VERBAL NOUNS, AND THE INFINITIVE IN হিতে «-ITE»

743. The following are the forms for the Verbal Noun in Bengali:

- (1) the অন «-ānā» noun, with extensions of the affix as অনা, না «-ānā, -nā» and অনী, উনী, নী «-āni, -uni, -ni»;
- (2) the ঐ «-ā, -ā» nouns, with an extension ঐ, ই «-i, -i»;
- (3) the ই «-i» nouns;
- (4) the nouns in আ «-ā» from the simple passive participle;
- (5) the nouns in ইল «-il-» from the «-il-» passive participle;
- (6) the nouns in ইব «-ib-» from the future passive participle.

744. (1) This group of affixes has been discussed before ('Formative Affixes, No. 5, 5a, 5b,' pp. 656-658, *supra*). It is one of the most widely used forms from OB. times. Instances from the Caryās: (२) dharāṇa; (२२) marāṇa; (86) cēṇa, bēṇa (< cētana, vēdāna); (46) phuḍāna = phuḍāṇa (sphuṭanā) >; MB. examples are copious. The extended <-ā> form is also found in the Caryās: e.g., (२1) <jēṇa tuṭāna (= tuṭāi, tuṭāi = trutyati) avatāḍ-gavaṇḍ (= āgamana-gamana) >; cf. also (7) <avanā-gavaṇḍ Kāṇhu bimana bhāṭīḍ (= bhāṭīḍ) > K. has become sad at this coming and going (= saṁsāra): this <avanā-gavaṇḍ >, or <\*avanāḍ-gavaṇḍ > of OB. has given the NB. *আনাগোনা* <ānā-gōṇā >.

In Hindōstāni the <-ā> affix (= <-nau> in Braj-bhākhā, <-nō> in other W. Hindi dialects), same as the Bengali *অন* <-anā >, is used as the infinitive: also its equivalent <-ṇā > in Panjābi.

745. (2) This is a verbal noun in *अ* <-ā> which is quiescent, but which is traceable only in roots ending in a consonant (see *supra*, pp. 895-896). Thus, NB. *बोल* <bōlā > *speech*, MB. (SKK.) <bōl-ā >, OB. (Caryā 4) <bōl-ā >, MIA. <bōll-ā > (cf. Suffix No. 1, p. 652). There was a feminine (diminutive) extension of this by <-i > <-ī <-ia > <-ikā > (see *supra*, Suffix No. 24, pp. 672 ff.): thus, NB. and MB. *बुलि*, *बुली* <bul-i, bul-ī > *speech*, OB. (Caryā 41) <bōl-ī >, MIA. <\*bōllīā <bōllīā >; so *फेर*, *फिरि* as in *फिरि कर* <phēri, phiri kārā > *to hawk goods*, *बुड़ि* as in *बुड़ि दिल* <muṛi dilā > *covered (oneself) up* (< gave a covering up), etc.

This verbal noun affix (-ā, -ā), and the next one (-i), have become much confused in Bengali (in the Standard Colloquial), owing to the formative affix being dropped in each case: but it is still possible to distinguish the latter by the presence of the epenthetic <-i > in the dialectal forms of words which originally had it.

746. (3) The verbal nouns in *इ* <-i > form a much larger class, but the affix is now no more a living one (see *supra*, Suffix No. 25, p. 674). The verbal noun in <-i > is known to Maithili, e.g., <dekhi, dēkh > (Grierson, 'Maithili Grammar,' p. 109); and it seems that it is used to form the compound tenses like <dēkhai-chī > *I am seeing, I see*

( « dēkhai » = oblique of « dēkhī »), « dēkhai-achī, dēkhaičhī, dēkhaioh » *he sees*, etc. It seems to occur in the other Bihārī speeches—« dēkh = \* dēkhi », oblique « dēkhē ».

747. The Infinitive in Bengali appears to be the Verbal Noun (3) put in the locative. The Infinitive proper in Bengali has the characteristic affix হৈতে « -itē » (in the Standard Colloquial reduced to তে « -tē » with mutation of preceding vowel) : e.g., করিতে, চলিতে, বাইতে « kār-itē, cāl-itē, khā-itē » *to do, to go, to walk*. This « -itē » of course is entirely different from the present participle affix « -itē » (*ante*, p. 999). The « -itē » of Bengali is best explained as the old verbal noun in « -i », plus the locative affix « -tē », dialectally « -t » as in Chittagong. The formation seems to be a new one in Bengali. Thus, আমাকে বাইতে হইবে « āmakē jāitē haibē » *I shall have to go, I must go* (lit. *with-reference-to-me in-the-act-of-going* i.e. *to-go it-will-be*) ; সে চলিতে পারে « sē cālītē pāre » *he can walk* (= *he in-the-act-of-walking is-able*) ; করিতে লাগিল « kārītē lāgilā » *began to give*, দিতে চাহিল « ditē cāhilā » *wanted to give* (but দিতে দিতে চাহিল « ditē ditē cāhilā » *wanted [or gazed] while giving*) ; বাইতে দাও « jāitē dāo » *let go*. The « -itē » form is used with roots like চাহ « cāh » *to want, to look at*, হ « hā » *to be*, দে « dē » *to give, to allow*, পার « pār » *to be able*, যা « jā » *to go*, to denote Acquisitives, Permissives, Desideratives and Gerundives (see below, under 'Compound Verbs'). In other NIA. speeches, a verbal noun is also used : e.g., « mōtē jibāku hēbā » *I shall have to go*, besides « jāī hēbā », where « jāī » is certainly a verbal noun in the locative ; Bhojpurīyā « bahē lāgal », Maithilī « bahē, bahai laglāh » *began* (plural or honorific) *to blow* ; Assamese « bābā-lāi dhārē » *blows* ; Early Awadhī « lagē parōsana nipuna suārā » *clever cooks began to serve* (Tulasī-dāsa, 'Rāma-carita-mānasa') ; W. Hindī « bolnē lagā » *began to say*, « jānē dō » *let go*, « khānē hōgā » *will have to eat*, etc., etc. Cf. the use of the « -ibā- » noun in OB. and MB. (below, pp. 1017-1018). For the use of a verbal noun form in a similar construction in OWR., see Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.', §§ 132, 134.

There is in Ardha-māgadhī an infinitive in « -(i)ttāē » (cf. Pischel, § 578) : « pučchittāē » *to ask*, « sumarittāē » *to remember*, « tarittāē »

to cross, etc. This could easily give the Bengali ইতে «-itē», through a Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa form «\*-ittaī» (this form «-ittaē», attested from Ardha-māgadhī, could very well have occurred in Māgadhī Prakrit also). But it is not likely that this has been preserved in Bengali. The «-itē» form does not occur in any other Magadhan language. The Standard Bengali «-i-tē» has a dialectal form «-i-tṣ», where the «-tṣ» is obviously the locative «-tṣ», and this «-i-tṣ» cannot represent the MIA. «-ittaē»—the loss of two final syllables would be an insurmountable difficulty. The evidence in favour of a later, nominal origin of «-i-tē» as a locative form is exceedingly strong, not only from Bengali itself (with its use of the «-iba» noun), but also from other cognate speeches.

The OIA. infinitive affixes were «-tum, -i-tum» and «-(i)tavē», respectively the accusative and dative forms of the verbal noun in «-(i)tu». They are preserved in Pali as «-(i)tuṃ, -(i)tavē», and in Asokan as «-(i)tuṃ» which passed on to the conjunctive in some dialects (cf. A. C. Woolner, 'Asokan Text and Glossary,' I, p. xxxvii), but it remained in Second MIA. as an Infinitive as «-(i)ḍuṃ, -(i)uṃ» (Pischel, § 573 ff.). This affix is not preserved in NIA. and neither is «-(i)tavē», which seems to have fallen into disuse in Second MIA. itself (unless «-ittaē» is its form in Second MIA., as Pischel thinks with E. Müller, 'Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' § 578).

The «-itē» Infinitive is liable to be confused with the «-itē» Present Participle, and it is at times difficult to decide which form it really is: e.g., তাহাকে বাইতে দেখিলাম «tāhākē jāitē dēkhilām» *I saw him going*, where «jāitē» may be equally the Present Participle = (while) going, or the Verbal Noun locative = *in the act of going*. (See *infra*, under 'Periphrastic Tenses.') In Chittagong Bengali, this verbal noun has become so much confused with the participle that by contamination it takes personal affixes: e.g., আই বাইতাম লাগ্গিলাম «āi jāitām lāggilām» *I began to go*, তুই বাইত লাগ্গিলা «tūi jāitā lāggilā» *you began to go*, হিতে বাইত লাগ্গিল «hitē jāitṣ lāggilṣ» *he began to go*, (Basanta Kumār Chatterji, VSPdP., 1926, p. 114); Noakhali dialect,

খাবাইজা লাইগ্জ *khābāita laig-ja* [laigzo] *> to feed you have begun* = Standard Bengali খাবাইতে লাগিয়াছ *khāwā-itē lāgiyāchā* (LSI., V, I, p. 309). The *< itē >* also figures in Chittagong as ইতু *< -itu >* e.g., ব ইতু লাইল [zaitu lail] *began to go* (= Standard *< jāitē lāgilā >*), where the *< -u >* seems to be for *< -ō >* *< -ā >*, by confusion with the present participle base in *< -it-ā >*.

748. (4) The passive participle in *< -ta, -ita >* can be used as a noun of action in Skt. and in Pkt.: e.g., *< na bahunā śrutēna; tasya gatāgatam kō 'pi na jānāti; nṛtyād asya sthitam manōharam; mahāsvanāir dundubhi-nāditāś ca; madhuram hasitam, madhuram aśitam, madhuram calitam madhuram ramitam; madhuram tassa bhāsitam; ekassa caritam seyyō; katañ ca sukatañ seyyō; sucaritañ carē; avakidē viśumalēdi (= apakṛtam vismarati) >*; etc. The passive participle in *< -(i)ta >* *> < -(i)a >* obtained the definitive *< -ā >* in OB., and from that resulted the Bengali verbal noun as well as passive participle in *< -ā >* (see *supra*, 'Formative Affixes, No. 7,' p. 660; also non l passive participle form, *supra*, p. 944). The *< -ā >* form occurs in Assamese: e.g., *< jowā >* [zowā] *going*, *< šowā >* [xowā] *sleeping*, *< kārā >* *doing*, etc. It is found in Oṛiyā: e.g., *< dēkhā >* *sight, seeing*, *< jāñā >* *knowing*, etc. It does not occur in the Bihārī dialects and in Eastern Hindī. But in the Hindōstānī passive participle formation (e.g., in expressions like *< kiyā-karnā, jāyā-karnā, dēkhā-cāhnā >*, compound verbs) the form is really a verbal noun.

In MB., the *< -ā >* verbal noun is not so prominent, nouns in *< -ibā >* and *< -ānā >* being more popular: but its occurrence is not rare. Thus, VSP., p. 68, বান্ধা নিছে *bāndhā nichē* *> taken in pledge*; p. 83, চিনা পুছা *cinā puchā* *> recognising and enquiring*; p. 123, দিয়া নাড়া দেই তাড়া *diyā nārā dēi tārā* *> gives a shake, and then drives away*; elsewhere MB. and NB. লেখা ক্রোখা *lēkhā-jōkhā* *> writing and computing*, নাচা *< nācā >* *dancing*, কেনাবেচা *< kēnā-bēcā >* *buying and selling*, রান্না বাড়া *< rāññā-bārā >* *cooking and serving*, etc., etc.

The Bengali *< -ā >* form has been derived by some from the verbal noun in ইবা *< -ibā >*: *< cālibā >* *>* *\*cāliwā >* *\*cālīwā >* *cālā*; *khāibā >* *\*khāiwbā >* *khāwā* (cf. 'Prabāsi' for Aṣṣḍha, 1324, p. 264). But this line of

derivation is inadmissible: the MIA. <-bb-> results in <-b-> in Bengali, whereas a form like <khāwā> can be written and pronounced <khāā>, and the <w> there is euphonic only (see *supra*, pp. 338-342, 533). To derive <khāā> from <khāībā> would be to postulate the entire loss of a MIA. double consonant group in a NIA. language—a phonological development not found in the Bengali Standard Dialect: and the <-ā> form is a Standard Dialect form. It would indeed be difficult for the same form to occur as <-ibā> and as <-ā> side by side in the same dialect and at the same time.

749. (5) The verbal noun in ইল <-ilā> is now obsolete in Bengali, but it occurred in Early Bengali, though not very commonly. The verbal form in <-ilā> in the locative figures partly as the absolutive conjunctive (in <-ilē>), for which see *supra*, p. 1004. It occurs also in Assamese and Early Oṛiyā. In the Bihārī dialects its equivalent, the <-al> verbal noun, is exceedingly common. It figures also in Marāṭhī. Examples in Bengali: OB.: <bhēlā bihani> (Caryā 23) = হইলে বিহনে (বিনে, বিনা.) <hāilē bihanē (binē, binā)> *without having been*; MB.: SKK., p. 249, বিনি যাচিলে <bini jācilē> *without asking*; Vañśī-dāsa's 'Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 435, হারাইলা হেনা বাসি <hāraīlā hēnā bāsi> *I regard it as lost = as a loss*; তুমি জনমিলা হতে <tumi jānāmilā-hātē> *from your birth*; 'Caitanya-Bhāgavata,' p. 71, তুমি দিলে বিনা <tumi dilē binā> *without your giving*; etc., etc. Cf. Oṛiyā, 15th century Inscription of Puruṣottama-dēva at Puri Temple (see *supra*, p. 107): <hārilā-dōṣā> *sin of robbery*, <kālā> *doing*, genitive <kālā-rā>; Early Assamese, 'Ādi-caritra,' p. 72, <Śaṅkārē dēkhāilā cāhilā> *wanted to show Śaṅkara*; Modern Assamese <bul-il-āt> *on having said*.

For Bihārī, cf. Grierson, 'Maithilī Grammar,' § 183; for Marāṭhī, see LSI., VII, pp. 27, 31.

750. (6) The verbal noun in ইব <-ibā> is from the same source as the future base. This form occurs in all Magadhan languages: it is regularly declined like any other verbal noun, although in NB., its employ has been restricted to the base ইবা <-ibā> (combined with মাত্র <mātra> to form an adverb—e.g., বলিবামাত্র <balibā-mātra> *immediately*



after speaking, দেখিবারাজ < dēkhibā-mātrā > on seeing, etc.) and the genitive ইবার < -ibā-rā > (e.g., দিবার < dibā-rā > for giving; ইবা < -ibā > itself may represent an old genitive form: see *supra*, p. 752). Thus, OB. (Caryā 8) < bāhaba-kē (= bāhiba-kē) pāraa (= pārai) > is able to row, = MB. বাহিবারে পারে < bāhibārē pārē >; oMB. (SKK.), p. 3, মাহুৰ নিয়োজিল মারিৰাক তাঞ < mānuṣā niyōjilā māribā-kā tāē > employed a man to kill him; p. 200, ফুল ফুলিৰাক তরে < phulā tulibā-kā tarē > with a view to pluck flowers; p. 395, হাঠিৰাক < hāṭhibā-kā > to walk, etc.; 'Caitanya Bhāgavata,' p. 11, মথুৰা দেখিব কৰি < Māthurā dēkhibā kārī > for to see Mathurā; Vānī-dāsa's 'Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 108, আছে আহিৰাৰ মত নদীয়া নগৰ < āche āchibārā matā Nādiyā-nāgarā > there is the city of Nadiyā (if at all a town were) to exist; p. 165, লাগে বলিৰাৰ < lagē balibārā > begins to say; p. 473, আছুক চুইব আৰে < āchukā chuibā āre > ah, let alone merely touching; p. 592, দেখাইব কৰি < dēkhāibā kārī > with a view to show; p. 608, দিবা কৰি < dibā kārī > with a view to give; VSP., p. 609, ভূমিতে টালিব কৰি < bhūmitē ṭalibā kārī > with a view to throw on the ground; p. 620, মারিৰাৰ মোক < māribārā mōkā > to kill me; etc., etc. The < -ib- > form is much used in North Bengal. The present progressive tense is formed in Assamese with the verbal noun in < -iba >: e.g., < kāribā-lāi dhārē > is doing. In Assamese, the < -iba > noun is fully declined: e.g., < kāribā, kāribā-r, kāribā-lāi, kāribā-t >; so in Oṛiyā: < kāribā, kāribā-ku, kāribā-rā, kāribā-ru >, etc.; also in the Bihārī dialects, e.g., Maithilī < karab, karābā-k, karāb-ē, karābā-sā, karābā-mē >. The use of the < -(i)tavā > form as a verbal noun is found in other NIA., like E. Hindī, e.g., < calab, karab >; W. Hindī, e.g., Brajbhākhā < calibāū, karibāū >, oblique < calibē, karibē >; Rājasthānī (Mārwārī), e.g., < mārabō, calābō >; Gujarātī, e.g., < māvū, cāvū >; and Marāṭhī, e.g., < uṭhāvayā-, māravayā- >, etc. In most of these (e.g., E. Hindī, Brajbhākhā, Rājasthānī, Gujarātī) this form is used as an infinitive.

751. Relative Participle Adjectives are formed in Oṛiyā and in the Bihārī dialects with the past and future passive participles used adjectivally: e.g., Oṛiyā < mu-dēbā dhānā > money that is to be given by me, < mu-kālā kāmā > work that was done by me = Bihārī < hamar kail kām >. The < -ib-, -il- > forms are not used in Bengali as adjectives for this purpose.

The past participle in « -ã » is so used, to denote the past relative idea : e.g., আমার পরা কাপড় « *ãmārã pârã kãpãrã* » *cloth (dhōtī) worn by me*, তার করা কাজ « *tãrã kãrã kãjã* » *work done by him* : the employ of the « -il- » form is unknown. The « -ib- » verbal noun is used in the genitive, beside the verbal nouns in « -ã » and in « -ãñã », to indicate the present or future relative participial idea : e.g., আমার পরিবার (পরার, পরনের) কাপড় « *ãmārã pãribã-rã (pãrã-rã, pãrãñ-ãrã) kãpãrã* » *'dhōtī' worn by me, to be worn by me* ; ভিক্ষা দেবার চাঁল « *bhiksã dẽbãrã çã'lã* » *rice set apart for giving as alms* ; জল খাবার বটী « *jãlã khãbãrã ghãṭī* » *(water) vessel to drink water from* ; etc., etc. We have this genitive use of the verbal noun, rather than mere adjectival juxtaposition, from Early Bengali times.

Verbal Nouns of Reciprocity are treated below, under 'Reduplicated Verbs.'

[L]. THE COMPOUND OR PERIPHRASTIC TENSES :

PROGRESSIVE AND PERFECT.

752. The following are the types of these tenses which are found in New Bengali :

(1) চলিতেছে, চলিতেছিল ( চলিতে থাকিবে ) « *çãlitẽchẽ, çãlitẽchilã (çãlitẽ thãkibẽ)* » *is walking, was walking (will be walking)* ; করিতেছে, করিতেছিল ( করিতে থাকিবে ) « *kãritẽchẽ, kãritẽchilã (kãritẽ thãkibẽ)* » *is doing, was doing (will be doing)*. This is the typical Progressive Form of Standard Literary Bengali. It is made up of the verbal form in « -itẽ » plus the substantive verb « *ãch* » conjugated and employed as an auxiliary (« *ãch* » for the past, « *thãk* » for the future). The « *ã-* » of « *ãch* » is absorbed by the preceding « *-ẽ* » of « -itẽ », but in dialectal Bengali of East Bengal the full forms চলিতে আছে, চলিতে আছিল, করিতে আছে, করিতে আছিল « *çãlitẽ, kãritẽ + ãchẽ, ãchilã* » etc. still occur.

This progressive form is the recognised one in the « *sãdhu-bhãṣã* », and is found in the Vanga dialects : some typical forms may be given [tso(I)ltesẽ, tso(I)ltesilo, ko(I)rtesẽ, ko(I)rtesilo ; tso(I)lte ase, tso(I)lte asilo, ko(I)рте ase, ko(I)рте asilo], also [tsołtase, tsołtasilo ; kortase, kortasilo]. But it is not current in the spoken dialects of Rãḍha (including

the Standard Colloquial of Calcutta and the Bhāgirathi basin), of Varēndra, and of Kāmarūpa.

(2) A type, which occurs in MB. as a verbal form in ই «-i» plus the substantive verb «āch» (contracted to «-ch-»), in the present generally, and rarely in the past. The future with this «-i» form is unknown. Thus, MB. চলিছে, চলিছ «cāli-chē, cāli-chā», করিছে, করিছ «kāri-chē, kāri-chā», চলিছিল «cāli-chilā», করিছিল «kāri-chilā». This form is used in MB. in a vaguely continuative or progressive sense, and also in a perfect sense. With static verbs, it can easily indicate the progressive idea. In NB., the «-i» of «cāli», which underwent epenthesis, is now dropped. It occurs in Assamese (where the «-i-» is retained), generally as a progressive in the present, and always as pluperfect in the past, but the perfect sense for the present form is also found.

This ill-defined tense form of MB. has given the West Bengali (including the Standard Colloquial) present and past *progressive* forms, like চলছে, চলছিল, করছে > ক'ছে, ক'ছিল > ক'ছিল [çolç(h)e, çolç(h)ilo; korç(h)e, korç(h)ilo, korç(h)ilo, korç(h)ilo]; in North Central Bengali and North Bengali, it retains its vague employ, being used both for the present progressive and the present perfect in the present form, and for the simple past or past perfect in the past form, exactly as in Assamese. In the East Bengal dialects, it is used regularly for the *perfect* only, e.g., [t̥solse, t̥solilo; korse, korsilo; t̥solse, t̥solilo, korse, korsilo] = *has walked, had walked; has done, had done*,—the progressive sense being indicated by the «-it̥s» form in the East Bengali dialects.

The «-i» form occurs also in Oṛiyā, but here it is definitely perfect, and in the past and future Oṛiyā employs its characteristic root «√tha»: thus «kāri-āchāi, kāri-chāi» *has done*, «kāri-thilā» *had done*, «kāri-thibā» *he will have done*.

(3) A Perfect form made with the passive participle adjective in ইল «-il-» plus the substantive verb «āch» (contracted as usual). This is comparatively a rare form, and occurs in West and Central Rāḍha dialects (e.g., হ'লছে «hōlā-chē» *has become*, ম'লছে «mōlā-chē» *has died*, গেলছে, গেলছিল «gēlā-chē, gēl-chilā» *has gone, had gone*, in Murshidabad, Birbhum

etc.; cf. LSI., V, I, p. 72); and also in North Bengali (e.g., আইন্ ঢে « āin-ōḥ = āil-ohē » *has come*: LSI., V, I, p. 174); and it seems to be confined to intransitive verbs and to denominatives and causatives of denominative origin.

(4) A Perfect form in ইয়া « -iyā » plus the substantive verb (« āch » in the present and past, and « thāk » in future): in the MB., « -iyā », or « -iā », occurs also in the nasalised form « -iñā, -iyā, -iā »: thus, MB., and NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » চলিয়াছে, চলিয়াছিল (চলিয়া থাকিবে) « cāliyāśchē, cāliyāśchilā (cāliyā thākibē) » *has walked, had walked (will have walked)*; করিয়াছে, করিয়াছিল (করিয়া থাকিবে) « kāriyāśchē, kāriyāśchilā (kāriyā thākibē) » *has done, had done (will have done)*; MB. (generally in West Bengal), besides the simple « -iyā » form in a variety of spellings, we find also চলিঞাছে, চলিরাঁছে, করিঞাছে, করিরাঁছে « cāliñāśchē, cāliyāśchē, kāriñāśchē, kāriyāśchē » etc. This perfect is found in NB., specially in the Rāḍha dialects, with « -iyā » contracted to « -ē, -iyē » and « -iñā, -iyā » to « -ē, -iyē » [ -ē, -iē ]: e.g., Standard Colloquial চল্লেছে, ক'রেছিল [ḍʰoleḍʰ(h)e, koreḍʰihilo], in other Rāḍha dialects, চল্লেছে, ক'রেছিল [ḍʰoleḍʰhe, koreḍʰihilo], etc. It occurs also in the Vangā dialects, but never with the nasalised form: and it seems there it is less common for the perfect than the « -i » form (No. 3 above). The « -iyā, -iyā » form seems properly not to belong to the dialects of the North, and its presence there is due to literary and other influences. In some cases, this form indicates a static or continuous process also: see *infra*, § 757.

753. The progressive (whether in the « -itē » form or in the « -i » form), as can be plainly seen from MB. literature, is comparatively a late time-idea in the Bengali verb. The progressive does not seem to have been fully established in the language before the 17th century; and although both the « -itē » and « -i » forms occur in literature of the 15th, their occurrence is but extremely rare and hesitating, in authentic texts, and the « -i » form is found both for the progressive and the perfect. In Early MB., the simple present is used for the progressive. The beginnings of the development of the compound progressive in « -itē » and of the compound indefinite tense in « -i », however, can be taken back to the 14th century: for

already in the ŚKK. we have instances of both : thus, e.g., কাশিনীর তীরে বহে বন্য  
 পবনে। ভোম্বাক চিত্তিতে আছে নানের নন্দনে ॥ « Kālinirā tīrē bāhē māndā pābānē :  
 tōmbākā cintitē āchē Nāndērā nāndānē » *the gentle breeze is blowing* (lit.  
*blows*) *by the bank of the Kālinī (= Yamunā) : the son of Nanda is thinking*  
*of you* (p. 202 : here in « cint- » we have not a native Bengali root, but a *ts.*  
*one*, as described *supra*, p. 879), and ধিরে ধিরে কাহাণ্ডি যো আইলো। নিকটে।  
 নিহুড়ি। চাহে। পানি লইছে বোকাটে ॥ « dhirē dhirē Kāhāṅḍi yō āilō nikāṭē,  
 nihurī cāhē pāni lāichē mōkāṭē » *gently, O Kṛṣṇa, I have come closer : I*  
*bend down and look, the water has come up* (or *is coming up* ?) *to the brim*  
 (p. 153). The form লইছে « lāi-chē » would show that it was an old one,  
 some time having elapsed for the fuller « lāi+āchē » to be so contracted.  
 The « -itē » form for the progressive is thus certainly found in West  
 Bengali of the ŚKK., but it is most curious that it would not be used in  
 the West Bengal dialects of present day as a proper native dialectal form.

The origin of these different periphrastic methods may be now discussed.

754. (1) The « -itē », MB. « -itē », is doubtless the present participle : চলিতেছে = চলিতে আছে « cālītēchē < cālītē+āchē » *he is walking* < *he is while in the act of walking*. The « -it-ē » is apparently the locative : or is it merely the nominative—MIA. « calanta-ka- », nom. Māgadhī « calantakē > calantaē > calantaī > calantē > cālītē » ? (see *supra*, p. 741). The non-locative form, presumably the nominative, occurs in dialects as « cālīt-āchē = cālīt-āchē » etc. But « -itē » is more likely the locative. In Early Assamese, there was a similar construction with the locative, but the periphrasis here did not develop into a compound tense by combining the participle of the verb substantive, as it has in Eastern Bengali and in Standard Bengali : thus Śaṅkara-deva (15th century) and other Early Assamese writers frequently employ constructions like « sūryā-sāmā sāvē jwālāntē āchāhā » *you are all shining like the sun*, « āchē prakāśāntē » *are manifesting*, « upāsāntē āchē » *are worshipping*, etc. As in Assamese, so in W. Bengali this participle progressive did not catch on in the spoken dialect, although the « sadhu-bhāṣā » took it up. It does not seem to occur in Kṛttivāsa (VSPd. edition), nor even in Kavī-kaṅkara, both West Bengal writers (of the 15th and 16th centuries). But

in East Bengal writers, e.g., Mādhavācārya, author of 'Caṇḍi-kāvya' (16th century : cf. VSP., p. 335, হোতেছে « hōtēchē » *is happening*), Chuṭi Khān (Noakhali : 'Māhābhārata,' VSPd. ed., p. 59 : তবে সেই রক্ষিণ দেখিতে আছে « tābē sei rakṣi-gaṇṣ dēkhitē śochēntā » *then the guards remain watching*), Vaṅśi-dāsa ('Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 380, দেখিতেছি « dēkitēchi » *I am seeing*, p. 580, করিতেছে « karitēchē ») etc., the « -itē » is well-established from the 16th century. And from the early 17th, it is found in the West Bengal writers also, like Kāśi-rāma Dāsa (e.g., VSP., p. 676, হইতেছে « haitēchē », p. 685, দিতেছে « ditēchē »). The prose documents, whether in East or in West Bengal, had to employ a definite form for the progressive, and it seems « -itē » became accepted in epistolary and documentary Bengali in the 17th century, and from that it was adopted into the « sādhu-bhāṣā » of the 18th and 19th centuries ; but West Bengal spoken dialects did not use it. The progressive « -i » form of the spoken dialects of West Bengal has now been adopted for the progressive, as a matter of course, in the new literary dialect of Bengali based on the Calcutta Colloquial.

The construction, present participle (< « -ant- » of OIA. ) *plus* verb substantive, occurs in other NIA (excepting Oṛiyā and Assamese) : in the Magadhan speeches (e.g. Maithilī « dēkhait-chī, dēkhait-chalahū », Magahī « dekhait-, dekhit-, dekhat+hi, halu » ; Bhōjpuriyā « dēkhāt bāni > dekhatāni », etc.) ; in E. Hindī (e.g., Awadhī « dēkhat ahū, dēkhat raheū ») ; in W. Hindī (e.g., « dēkhtā hai, dēkhtā thā ») ; in Panjābī (e.g., « jāndā hai, jāndā sī »), in Rājasthānī and in Gujarātī (e.g., Gujarātī « māratō hatō », Mārwarī « māratō hō » *was beating*) ; in Marāṭhī (e.g., « uṭhat śhē, uṭhat hōtā » *is, was rising*) ; in Pabārī (e.g., Khas-kurā « garda-cha, garda thiyo » *is doing, was doing*), etc., etc.

755. (2) The « -i » form is rather rare in eMB., but it becomes noticeable from the 15th and 16th centuries : e.g., KKC. (Vangga-vāsi edition), p. 112, পিত ভড়িত বর্ণে, হেম মুকুলিকা কর্ণে, বেশ মেঘে পড়িছে বিজলি « pitā tārītā bārṇē hēma-mukulikā kārṇē kēṣṣ-mēghē pārichē bijuli » *yellow, like lightning in colour, a little flower of gold has fallen (= is disposed) like lightning in the clouds of her hair* ; p. 122, কেমনে ধরিছ হিয়া « kēmatē dhārichā hiyā » *how are you holding your heart (= how can you remain*

unconcerned) ? ; Vanśī-dāsa, p. 3, পোভিহে « śōbhichē » *is appearing beautiful* ; p. 34, ভাবিহেন « bhābichēṅ » *is thinking*, etc. Cf. also Chuṭī Khēn's 'Mahābhārata' (VSPd. ed.), p. 10, এহেন বুলিহে পূৰ্বে ধৰ্ম মহীপাল « ēhēnā bulichē pūrbhē dhārmma-māhipālā » *so has said formerly the righteous king (Yudhiṣṭhira)* ; p. 21, যত পুণ্য কৰি আহম কৰ বাক্য মনে « jāta puṇyā kāri āchāmā kāyā-bākya-mānē » *all the merits I have earned in body, word and mind* ; p. 22, রাজ্যৰ সাক্ষাৎ বসিহন্ত মুনিগণ । পাত্ৰ মিত্ৰ চাৰি পাশে কৰিহে শোভন ॥ « rājāṛā sāksāt bāsichāntā muni-gāṅṅ, pātrā-mitrā cāri pāsē kārichē śōbhāṅṅ » *in front of the king are sitting (were seated) the sages, and courtiers and friends are adorning in the four sides* ; etc. It is of comparatively frequent occurrence in Late MB., but the meaning is not often fixed for either of the two tenses. In Early Assamese of the 15th century, this « -i » form is already well established.

The source of this form in this construction is not clear. It would appear at first sight to be merely the conjunctive in « -i ». The perfect in « -iyā, -iyā » would similarly appear also to have the conjunctive in it. But the conjunctive would not accord well with the progressive sense, which we see is connected with this construction, side by side with the perfect one, in both MB. and NB. and in Early and New Assamese. The « -i » form, to indicate the perfect, might be, in the case of the intransitive verb, the non-l passive participle in « -ita > -ia > -ī, -i » : « calia > calī > calī + āchē » *gone + is = is gone, has gone (= calitō' sti)*. The Maithili Progressive tense in « -ai » + « √ch », e.g., « calai-chī » *I am walking*, « karaī-ch » *he is doing*, seems to indicate a possible source for the « -i » form of Bengali. Grierson explains this « -ai » progressive of Maithili as being a contracted form of the « -ait » present participle ('Maithili Grammar,' p. 173 : « dēkhai chī < dēkhait chī »). But, as suggested in the present work, p. 1022 *supra*, the « -ai » may well be a verbal noun locative : for it would be strange indeed for the full « -ait » and a contracted « -ai » to be in living use side by side in the same dialect and at the same time. So also compare the Magahī forms like « dēkha, dēkhē + hī » *I see*, beside progressive « dēkhait (dēkhat, dēkhit) + hī » *I am seeing*. The Rājasthānī dialects and Gujārātī, as well as some forms of Western Hindi, have a periphrastic

present in which the present forms of the verb properly conjugated are used with the verb substantive in the corresponding person and number: e.g., Marwāri « ca|ñi-hñ » *I go*, « ca|ñi-hñ » *we go*, « ca|ñi-hai » *he goes*, « ca|ñi-hai » *they go*; Jaipuri = « ca|ñi-chñi, ca|ñi-chñi; ca|ñi-chai, ca|ñi-chai »; Gujarāṭi « cāñi-chñi, cāñi-chñi; cāñi-chñi »; Brajbhākhā « calai-hai, calai-hai; calai-hai, calai-hai », etc. The Bihāri compound tenses are not of the type found in the Western languages: here the form of the principal verb is unchanged—it is « -ai, -a, -ē » in all cases. Can the « -i » in Bengali-Assamese be a locative form of an OB. verbal noun in « -ia » = the OIA. passive participle in « -(i)ta »? OIA. « calita » > « calia », in Late MIA. (Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa); locative OIA. « calitē » > « caliē » > \*calii »; this would become « \*cali, cali » in OB., and then used with the root « āch »: « cali-āchē, cali-chē » therefore would mean *in-the-act-of-walking is = is walking*; so « dākhi-chē » *in-the-act-of-seeing is = is seeing*. The « -i » form in Bengali can thus include both the locative (to develop into the progressive) and the nominative (in the case of the intransitive verb, to indicate the perfect—later this sense occurring with the transitive verb also by extension) of the « -ita » > « -ia » passive participle—in the former case it being the verbal noun, in the latter the participle. The Oṛiyā « -i » form, indicating as it does the perfect tense only, naturally is to be taken as the Oṛiyā variant of (4), for which see below (p. 1027).

With the idea that the composite « sādhu-bhāṣā » is the source of the dialects, the W. Bengali চলছে, চলছিল, করছে (ক'ছে), করছিল (ক'ছিল) etc., are commonly regarded as contracted forms of the « sādhu-bhāṣā » চলিতেছে, চলিতেছিল, করিতেছে, করিতেছিল, etc. But that such is not the case is seen from the occurrence in MB. and in the NB. language of poetry of forms like চলিছে, করিছে in the progressive. The « sādhu-bhāṣā » চলিতেছে করিতেছে, etc. can only give চলতেছে, করতেছে [çolteçhe, korteche], etc. in the Standard Colloquial, but such forms are not proper to the dialect, and when they occur at all, they are artificial, being due to an attempt to find colloquial equivalents of a literary form which is only too familiar: the forms চলিতে, করিতে « calitē, karitē » (as participles and verbal nouns in « -itē ») occur as চলতে, করতে [çolte, korte (kotte)]. The doubling of the



affricate in the case of roots which end in a vowel, like খাচ্ছে, যাচ্ছে, পাচ্ছে, দিচ্ছে, শুচ্ছে « khācchē, jācchē, pācchē, dicchē, śucchē » [khacc̣ʃ(h)e, j̣acc̣ʃ(h)e, pacc̣ʃ(h)e, dic̣ʃ(h)e, śucc̣ʃ(h)e] is *eating, is going, is receiving, is giving, is lying*, with past tense in ছিল « -chilā », would at first sight suggest that it is a case of assimilation of the « -t- » of « -itē », and would thus connect these with the « -itē » form (« ditēchē > \*dit-chē > dicchē »). But other West B. and North B. dialects do not show the doubling, even when in West B. these forms indicate the progressive. M.B. দিছে « di(i)chē », যাইছে « jāichē » should occur in West Bengali as দিছে « dichē », বেছে « jēchē » (see *supra*, pp. 386-387), and so they do, for example, in Murshidabad and Birbhum (as present progressive: the corresponding past progressive forms are দিবেছে « diyēchē < diyā-chē, গেলছে « gēl-chē »). But in the Standard Colloquial, M.B. « jāichē » became « \*jāy-chē », and it is this « -y- » which assimilated with the following « -ch- »: « jācchē »; so in « \*di(i)chē » it assimilated (it is possible by first becoming a glottal stop) to the « -ch- », as « \*diy-chē [diʃʃhe] > dicchē »; so śui-chē > \*śuy-chē > śucchē », etc.

The Oṛiyā speech forms its progressive tenses with the help of a verbal form in « -u », + the substantive verb: e.g., « kâru-chi, kâru-chū; kâru-chu, kâru-chā; kâru-chi, kâru-chānti ». (For this « -u » affix, see *supra*, p. 678.) It is not unlikely that a similar form in « -u » was used in Rāḍha dialects contiguous to Oṛiyā, and that in Late M.B. this form with the « -u » (not understood, and becoming quiescent in the middle of the word) merged into the « -i » form, or restricted the « -i » form to the progressive in West Bengali. But from extant documents, we cannot postulate with any amount of certainty a Rāḍha form « \*cālu-chē, \*kâru-chē » beside « cāli-chē, kâri-chē ».

756. (3) The perfect with the participle in « -la » is very much restricted in Bengali, and is only local for West Bengal, and probably also for North Bengal. In eMB. it may have been more prominent,

The construction, restricted as it seems to be to a few intransitive verbs, and to denominatives and causatives, is perfectly plain: W. Bengali আলছে « āl-chē » has come, হ'লছে « hōl-che » has happened, ম'লছে « mōl-chē »

*has died* (< MB. « māilā-chē » = « mṛtō'sti »). From the intransitive, the « -l- » affix first spread to the denominative and then to the causative. It agrees with the Bihārī perfect of the intransitive verb; but is different from that of the transitive (and by analogy, often of the intransitive) verbs (in the present and past perfect tenses) in Bihārī, where we have either the juxtaposition of two tenses (the past in « -l- » and the substantive verb present or past) each properly conjugated, or the instrumentals of the « -al- » participle used with the substantive verb (cf. LSI., V, II, pp. 28-29, 38-39, 52-53).

757. (4) The perfect in « -iyā, -iñā » is by far the most common of the compound tenses in eMB. It is found in a number of instances in the ŚKK.; and in Kṛttivāsa (VSPd. ed., Ayōdhyā, Uttara) it is well-established, and may be said to be fairly common in subsequent MB. literature. In Early Assamese, the « -iyā » form occurs with the substantive verb, but only as a separate word, and the « -iyā » and the substantive do not express the perfect idea. This « -iyā » form fell into disuse in later Assamese. Oṛiyā never developed the « -iyā » form, but had only the ones in « -i » and « -iñā ».

Examples from eMB.: ŚKK.: p. 143, পাতিআছে « pātiāchē » *has established*; p. 175, শুণিআছ « ṣuṇiāchā » *you have heard*; p. 317, স্ততিআছিলোঁ « sutiā āchilō » *I was asleep, I was sleeping*; p. 325, নিআছিস « niāchisā » *thou hast taken*; p. 376, বসিআ আছেন্ত « bāsiā āchēntā » *has sat down, is sitting*; Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' p. 16, হঞাহোক « hañā-chēkṣ » *has become*; p. 24, দিঞাছি « diñāchi » *I have given*; p. 177, স্তআ আছে « suā āchē » *is lying*; p. 201, জুড়িঞা আছে « juṛiñā āchē » *is spread*, পড়িঞা আছে « paṛiñā āchē » *lies*; etc., etc. The form is found copiously in other MB. works.

It would be seen that progressive or continuous action may be indicated in the case of intransitive verb; and such action is emphasised upon by keeping the « -iyā, -iyā » separate from the verb, in both MB. and NB.

The « -iyā, -iñā » form is doubtless the conjunctive: « niāchisṣ » being « niā + āchisṣ » = *having taken thou art* = *thou hast taken*. The nasalised form, current in West Bengal, is sufficiently indicative of its

proper nature. But that is not all. In the case of intransitive verbs, the «-iyā» form can equally represent the passive participle (see *supra*, p. 955): সুষা আছে «suṣā āchē» *is lying (has lain)* < *lain* (\*svapita- > suvia- > suia- > su-ā) + *is*, চলিআছে «caliāchē» *has gone* < *gone* (calita- > caliā) + *is*. Cf. NB. এখানে যে বেশ গান চ'লেছে! «ēkhānē jē bēṣṣṣ ḡānḡ cā'lēchē» *so, fine singing is going on here*; মাদ্রাজে খুব উত্তোপ চলিআছে or চলিতেছে «Mādrājē khubḡ udyōḡḡ cāliyāchē (cālītēchē)» *great preparations are going on in Madras*; রাস্তার কাটা হ'য়েছে «rāstāy kādā hōyēchē» *there is mud in the street*; র'য়েছি «rōyēchi» *I am staying*, etc. Cf. also the perfect with the participle in «-la»; and the perfect of the intransitive verb in the Bihārī dialects, and in other NIA. languages, like W. Hindī, etc. (e.g., Hindōstānī «wuh gayā hai» = «asāu gataḡ asti»; Gujarātī «hū cālyō chū» = «ahaḡ calitaḡ asmi»). The static and continuous use with the substantive verb separated or united can in this way be explained. So that the «-iyā, -iñā» form would seem to combine in Bengali both the conjunctive and the passive participle (the latter in the case of intransitives); but from Early MB., from the similarity of forms («-iyā» for both of them) and from the nature of the constructions, any such original distinction was lost sight of.

The participle in «-iyā, -iñā» and the auxiliary have coalesced but loosely in Bengali. To emphasise an «-iyā-chē, -iyā-chilā > -ē-chē, -ē-chilā» form, the emphatic particles ই «i» and তো «tō» *indeed, surely* generally come in between, and not at the end. This is especially noticeable in the Standard Colloquial. Thus, প'ড়ে-ই-ছে «pōrē-i-chē» *it has fallen, to be sure*: দিবেই-তো-ছিলুম «diē-i-tō-chilum» *I had indeed given, I had very nearly given*; দিবে-তো-ছি «diyē-tō-chi» *I have given in truth*; etc. The emphatic, however, can also come at the end: e.g., প'ড়েছেই প'ড়েছে «pōrēchē-i pōrēchē» *it has certainly fallen*; etc.

The use of root «thāk» for the future progressive and perfect is rather rare in MB.: «√thāk», when not put in the future, expresses a continuous state in compound verbs with the «-iyā, -iñā» form: e.g., ŚKK., p. 176, বসিআ থাক «baśiā thākā» *remain sitting, remain seated*.

758. Two dialectal forms for the progressive tense may be noted.

(5) The 'South-West Bengali' progressive, made by combining the present tense of principal verb with « $\sqrt{\text{tha}}$ » to remain regularly conjugated : e.g., করিতি « $\text{kāri-ṭhi}$ » *I do + I remain = I am doing*; যাউতু « $\text{jāu-ṭhu}$ » *thou goest + thou remainest = thou art going*; রয়েচে « $\text{hāyṣ-ṭhē}$ » *he is + he remains = he is (= Standard Colloquial হচ্চে « $\text{hōcchē}$ »)*. In some cases, the principal verb is not conjugated, but put in the conjunctive : খাবারত « $\text{khābāyṣ-ṭhā}$ » *you are feeding*. (See LSI., V, I, pp. 108, 109 ff.) The Common Bengali « $-i$ » + « $\text{āch}$ » -ch-» form is also known in this dialect. The root « $\sqrt{\text{tha}}$ » (<  $\text{sthā}$ ) is not found elsewhere in Bengal. This use of two finite forms side by side is exactly of the type found in Brajbhākhā and in Rājasthāni-Gujarātī noted at pp. 1024-1025.

(6) In the district of Bogra, and in some other North Central Bengal tracts, there is a progressive form in « $-(i)t, -it-$ » + root « $\text{āch}$ » : thus করতিতেছি « $\text{kārtitēchi}$ » *I am doing*, করতুতু « $\text{kārtutuchu}$ » *thou art doing*, করতিতিছে « $\text{kārtitichē}$ » *he is doing*, খাটতিতিছে « $\text{khāṭtitichē}$ » *I am labouring* (LSI., V, I, pp. 152-153). This form appears to be merely the « $-itē, -it-$ » participle further strengthened by the locative affix « $-tē$ »—it is really a double locative form : « $\text{kāritē} + -tē$ ». The personal termination of the auxiliary substantive verb seems to have influenced the « $-itē-tē$ » of the principal verb form, and to have altered it accordingly, at least in the 2nd person : « $\text{kāritētē, *kāritētē} + \text{āchu}$ »  $*\text{kārit(ē)tē-chu}$   $*\text{kārtutu-chu}$ .

The use of the « $-r-$ » affix for the progressive in E. Vanga and S.-E. Vanga has been discussed before (pp. 994 ff.).

[M] CAUSATIVES.

759. The Causative in Bengali is made by adding the affix « $-ā$ » to the root, with euphonic « $w$ » or « $y$ » between vowels : e.g., কর « $\sqrt{\text{kār}}$ » *to do* > করা « $\sqrt{\text{kārā}}$ » *to cause to do*; খা « $\sqrt{\text{khā}}$ » > খাওয়া, খাওয়া « $\sqrt{\text{khāwā}}$ ,  $\text{khāwā}$ » *to cause to eat*; দে « $\sqrt{\text{dē}}$ » > দেওয়া, দেওয়া, দেয়া « $\sqrt{\text{dēwā}}$ ,  $\text{dēwā}$ ,  $\text{dēyā}$ » *to cause to give*; জী « $\sqrt{\text{jī}}$ » > জীয়া « $\text{jīyā}$ » *to cause to live*. There are of course old causatives of OIA. which do not add this « $-ā$ » affix, but show original root-modification (Ablaut) and behave like independent roots, which have been noted before (*supra*, pp. 876-877).

The source of this « -ā- » is the MIA. « -āva- », from OIA. « -āpa-ya- », which has been indicated above (*supra*, p. 880). The normal OIA. form « -aya- », with modification of the root vowel, became considerably curtailed from First MIA., and « -āpaya- » largely took its place. Thus we have in the Aśoka Inscriptions forms like « kārāpita-, pārāpita-, vivāsāpaya-, sāvāpaya- » (= Skt. kārīta, hārīta, vivasaya-, śrāvāya-), and in Pali « vasāpēti, sarāpēti (√smṛ), pucohāpēti (√pṛoch), siñcāpēti, palāpēti », etc., etc. This « -āpaya- » even invaded the domain of the denominative. In Second MIA., it became « -āva-, -āv-ē- », and when there grew a confusion between the « -aya- > -ē- » causative and the simple verb (see *supra*, pp. 933-934), the « -āv-, -v- » form with the unmistakable « -ā-, -v- » in it easily became established as the causative affix in Late MIA. and NIA.

In the Caryās, the causative affix occurs as « -āva- », as in « bandhāvaē » *causes to bind* (Caryā 22); and this « -āva- » was contracted to « -ā- » in MB. (*supra*, p. 350, *Phonology*). The « -ā- » causative has been extremely common in Bengali from its very origin.

760. The Verbal Noun from causative roots takes the affix আন, আনো, « -ānā, -ānō », which represents « -āpa- » base + « -na »: cf. Skt. « dā-pa-na » *causing to give*, « jñā-pa-na » *causing to know, announcement*, etc. On the model of these, First MIA. built up forms like « \*kārāpana, \*cālāpana » etc.; and a generalised « -āpana » gave Second MIA. « -āvaṇa », extended to « -āvaṇa-a » by the « -(k)a » affix, which became the Bengali causal noun affix আন, আন, আনো (« Formative Affixes Nos. 13, 13a, » *supra*, pp. 664, 665).

### 761. Participles of the Causative.

The Active Present Participle has the usual affix ইত, ইতে « -it-, -itē », contracted to « -t, -tē » in the Standard Colloquial (see *supra*, 'Formative Affix No. 10,' p. 663). The archaic form « -anta » is not found with causative verbs. Assamese has « -āṭā »: « kārāṭā » *one who causes to do* (beside « kārāwā » = « kārā-ū-ā » with « -ū-ā » affix, for which see pp. 678, 679), « khuwāṭā » *one who causes to eat* (beside « khuwā »). Bengali has to indicate the active causative participle idea by a clumsy phrase—বে করার লে, বে খাবার লে « jē kārāy sē, jē khāwāy sē », etc.

The Causative Passive Participle affix is আন, আনে «-āna, ānō» (see *supra*, p. 666). Instances of «-ānā» are not very common in MB., but they do occur: thus, ŚKK., pp. 109, 116, 318 শুখান «śukhānā» *dried*; KKC. (Vagga-vāstī edition), p. 147 হারান «hārānā» *lost*; VSP., p. 263 (17th century text), সিজান «sijānā» *boiled*; etc. The more favourite way seems to have been the «-il-» affix (see *infra*, p. 1032). On the analogy of the verbal noun in «-ā» (presenting an identical form with the passive participle in «-ā» («cālā» = *a going*, also *gone*; «kārā» = *a doing*, also *done*), the «-ānā» affix, found also in the causative verbal noun, seems to have been strengthened for the passive participle in Modern Bengali.

The «-ānā-» affix does not seem to occur in Assamese, in Oṛiyā, and in the Bihārī dialects, but it is found in E. Hindī, and in W. Hindī, and it also occurs as a passive form in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī; thus, Tulasī-dāsa has forms like «phirānō, jurānī, harakhānē, lapaṭānī, akulānī», etc.; in Early W. Hindī, the «-āna» was found, but now it seems to have fallen into disuse: thus, Kabīr has (ed. Kshiti-mōhan Sēn, III, p. 62) «māyā dēkha-kē jagata lubhānō, kāhē rē nara garabānō?.....prēma-kē hātha kāhē na bikānō?» *the world has been charmed seeing Māyā; why, O man, has been this boasting? why hast not been sold in the hand of love?* (it would be seen that in «bikānō» we have the causative passive participle; in the other two cases, and also in E. Hindī «harakhānē, akulānī, lapaṭānī» given above, the forms are denominative passive participles); in Rājasthānī, forms like «sunāṅṅō, batāṅṅō» *was heard, was displayed*, etc., are past passive forms (from passive participles: cf. LSI., IX, II, p. 58); and in Northern Gujarātī, «-āṅṅō» is the passive participle affix for roots in «-ā», e.g., «mārāṅṅō» *was killed*, «dīṭhāṅṅō» *was seen*, «bharāṅṅō» *was filled*, etc. (LSI., IX, II, p. 343).

The source of this «-ānā» seems to be «-māna», the OIA. affix for the present participle for *ātmanā-pada* and passive verbs. The past sense can easily evolve in the passive verb: *being done, being caused to be done, caused to be done*, and also simply in the passive participle, *done*. There might be in this matter some influence from the «-na» passive participles of OIA., which in some cases came down to Late MIA., e.g.

« diṇṇa, kiṇṇa, ruṇṇa, \*liṇṇa » etc. ; and already in one instance at least we have a passive participle use of « -māna » in Pali, in combination with « -ta », in « vibhāta-māna » *become bright* (Geiger, 'Pali Litteratur und Sprache,' § 191, note : Geiger, however, regards the reading as doubtful). The form « -māna » in Epic and Classical Sanskrit becomes « -āna », and « -āna » is the more common form (Whitney, 'Skt. Grammar,' § 1045 f.). The form « -āna » also occurs in Pali, and in later MIA. it is also found as « -āṇa », though there it cannot be said to be common. The passive participle use of « -āṇa » came in during Second MIA. : a form like « palāṇa » (= Skt. « palāyita » = Bengali † পলান, পালানো « † pālānā, pālānō ») already occurs in Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī (Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 126 [2]).

762. In MB. and dialectal NB., the passive participle of causatives occurs with the usual « -il- » affix : e.g., SKK., p. 58, লোটাইল « lōṭāilā » *caused to be rolled, rolled* ; p. 318, আধাইল « ākhāilā » *scoured, washed* ; East Bengali করাইল « kārāilā » *done, caused to be done*, জুড়াইল « jurāilā » *cooled* = Standard Literary and Colloquial « kārānā, jurānā ». In West Bengali, as in W. Murshidabad for instance, the « -il- » participle (contracted to « -l- ») occurs in the compound tense (perfect), but not independently : e.g., লাগালচে [lagalōjhe] *have you fixed?*, কি খালাছিল [ki khālōjhila] *what were you feeding with?*, দেওয়াচে [deōwājhe] *is causing to give*, etc. The « -l- » form occurs in the Oṛiyā and in the Bihārī dialects. Assamese however prefers the « -ā » form (« kārōwā » *caused to be done* = « \* karāpita- » + « -ā »).

763. Double Causatives—such as are found in Bihārī (e.g., Maithilī « dēkhab » *see*, causal « dēkhāēb » *show*, double causal « dēkhābāēb » *cause to show* ; « girab » *fall* > « girāēb » *fell* < « girābāēb » *cause to fell* ; Bhōjpuriyā « dēkhal, dēkhāwal, dēkhāwāwal », etc.), in Eastern Hindi (e.g., Lakhimpurī Awadhī « hāsab » *smile*, « hāsāwab, hāsāwāwab »), in Western Hindi (e.g., Hindōstānī « karnā, karānā, karwānā ; dēnā, dilānā, dilwānā »), in Panjābī (e.g., E. Panjābī « sikkhṇā » *learn*, « sikkhṇāṇā [sikkhlāṇā, sikkhlāṇā], sikkhwāṇā »), in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī (e.g., Gujarātī « karvū, karāvavū, karāvāvavū »)—have not been found in Bengali and in Oṛiyā.

But they occur in a restricted way in Assamese (e.g., « kār, kārā, kārōwā »). The « -l- » causatives of Western Hindi and Panjabi, and of Rājasthāni-Gujarāṭī, and the « -ḍ-, -r- » causatives as in Rājasthāni-Gujarāṭī (cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 141 [3]), are also unknown in Bengali and its sister speeches. A few Hindōstāni « -l- » forms occur as loans: e.g., বাতলান « bātālānā » to inform, to describe, in slang or familiar colloquial; দেলান « dēlānā » to cause to give in Late MB.; and the nouns ধোলাই « dhōlāi » a causing to wash > cost of washing, সেলাই « sēlāi » sewing and চোলাই « cōlāi » distilling.

764. There is in Bengali a periphrastic way of forming the causative with the verbal noun in « -ā » and the verb করান « kārānā » to cause to do. This method is exceedingly common in Rājha Bengali, outside the Standard Colloquial: thus রাখ « rākh » to keep, রাখা করান « rākhā-kārānā » to cause to keep; so আনা করান « ānā-kārānā » to cause to bring, ডাকা করান « ḍākā-kārānā » to cause to call, খাওয়া করান « khāwā-kārānā » to cause to eat, দেওয়া করান « dēwā-kārānā » to cause to give, etc. The use of the causative form করান « kārānā » with *ts.* or *sts.* nouns is also common in Standard Bengali: e.g., বান করান « snānḍ-kārānā » to cause to take a bath, গান করান « gānḍ-kārānā » to make sing, নাচ করান « nācḍ-kārānā » to make dance, দাঁড় করান « dāḍḍ-kārānā » to cause to stand, etc.; such instances are extensions of nominal compound verbs with কর « √kār », and we have cases in the ŚKK. also—e.g., চেতন করান « cētānā kārānā » to bring to senses, পান করান « pānā kārānā » to cause to drink, etc.

[N] DENOMINATIVES.

765. Denominatives have occurred in all the periods of the language: e.g., « mātā » (Caryā 50: mātā < matta); ŚKK., p. 159, খদ্যাইবে « khāngāibē » will be angry (khāngā anger); p. 158, খেঁকাইলো « khēkālō » I ferried (khē = ferry); p. 191, ভাঙলি « bhāṅḍāsi » jestest, ভাঙাইলি « bhāṅḍāīli » didst jest (bhāṅḍa fool, buffoon, knave), আউলাইল « āulāilā » dishevelled (ākula); p. 372, বিষাইল « biṣāilā » poisoned (viṣa), etc.

Commonly in Bengali, the noun, if it is a short form (disyllabic > monosyllabic), is used as a root: চিন « cinḍ » (cihna)—চিনিবে, চিন্বে



• cinibē, cinbē » *will recognise*; তাত « tāṭṭ » *heat* (tapta)—তাতিল, তাত্‌ল  
 « tātilā, tātlā » *became hot*; পাক « pākṭ » (pakva)—পাকিতেছে, পাক্‌ছে  
 « pākītēchē, pākchē » *is becoming ripe*; কম « kām » *small, less* (Persian kam)—  
 কমিল, ক'মল « kāmīlā, kām'lā » *became less* জম « jām » *gathering* (Perso-  
 Arabic jam\*)—জমিবে, জ'মবে « jāmibē, jām'bē » *will gather, will flourish*; etc.  
 But the distinctive affix for the denominative in Bengali is আ « -ā- » :  
 শাণ « śāṇṭ » *hone, whet-stone*, শাণাইল শাণ'ল « śāṇāilā, śāṇā'lā » *whetted*;  
 দাঁড় « dāṛṭ » *stick, rod*, দাঁড়ায় « dāṛāy » *stands upright, stands*; তল « tālṭ »  
*bottom*, তলায় « tālāy » *goes to the bottom*; ঘন « ghānā » *thick*, ঘনাইতেছে  
 « ghānāitēchē » *is thickening*; MB. দঢ় « dāṛḥā » *firm*, দঢ়ান « dāṛḥānā »  
*to make firm*; etc., etc. No definite rule can be laid down where the  
 formative affix is employed and where it can be dispensed with. Here-  
 in the NIA. Bengali is as arbitrary as OIA. and MIA.: cf. Sanskrit  
 « bhiṣakti, kṛṣṇati » beside « kṛṣṇāyatē, kavayati ». It may be noted  
 that in Dravidian, Kōl and Tibeto-Chinese, the root could be used both  
 as a noun and a verb.

The OIA. affixes to form the denominative (apart from cases where  
 no such affix was used) were « -a-, -ya-, -ā-ya-, -a-ya-, -i-y-a-, -i-y-a-, -ū-ya-,  
 -u-ya-, -s-ya (-ṣ-ya) ». The form « -ā-ya- », resembling the causative  
 affix « -āpaya (āvaya) », seems to have become more common than the  
 rest in Early MIA.; and the colourless or « -a- » form also was largely used  
 (cf. Geiger, 'Pali Litteratur und Sprache,' § 186, § 188). The causative  
 largely influenced, and then encroached upon the domain of the deno-  
 minative. In Pali, e.g., we find denominatives with the generalised MIA.  
 causative affix « -āpaya- », like « ōpuñjāpēti » = Skt. « ava-puñjayati »,  
 « ussukāpēti » = « utsukāyatē », and also causative-denominatives like  
 « sukhāpēti, dukhāpēti » (Geiger, § 187). In Second MIA., there is a  
 greater mix-up with the causative; the old forms are retained, but « -āya- »  
 is more prominent, and « -āya- > -āa- » and « -āpaya- > -āvē- -āv- »  
 approach each other (Pischel, §§ 557 ff.). As it has been seen before  
 (Bengali Denominative Passives in « -ā- », *supra*, p. 929), the distinction  
 between the denominative and the causative is all but lost in NIA.,  
 being preserved only in the Bihārī dialects.

The verbal noun as well as the passive participle affix for the denominative is আন « -ānā », which seems to be extended from the causative (see *above*, pp. 1030-1032). The verbal noun in « -ila » is also found in dialectal Bengali: OIA. « danḍāyita » > MIA. « danḍāia » + « -illa » > Bengali দাঁড়াইল, as in W. Bengali (Murshidabad) দাঁড়াল্ছে « dāṛāḷ-ḥē » *has stood so*; জুতুলছিল = জুতাইলছিল « jutulḥčila < jutāilḥčila » *gave a beating with the shoe, < jutā shoe*; etc.

[O] VERB SUBSTANTIVE, AND DEFECTIVE VERBS.

766. Five roots express the substantive idea in NB.: আহ « āch », হ or হো « hā, hō », থাক « thāk », रह « rāh » and বটে « bāṭ ».

Of these, « āch » is the most important. Bengali « āchē » *is, are* comes regularly from Second MIA. « acchāi » (which is found in Mahārāṣṭrī, Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī, Ardha-māgadhī, Āvanti, Paisāci and Western Apabhraṅśa: cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 480), First MIA. « acchati » (as in Pali). Various derivations of this MIA. root « acch » have been proposed, connecting it with either « √ās » *to sit* or « √as » *to be* (see Pischel, *loc. cit.*) The derivation favoured by Pischel is from OIA. « √ṛ, ṛch » *to go*, which also meant « mūrṭti-bhāva, indriya-pralaya, dravya-kāṭhinya » *to take a form, to have loss of the senses, to become hard*, according to the *Dhātu-pāṭha*. A verb meaning *to go* may develop the sense of *being*, and we find that in Kāśmīrī « gatsh » *to go* is very often used in the sense of *being, becoming* (cf. Grierson, 'Dictionary of the Kāśmīrī Language,' ASB., pp. 313, 315). But it is highly unlikely that this most widely used IA. substantive root (see following paragraph) should be merely a semantic development out of a verb meaning *going*, and that this development should have taken place as early as the First MIA. period, if not earlier. The most satisfactory derivation of « √acch, āch, ch » is from an OIA. « \* √acch », which is not preserved in Vedic or Sanskrit. The Indo-European root « \* es », = « as » of OIA., occurred in thematic forms as well: « \* es-e-ti » (which would correspond with a possible OIA. « \* as-a-ti ») and « \* es-ske-ti » (which would agree with an OIA. « \* as-cha-ti, \* acchati »), beside the athematic « \* es-ti » (= OIA. « as-ti »). Sanskrit grammarians do not recognise « -cha-, -ccha- »

as a verbal theme (= \* -ske-, -sko- > of Indo-European), occurring as it does in less than a dozen roots of Skt., e.g., \* icoh (< iṣ), uoch (< uṣ), roch (< ṛ), gacch (< gam), proch (< \* pṛṣ, cf. pṛṣ-ṭa), mroch (< mṛ), mūrch (< mūr), yacch (< yam), yucch (< yu), vārch (< van) > : but the source of this \* -ccha > in Indo-European, namely, \* -ske-, -sko- >, was a distinctive verbal theme which is of greater frequency and importance in other branches of IE. (cf. Brugmann's Short Comparative Grammar, French trans., pp. 549, 550 ; A. Meillet, 'Introduction à l'Étude comparative des Langues indo-européennes', pp. 185, 186). The \* -ske/o- > theme is found with \* √ces > in a number of ancient Indo-European speeches—Greek (e.g., Homeric preterit \* éskon, éske > ), Latin (Old Latin future \* escit > ); Tokharian (\* sketar > is, \* skente > are), Armenian (subjunctive \* ičem > ). This derivation of \* acch, acchati > has been suggested by Sylvain Lévi and A. Meillet ('Remarques sur les Formes grammaticales de quelques Textes en Tokharien B : I, Formes verbales,' p. 28, from the 'Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique,' 1912). Cf. \* √pāhūch >, *supra*, pp. 344, 473.

The root \* āch (ch) > is now found in all Magadhan speeches except Magahī and Bhōjpurīyā. It seems that these two dialects also at one time possessed them, for it is occasionally met with in old poetry in Bhōjpurīyā (see *supra*, p. 167). Eastern Hindi similarly seems to have had it also : in Early Eastern Hindi, as in Malik Muhammad Jāyastī for instance, it figures (e.g., at pp. 31, 35, 45, 53 of the ASB. edition,— \* āchahi, āchāī, āchahī >, which have been explained as meaning *good*, \* acchā >, by Sudhākara Dvivedī). The MIA. source dialect of Western Hindi, Śaurasēni, possessed it, according to Vararuci (XII, 19 : \* astēr acchah > ); \* achnā > is recognised in Hindi as a root, and it seems that instances of it occur in Old Western Hindi poetry, but it is no longer a living form in that speech. It is found in Gujarāṭī as much as in Bengali, and it is equally common in some of the Rājasthānī dialects. In Marāṭhī, it is common as \* asṇē >. It figures also in most of the Pāhārī speeches. The range of \* acch > thus appears to have been fairly extensive (see *supra*, p. 167). The loss of it in some of the NIA. speeches is nothing exceptional : witness the disuse of the Old English substantive verb \* weorðan > in New English,

while it is retained (as « werden ») in New High German. But it seems this root, despite its mention as a Śaurasēni form by Vararuci, was not a popular one in the Midland: its being ignored by Sanskrit may be due to a restricted occurrence in the Midland; and Midland influence may have further curtailed it in Eastern Hindi and in Bhōjpurīyā and Magahi in recent times.

« āch » is a defective root in NB. as well as in MB. It occurs only in the present and the past in NB., but in MB. the imperative, present participle, conjunctive and verbal noun in « -iba » also are found. Thus,

Present: 1. आहि « āchi », 2. आहिस, आह « āchis, āchā », 3. आह « āchē », MB. आहए « āchāē »; 2 and 3 honorific आहें « āchēṅ », MB. आहति, आहें, आहत « āchānti, āchēntā, āchāntā »;

Past: 1. (आ)हिलाम, हिलुम, हिलेम « (ā)chilām, chilum, chilēm », MB. (आ)हिलेँ « (ā)chilē » etc.; 2. (आ)हिलि, हिलिस « (ā)chili, chilis », (आ)हिला « (ā)chilā », हिले « chilē », etc.; 3. (आ)हिल « (ā)chilā », † आहलेक « āchālēk », MB. also (आ)हिला « (ā)chilā »; 2 and 3 honorific हिलेन « chilēṅ », MB. (आ)हिलति, (आ)हिलति, (आ)हिलेत्, (आ)हिलत् « (ā)chilānti, (ā)chilānti, (ā)chilēntā, (ā)chilāntā »;

Imperative, MB. 3. आहूक « āchūk », (आ)चूक, « (ā)chuk »;

Present Participle, MB. (आ)हिते « (ā)chitē »;

Conjunctive, MB. (आ)हिया « (ā)chiyā, हिअँ « chi(y)ā »;

Verbal Noun, MB. आहिवा « āchivā ».

The aphæresis of the initial « ā- » is as old as eMB.: e.g., ŚKK. p. 124, हिते « chitē », p. 232, चूक « chukā »; cf. also p. 124, आगुहिअँ « āguchiā » *having been before*.

In Oṛiyā, the past and future tense of « āch » shows another root, « tha » (as in « thilā » *he was*, « thilū » *I was*, « thibē » *they will be*, etc.), of which the source seems to be OIA. « √sthā » (« sthita » *thia* + *-illa* > *thilā* »; but cf. Early Assamese « thāilā » *remained* < « \*thaya- » + « -illa »). 'S.-W. Bengali' uses a base « ṭha », also from « √sthā », but with cerebralisation, in the equivalents of Bengali हिल « chilā » etc., in

the compound tenses (see *supra*, p. 1029). Beside equivalents of « \*acchita + -illa », MIA. forms based on « sthita + -illa » were thus current in the Prakrit dialects brought to Bengal.

767. Root ह, ह्वा « hā, hō ». This is apparently a single root in NB., but the form really represents two roots which have merged into one—one being « √ah » or « √ha » from OIA. « √as », the other « √hō » from OIA. « √bhū ». The distinction between the two is preserved in many NIA. speeches, at least in form : Thus, we have Magahi past forms « hal, halai » from « √ha », beside « hōl, bhōl » from root « √hō, bha = √bhū » ; W. Hindī has « hai » *is*, « hī » *am* (in Early W. Hindī literature frequently occurring as « ahai, āhai ; ahaū, ahū, āhū » etc., from « √ah, as »), beside « hōwē, hōē ; hōwū, hōū » *may be* (from « √hō = bhū »). Cf. Grierson, 'Maithilī Grammar,' § 219, for « √ah » in Maithilī. And in West Bengali, in the Khariā-ṭhār dialect of Manbhūm District, the verb occurs as अह्य « śhāy » *is* (LSI., V, I, p. 97).

The OIA. « √bhū » became « hō, hū » in the NIA. languages. In MB., we have ह्य, ह्वा « huē, hōē », with its equivalents « huāī, hōī » in Oṛiya and « hōwē » in Early Assamese. MB. and Assamese show beside these the form ह्य, ह्य « hāē, hāy », honorific MB. ह्यन्ति « hāyānti = hāānti » (p. 9, Chuṭī Khān's 'Mahābhārata'), ह्यन्त « hāyāntā = hāāntā » (ibid., p. 56), ह्यन्ति « hānti », etc. In the ŚKK., however, the « hō » form is extremely rare, occurring only once, and « hā » is the common form. In the Caryās, we find « hōī » and « hōnti », and the « ha, ah » form does not occur. The past tense of « √hō », apart from ह्यैल « hōilā » which has merged in ह्यैल « hāīlā » (<\*āh-il-ā), shows in OB. and MB., as well as in Early Assamese, the forms ह्यैल, ह्यैल, ह्यैल, ह्यैल « bhāīlā, bhāyīlā, bhāūlā, bhāūlā », etc. A conjunctive ह्यै « bhāī » is also known. The « bha » base occurs also side by side with « hō » in other NIA. *e.g.*, W. Hindī (Hindōstānī) « hūā » beside dialectal « bhayā » ; and we can also note the Hindī verb « bhāwē » = « bhāvayati », (cf. the MB. अह्य « bhāy ») *seems*. OIA. « √bhū » gave « hō » through the occurrence of the verb in the middle of the sentence (see *supra*, p. 553), and side by side with this intervocal « -h- » modification, the original initial « bh- » seems to have remained as a stereotyped form in the same area.

In MIA., all roots of OIA. tended to conform to the thematic «-a-» group. Root «as», athematic in Vedic and Sanskrit, would thus seem to have developed a thematic form «\*as-a-ti» beside «as-ti», if this did not already exist in OIA. OIA subjunctive forms, like «ásati, ásat» might have exerted some influence here. The OIA. athematic «as-ti» survives through MIA. «atthi» in the Gujarātī negative form «nathī <nāsti», and is not found elsewhere in NIA. The form «\*as-a-ti» seems to be the source of NIA. আছ *āḥay* (West Bengali), हए हए «hāē, hāy» (Standard or Common Bengali), «ahaī, hai» (W. Hindi), «āhē» (Marāṭhī), etc. This «\*as-a-ti» however, has not been found in MIA., and the phonetic puzzle of the change of «-s->-h-» remains unsolved (*supra*, pp. 549-550). Jules Bloch suggests connecting Marāṭhī «āhē» with OIA. «ā-bhavati», as a likely derivation of it ('Langue Marathe,' p. 294). But the loss of prefix «ā-» over a great part of the North Indian area would be strange. In any case, with the distinct occurrence in NIA. of «hō, ha» side by side, «ha» cannot with any certitude be derived from «bhū». Bengali phonology shows that the source of «ha» in OB. was «\*ah» and not «hō=bhū»: नर *nāy* is not <न-हर *nā-hāy* = «na + \*ahaī»; नहिले <नहिले *nāilē* < *nāhilē*» on not being <«na + \*ahilē»; MB. नहिव *nāhibā* > shall not be = «na + \*ahiba»: the change is of «ā+ā > ā > ā» (for which see *supra*, pp. 347, 555). In the Standard Colloquial, MB. करिव, চলিব *kāribā, cālībā* > I shall do, I shall go by loss of the interior «-i-» and mutation of the preceding «-ā-» give [korbo, ʃolbo], but there is no such mutation in the case of बहिव, सहिव *bāhibā, sāhibā* > I shall bear, I shall suffer > [bobo, ʃobo], when the «-i-» is dropped; but when the «-i-» is retained (the presence of «-h-» preventing the hiatus in OB. and eMB. has something to do with the preservation of the «-i-» in such cases), we have mutation: [boibo, ʃoibo]. Now হইব *hāibā* > shall be gives in the Standard Colloquial [ʃobo]: this would seem to be based on \*অহিব, \*অহব «\*āhibā, \*āhbā», which then by metathesis becomes হব *hābā* > [ʃobo]. A form from «hō=bhū», হোইব *hōibā* > would give in the Standard Colloquial \* [ʃobo], with «-ō-» in the root, but such a form is unknown. In the past tense (first person), we

have for the above roots, respectively, [korlum (kollum), ʃollum], but [boilum, ʃoilum] and [fiolum] : [bolum, ʃolum] would be exceedingly rare, and wrong for the Standard Colloquial dialect ; and [fiolum] never occurs. [fiolum] apparently is not based on « \* ah-il-um < √ ah » , but rather on « hō-il-um < √ bhū » : in the former case it would have fallen in line with [boilum, ʃoilum], and with [koilum] < « √ kāh » to speak etc., and preserved the « -i- » (in the Standard Colloquial). The future tense thus seems to preserve « √ ah » , and the past « √ hō » .

768. The root रह « rāh » to remain, to continue to be (the causative of which occurs in the ŚKK., रहत « rāhā » stops), is a regular verb which can be said to form one of the substantives in Bengali. It occurs in other NIA.—Marāṭhī « rahāṇē, rāhṇē », Gujarati « rahēvū », Sindhi « rahaṇu », Panjābī « rahiṇā », W. Hindī « rahnā », E. Hindī « rahab » : it is found also in the Dardic Kāśmīrī.

This root is of obscure origin. A common derivation is to regard it as an intransitive formation from a passive verb : Skt. « rakṣatē » is preserved, is kept > MIA. « rakkhiā » > « rākhiaī, \* rāhiaī, \* rāhiaī » > NIA. « rahaī » remains (cf. Platts, 'Hindustānī Dictionary,' under « rahnā »). Despite the presence of the Marāṭhī « rāhṇē », this derivation is not convincing. Then the NIA. form « rah » cannot be affiliated to any of the Sanskrit roots, « rah » to separate, to aba don, « rañh » to hasten, to speed, and « lañgh » to leap over, because of the insurmountable difference of meaning. This root however occurs in MIA., e.g., Jaina Prakrit « rahaē » remains, stays, and MIA. dēśī « rāho = nīrantaraḥ » (as referred to by Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 393).

It would be strange indeed if such an important NIA. root, a root of elementary significance, and so widely spread too, should not be of OIA. origin. There is the Skt. root « arh=argh » to deserve, to merit, to be worthy of, to have a claim to, to be entitled to, to be worth, to be able, etc. This is connected with the Greek « alphē » worth, value ; and Skt. « √ arj » to acquire is also supposed to be related to this « √ argh, arh » (Uhlenbeck, 'Etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischer Sprache' ; also J. Leumann, *ibid.*, I Theil, Dissertation, Strassburg, 1893). In Pali

« √ rah » figures as « araha- » : but the old meaning is preserved. Skt. « √ arh » in the present tense second person is used with the infinitive as a polite request : « kartum arhasi, dātum arhasi » *please do, please give*. This « arh, araha- » does not agree with the NIA. « rah » in sense, although in form they are almost identical.

There is in Middle High German a verb « rēgen » meaning *to raise oneself up, to be rigid, to be fixed*, in Modern German « emporragen » *to tower*, « hervorragen » *to rise above, to project, to stand out*. There is also in Latin a verb « rigeo, rigēre » *to be fixed, to stiffen*. It has been suggested that the Latin and the German forms are connected, and the hypothetical Indo-European root « \* régh-o-, \* řgh-é- » has been proposed as the source of both (August Fick, 'Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der idg. Sprachen,' Göttingen, 1890, p. 517 : Fick regarded this as belonging specially to the West European i.e. "centum" group of Indo-European, and he further connected the Greek « √ arkh » *to be first* and Lithuanian « rāgas », Old Slav « rogŭ » *horn* : W. Prellwitz accepts all this in his 'Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache,' Göttingen, 1905, under « árkhō » ; E. Boisacq, however, regards these etymologies as dubious, 'Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue grecque,' Heidelberg, 1906, under « arkhós » ; and A. Walde also disputes them, 'Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,' Heidelberg, 1910, under « rigeo, recens, frigeo »).

Was there a root « \* ragh, rah » = *to stand, to be fixed, to be stiff* also in OIA. ? The possibility of an OIA. form like « \* ragh, rah » is made a probability by the presence in most NIA. of « √ rah », and also of « √ raha » in MIA. (as in Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī « sō ŷa alva jūya-pasaṅgī ; nivasana-mēttam pi na rahaē » *he is exceedingly addicted to gambling : not even his clothes remain* : Jacobi, 'Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahārāṣṭrī,' Leipzig, 1886, p. 58 : it features also in the Jaina *kāvya* « Siri-sirivāla-kahā » : cf. 'Pāia-sadda-mahāṅṅavō' by Hargovinddas Trikamchand Seth, Calcutta, 1925 ; it occurs also in the late work 'Prākṛta-Pāṅgala'). The use of this root in MIA. Jaina texts favours the assumption that it also occurred in the traditional Ardha-māgadhī from Early MIA. times. The eastern dialect of Aśōka undoubtedly



is *Ardha-māgadhī* of the Early MIA. period (cf. H. Lüders, 'Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen,' p. 41). In that puzzling passage in *Aśōka's Pillar Edict IV*, « *lajūkā pi laghaṃti paṭicalitavē maṃ (,) pulisāni pi mē chaṇḍaṃṇāni paṭicalisaṃti* », the word « *laghaṃti=laghanti* » has been interpreted to mean *are eager* (= « *raṅghantē* » : Bühler) and *they must* (= « *arhanti* » : *auch die Lajjukas müssen mir gehorchen*, H. Lüders, 'Sitzungsberichte der kön. preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften,' Vol. LIII, 1913, p. 993). But it seems very likely that it means *remain*, and is the *Aśōkan* equivalent of the NIA. « *rah* » : *the Lajjukas also remain (are staying) to serve (obey) me, and they will also serve (obey) the officials who know my will* seems to be the proper translation (cf. A. C. Woolner, 'Asoka Text and Glossary,' 1925, II, p. 86). The sense of « *√arh* », with an implication of compulsion, is hardly suitable in this general statement in the above passage. In *Bhabra Inscription*, however, we have the OIA. « *√arh* » in the form « *alah* » with the « *a-* » retained : thus, « *alahāmi hakam taṃ vatavē* » (= *arhāmy ahaṃ tad vaktavē=vaktum*). The assumption of an OIA. root « *\*ragh, rah, lagh* », from the occurrence of it in NIA. and in (Late) MIA. (*Jaina Prakrit*) and from the presence in extra-Indian Indo-European of « *rēgen, rigeo* » etc., seems to be borne out by the *Aśōkan* « *laghaṃti* ». And it is not unlikely that there was a confusion between this « *\*ragh, rah, lagh* » and « *argh, arh, arah, alah* » in MIA.

769. Root थक् « *thāk* » to remain < to be fixed. It is commonly derived from the OIA. « *√sthā* », but Hoernle connects it with « *√stabh + kṛ* » > MIA. « *thakka* » (see *supra*, p. 680). This is certainly the true derivation, although it is possible that OIA. « *√sthā* » > « *thā, tha* » has merged into it : cf. *Oṛiyā* « *√thā* » beside « *√thāk* », *Assamese* past form « *thāilā* », *Bengali* causative थार « *thōy* » *places* (*sthāpayati*). Equivalentents of this root occur in other NIA.—in *Bihārī*, in *W. Hindi*, in *Gujarātī* ; and it is found in *Late MIA.*,—in the '*Prākṛtā Pāṅgala*,' for instance.

770. Root बट् « *bāṭ* » as a substantive verb in the Standard Colloquial is frequently used to express doubt or polite assent, and as such is ordinarily restricted to the 3rd person present only—बटे

« bātē »—which has practically been reduced to a particle of assent or query in Standard NB. The root is defective in not having past and future forms, and conjunctives, participles and verbal nouns. The forms for the 1st and 2nd persons, and the honorific, are sometimes used: বটি « bāṭi » *I am, I may be*; বটিল, বট « bāṭis, bāṭā »; বটেন « bāṭēnṣ », generally with the conjunction যদি, যদিও « yādi, yādi-ō » *if, although*. The 3rd personal form is sometimes used for emphasis—সেই বটে « sei bāṭē » *it is he indeed*. In the West Rāṅha dialects, the use of « bātē » as the equivalent of « āchē » and « hāy » is still preserved: e.g., in Manbhum, তোমার হাতে বটিতে কি ? « tōmārṣ hātē ghāṭi-tē ki ? » *what have you got in the vessel in you hand ?* জল বটে « jalṣ bāṭē » *it is water*.

In Oṛiyā, the counterpart of « bāt » is « āṭ », also a defective verb. The loss of the initial « b (<v) » in Oṛiyā seems to have been brought about by the occurrence of the verb in the middle of the sentence, which helped to reduce the « v- », which became « b- » in Bengali, to a glide « w » which came to be dropped. Maithilī and Magahī have not preserved the root, but in Bhōjpuriyā it is a very common and useful substantive verb, its forms there being « bāṭ-, bār-, bā, bā-ni » etc.

The source of this root is the OIA. « vṛt » *to turn, to revolve, to roll, to take place, to occur, to exist, to remain* etc. : « vartatē », MIA. Māgadhī « vaṭṭati, vaṭṭai » > বটে « bāṭē » (see *supra*, p. 319).

771. Some Bengali verbs present irregularities in their conjugations, especially in the past bases. But these irregularities are not so great as in Panjābī or Marāṭhī. The process of standardisation early levelled down the passive participle bases derived from MIA. to a regular « -il- » form in Bengali. A few survivals, however, remain. Thus কর « √kār », past tense MB. করিল « kārila » (> NB. করল করলে, করলে করলে [korlo, kollo, korle, kolle]) is a new and regular formation in eMB. from the root, but the earlier form derived from MIA. « \*kaya-illa » is the OB. and MB. কৈল « kailā », now obsolete or dialectal: cf. Oṛiyā « kālā », Bihārī « kail ». So মরিল « mārila » *died* > মরল মলে [morlo, mollo], beside the older মৈল « māila », which is found in both standard and dialectal Bengali as মল [molo]; and on the analogy of « kailā, māila », we have in MB.

a seemingly archaic মাইল « māilā » (whence the dialectal West Bengali মৈলে « mēlē », i.e., « māil-ē ») for a regular মারিল « mār-il-ā » *he struck* (« mārita + -illa », a causative form, which occurs in the Standard Colloquial as মারলে, মাললে [marle, malle < \*marile]); and also পৈল « pāilā » fell in MB., for পড়িল « pāṛilā » > NB. পড়ল [poṛlo]. Root বা, বা « jā » (OIA. « yā ») has the past base গেলে « gēlē » = Early Assamese « gāilā », Oriyā « gālā », Bihārī « gail », from OIA. « gata » + « -ila »; this is the genuine and current form, and বাইল « jāilā » is a regular « sādhu-bhāṣā » creation out of বা « √jā », which is not the spoken form. The conjunctive forms are গেলে « gēlē » and গিয়া, গিয়ে « giyā, giyē » *on going, having gone* (cf. Early Bengali, Early Assamese গই « gāi », also found in OB.); but জেলে « jēlē » and জেয়ে « jēyē » would appear to be extremely uncommon in colloquial Bengali, and would seem to be based on the literary forms জাইলে, জাইয়া « jāilē, jāiyā ».

772. The roots meaning *give* and *take* have had a close inter-influence in their history. OIA. root « dā » *to give* did not use its reduplicated forms in MIA., and already in Transitional MIA. (Bharhut), it figures as « dēti » < « \*dayati », apparently through analogy of « nayati » > « nēti » (from « √nī » *to lead, to take away*). The passive participle base was « datta » in OIA. (which seems to be preserved in the Panjābī « dittā »); and a form « \*dita » also occurred in OIA., which gave W. Hindī « diyā », Bengali দিল « di-lā »; beside another in « -nn- », attested from MIA. « dipṇa- » and NIA. « dīnau » (W. Hindī, Brajbhākhā), « dīnha » (Early Awadhī), « dīdhō = \*dindhāü, dīnhāü » (Gujārātī: cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 126 [3]). We have besides the form « dēl- » in Bihārī, in which occurs the vocalism of the present. NB. Vowel Harmony has largely modified the original disposition of the « -i- » and « -ē- » vowels (see *supra*, p. 894). For *take*, we have as many as *three* roots in Bengali. The standard « sādhu-bhāṣā » knows only ল, লহ « √lā, lāh » (which, if it is not the Skt. « labh », is at least influenced by its *tāh.* form « √lah »): Present 1. লই « lāi », 2. লইস, ল'স « lāis, lā's », লহ, লও « lāhā, lāō », 3. লহে, লয় « lāhē, lāy », honorific ল'ন, লয়েন, লহেন « lānā, lāyēnā, lāhēnā »; Imperative 2. ল « lā < lāhā », লও, লহ « lāō, lāhā < lāhāhā ».

3. লউক < laukā >, honorific লউন < laūnā >; Past base লইল < laiīla >, Future base, লব, লইব < labā-, laiībā >, Conjunctive লইয়া < laiīyā >, Passive Participle লওয়া < lawā >. This < lah, lā > root occurs in MB. literature also. But it is never used in spoken Bengali. The vocalism parallels that of roots সহ, বহ < sah, bah > as given above (e.g., Future [sohībo > soibo, sobo], so [lohībo > loibo, lobo]), and thus indicates the form < lah > (< labh >) as a source of the NB. root. The dialects (other than Standard Colloquial) use a root লে < lē >, e.g., Present 1. লি(ই) < li(i) >, 2. লিস < lis >, লেও > লাও < lēo > lāo >, 3. Present লের < lēy > [læð], Past লিলে < liīlē >, Future লিবে, লেবে < libē, lēbē >, Conjunctive লিরে < liyē >, etc.: this root is now regarded as vulgar; but it figures in MB., and in OB. (e.g., Caryā 14, < kawadī na lēi, bōdī na lēi > *takes not a cowrie shell, takes not a farthing*; Caryā 10, < lēmi > *I take*; 32, < lēhu > *you take*; 49, < lēli > *taken*). It seems that this < √lē >, and < lā, lāh > were confused with each other: < lē > was made to approach < lāh > as an elegant, literary form. The OB. conjunctive forms < lai > (Caryā 29, 38, 47), < laiā > (28, 45), < laiā > (26) seem already to be the result of this confusion in changing the root vowel of < lē > to < la > as in < lah > (cf. NB. dialectal < liyē > *having taken* < √lē >). This < lē > is found in Bihārī, in E. Hindi, in W. Hindi (lē-nā), etc. The source of it seems to be the OIA. root < lā > *to take*, as in Sanskrit. In Sanskrit, however, this root is not so common. The popular Skt. root is < grah >, which is represented by forms in some of the NIA. speeches. The change of < lā > to < lē > is probably the result of the influence of < dēī, dēti = dāti, dadāti > (cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe', p. 400, under *lepen*). The Standard Colloquial root meaning *to take* (occurring also in MB.) is নি, নে < ni, nē >, now conjugated exactly on the model of < dē > (see *supra*, p. 894). It may be that this form is due to the change of the initial < l- > of < lē > to < n- > (see *Phonology*, p. 545); but it is at least equally likely that here we have the OIA. root < ni > *to lead, to carry off for one's self > to take*. We have আনি < āni > = < ā + √ni > as a common verb in Bengali; and it is exceedingly likely that OIA. < √ni > has also survived in Bengali.

OB. had the root « ghēn » *to take* (< OIA. gṛhṇāti) : cf. Caryā 6, « ghini (= ghēni) mēli » = « gṛhītvā muktāvā », according to the Commentary. It is lost to Bengali now, but Oṛiyā still retains this root as a common form (√ghēn).

It is curious that the root for *taking* also means *wearing (clothes)*, in Oṛiyā (« √ghēn »), in Marāṭhi (lēṇē), and in MIA. (« laiaṁ parihitaṁ : laiaṁ aṅgē pinaddham ity anyē » — 'Dēsināma-māla' quoted by Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 400 : cf. Skt. « vāsāmsi jīrṇāni yathā vihāya navāni gṛhṇāti narō parāṇi »).

773. Root आ « √ā » *to come* is a defective root, which is affiliated to root আইস, আস « √āis, ās » *to come* (< OIA. ā + √viś), to supply an optional past form and the familiar imperative (= singular). Thus—

3 Present, MB., NB. (sādhu-bhāṣā) আইসে, আসে « āisē, āsē », NB. Standard Coll. আসে « āsē »; 3 Past, MB. আইসিল « āisilā », NB. (sādhu-bhāṣā) আসিল « āsilā », also MB. আইল « āilā », NB. Standard Coll. এল [elo], East Bengali আসল [aʃʃlo]; 3 Future, MB., NB. (sādhu-bhāṣā) আসিবে « āsibē », NB. আসবে [aʃbē]; Imperative, 2 familiar or inferior আর « āy », 2 ordinary « sādhu-bhāṣā » আইস « āisā », Standard Coll. এসো [eʃo], আইসুক, আসুক « āisukā, āsukā », 2, 3 honorific আ(ই)সুন « ā(i)sunā », Future Imperative 2 inferior আ(ই)সিস্ « ā(i)sis », ordinary NB. আইসিও « ā(i)sio » > এসো [eʃo]; Conjunctive আসিয়া « āsiyā », এসে « ēsē »; Absolute, আসিলে « āsilē » > আসলে « āslē », beside আইলে « āilē » > NB. এলে « ēlē »; Present Participle আসিতে « āsitē » > আসতে « āste ».

The form « ā » comes from OIA. « ā + √yā » : « āyāta + -ila- > \*āilla- > \*āilla- » > আইল « āilā- » > এল [elo]. The verbal noun connected with this root is আনা « ānā », which is not found by itself : but here, as the OB. form « avanā-gavanā » *coming and going* (found in the Caryās : = NB. আনাগোনা « ānā-gōnā ») shows, we have « √gam » — « āgamana- + gamana- ». It seems a MIA. form like « \*āvaī » (= OIA. \*ā-gamati) has merged into « ā + √yā ». The present tense of « √ā » is not found in NB., but OB. shows « āvaī » (Caryā 42; also spelt « āvayi » in Caryā 43). Corresponding to this OB. « āvaī, avanā- » we have W. Hindi 3 Present « āwē », Verbal Noun or Infinitive « ānā »; in Biharī

(Maithilī), Verbal Noun « āb », Present Participle « ābait » beside « āōt », 3 Future and Conditional Past (= original Present Participle) « auta- », Present 3 person original singular « āē » beside « ābai », plural > honorific « ābathī », Future 1st person « āōb, āōb », conjunctive « ābi, āī, āy ». (Grierson, 'Maithilī Grammar,' §§ 312, 313). The Maithilī « -b-, -o- » forms, both from original « -w- », clearly show that as in Bengali, we have also the OIA. « \* āgamati » > MIA. « \* āāwāi » form : Maithilī « āē = āī < āyāti », and « ābai = āwāi < \* āgamati, ābathi < āgamanti, āeb < āyātavya, āob < \* āgamitavya ». The Maithilī past base always is « ail- », where it is < « āyāta + -illa », as in Bengali « āilā » : cf. W. Hindī « āyau, āyā » (< ā-yāta-ka).

Three OIA. roots preceded by the « ā » particle thus feature in the Bengali verb for *coming* : « ā-viś », « ā-yā » and « ā-gam ».

[P] DUPLICATED VERBS.

774. Certain verb-forms are doubled in Bengali to indicate repeated, intense or continuous action. These are either conjunctives in « -iyā » (or « -i » in Early Bengali), or present participles in « -itē », used with an adverbial force with reference to the finite verb. Thus we have in OB. (Caryā 10) « chaī chōī = chōwī chōwī » *frequently touching*; (26) « dhuni dhuni » *by continually carding (cotton)*; (31) « cāhantē cāhantē » *continually scrutinising*; MB., Cauḍī-dāsa, বুরিয়া বুরিয়া কান্দে « jhuriyā jhuriyā kāndē » *weeps (silently) shedding tears continually*; Gōvinda-dāsa, উড়িয়া পড়িয়া মাতল ভয়র বুরিয়া বুরিয়া বু- « uriyā pāriyā mātālā bhrāmārā ghuriyā ghuriyā bulē » *the drunken bee flies and moves and circles round and round*, হাসিয়া হাসিয়া অঙ্গ দোলাইয়া নাচিয়া নাচিয়া যায় « hāsiyā hāsiyā āṅgā dōlāiyā nāciyā nāciyā jāy » *goes smiling always, swinging the body and dancing always*; NB. দেখে দেখে « dēkhē dēkhē » *seeing for a long time*, খেটে খেটে « khēṭē khēṭē » *working continuously*, etc. This usage goes back at least to MIA. : cf. Late Skt. « pītvā pītvā punaḥ pītvā, patitvā ca mahitalē », an idiom based on MIA.

775. There are a number of roots which are used in pairs—roots similar in meaning, or indicating connected ideas, and together they

convey an intensive idea, or the idea of the entire process involved (cf. under 'Onomatopoeic Roots,' p. 591). These do not make what are known as 'Compound Verbs,' as both the roots take inflexions; e.g., NB. বুঝে-সুঝে « bujhē-sujhē » *understanding well*, ধুয়ে-মুছে « dhuyē-muchē » *washing and wiping = making clean completely*, মেরে-ধরে « mērē-dhōrē » *striking and restraining = forcibly*, কাঁদে-কাটে « kāḍē-kāṭē » *weeps and fidgets*, past tense কাঁদল-কাটল « kāḍla-kāṭla », future কাঁদবে-কাটবে « kāḍbe-kāṭbe »; নাচে কাঁদে « nācē-kāḍē » *dances and capers*, past নাচল-কুঁদল « nācā-kūḍā », future নাচবে-কুঁদবে « nācābe-kūḍbe »; লাফাল-ঝাঁপাল « lāphāla-jhāpāla » *leapt and jumped*; হটকানো-পাটকানো « huṭkānō-pāṭkānō » *to turn topsy-turvey, to ransack*; etc. They occur in earlier Bengali as well: SKK., ছিড়ি-জুলি « chiṇḍi-juli » *tearing and scattering*; so ভাঁগি-জুলি « bhāgi-juli »; উথালি-পাথালি « uṭhāli-pāṭhāli » *cheering and heartening*; 'Sayings of Dāka,' ধোইয়া-পোছিয়া « dhōiyā-pāucchiyā » *washing and wiping = thoroughly washing*; etc.

There is another kind of reduplication, behaving like the roots which are used in pairs, in which, following the habit of Bengali with regard to nouns, the verb is repeated by an artificial form in which the vowel or the consonant in the initial syllable of the verb is changed, and a jingle thus results, which continues the idea of the verb, or brings in notions of a similar nature: e.g., খেয়ে-দেয়ে « khēyē-dēyē » *having finished one's meal*; জিরিয়ে-তিরিয়ে « jiriyē-ṭiriyē » *resting and reposing*; কাঁদে-টাদে « kāḍē-ṭāḍē » *weeps and sorrows*; কাড়লে-বুড়লে « jāḍlē-buḍlē » *wiped and cleaned* (see *supra*, p. 176, on 'Echo Words'). This form is also found in MB.: e.g., Dāka, খায়-দায়, না পালে হাজী « khāy-dāy, nā pālē hāṇḍī » *eats and enjoys, but does not attend to the cooking pot*.

776. There is in Bengali, as in other NIA., a common Verbal Noun of Reciprocity, which may be noted in this connexion. The verbal root or the noun is doubled, and they are connected by a link vowel «-i-», and the second part of this reduplicated form takes the affix «-i < -i »: e.g., জানাজানি « jānā-jāni » *knowing in common*, বলাবলি « bālā-bāli » *informing each other*, হুড়াহুড়ি « huṛā-huṛi » *pushing and pulling each other*, মারামারি « māṛā-māri » *striking each other > fighting, সেবাসেবি*

« dēkhā-dēkhi » *seeing each other, mutual seeing*, द्वापुवि « ghuṣā-ghuṣi » *fighting with fisticuffs*, कानाकानि « kānā-kāni » *talking with mouth by each other's ears, whispering*, हाताहाति « hātā-hāti » *hand-to-hand fight*, द्वापुवि « mukhā-mukhi » *face-to-face*, etc. These nouns can be used adverbially.

Similar formations are known to OIA. Pāṇini has already noted them, under *Bahu-vrīhi* compounds (cf. 'Aṣṭādhyāyī,' II, ii, 27, and V, iv, 127 : « kēśā-kēśi, daṇḍā-daṇḍi, karṇā-karṇi, muṣṭā-muṣṭi, jalpā-jalpi » etc.) In OIA., these are nominal compounds only, the «-ā-» being the modification of the stem-vowel of the word. This formation occurred with concrete nouns as well as verbal nouns in OIA. (cf. « jalpā-jalpi ») ; and the final «-i» seems to have been strengthened by «-ka» in MIA., so that it could be retained in NIA. as «-i, -i» (-ika > -ia > -i, -i : \* karṇā-karṇi-ka > \* karṇākarṇiia > kānākāni, -ni).

Repeated roots of the type noted above in § 775 form by analogy compounds of a similar type, only the reciprocal sense is absent : e.g., छेतामेति « cēcā-mēci » *shouting and noise (singly or by many)*, कानाकानि « kādā-kāṭi » *weeping and sorrowing*, etc.

[Q] COMPOUND VERBS.

777. Modern IA. languages agree in having a remarkable idiomatic use of verb roots in connexion with a noun or a verbal conjunctive or participle. The noun which is compounded is in the accusative, and occasionally in the locative ; and the verbal form remains unaffected, the root following taking the temporal and personal affixes. The two parts combined form one idea. The inflected root in such a group, though outwardly in form the principal part modified by a noun or by a participle, is properly the auxiliary ; and sometimes it has no special force, although generally it strengthens or otherwise modifies the idea of the preceding verbal participle or noun. The use of this 'Compound Verb' or 'Group Verb' construction amply compensates for the loss of the root-modifying prefixes which form such a characteristic feature of Sanskrit and of Indo-European speeches outside India. In English, the modifying prefix now comes after (e.g., *to lie down, to sit down, to put off, to put out*), though



we have older forms (like *to with-stand, to for-give, to for-get, to up-set, etc.*). So for English *sit down*, and Skt. « ni + √sad », we have in Bengali বসিয়া পড়া « *bāsiyā pārā* », lit. *having sat, to fall*, = Hind. « *baith jānā* » *having sat, to go*. The loss of the root-prefix both in form and significance (e.g., « *upa-vīṣati* » becoming « *bāisē, bāsē* », « *pra + √ṣp* » becoming « *√pā* ») as well as the absence of new root-modifying prefixes or particles when the old ones were lost by assimilation, has gradually brought about this make-shift of the Compound Verb. These compound verbs supply to some extent the want of modal and temporal affixes, and are as characteristic of the modern Indo-Aryan speeches as the 'aspects' of the verb in the Slav languages.

In this point there is a remarkable agreement with Dravidian (see *supra*, p. 174). In the Dravidian languages, compound verbs of exactly similar formation and function occur, e.g., in Tamil, with « *koḷḷu* » *take*, « *varu* » *come*, « *viḍu* » *leave*, « *pō* » *go*, « *uru* » *come*, « *adi* » *strike*, « *paḍu* » *suffer*, etc.; in Telugu, with « *kōnu* » *buy, take*, « *vesenu* » *throw*, « *iccu* » *give*, etc. It is very likely that here we have another contribution of Dravidian in the formation of Modern Indo-Aryan speeches.

778. The Compound Verb occurs from the earliest period in NIA. We have, e.g., in the Caryās, « *diṭa(= diḍha)-karia* » (1), « ? *cauri-nila* » (2), « *ṭuṭi-gēli* » (36), « ? *saḍi-paḍiḥ* » (44), « *uṭhē (= uṭhi)-gēli* » (47); in the ŚKK., « *āṇi dibō* » *I shall bring*, « *kāṛhi nilē* » *snatched away*, « *lāgi gēlā* » *become fixed*, « *kāhiḥ dēhā* » *do describe*, « *muchiṛā pēlāibō* » *shall wipe off*, etc., etc. Examples are common in MB.

779. Types of the Compound Verb in Bengali.

(Cf. J. T. Platts, 'Hindustāni Grammar,' pp. 169-180; S. H. Kellogg, 'Hindi Grammar,' pp. 257-279; Grierson, 'Maithili Grammar,' pp. 289-298.)

### I. Nominals.

(a) Accusative : « *jānā-kārā* » *to gather*, « *dārānḍ-kārā* » *to see* (e.g., *the deity in a temple*), « *dārānḍ-dēwā* » *to*

*show oneself*, আহার করা « āhārā-kārā » *to eat*, আহার দেওয়া « āhārā-dēwā » *to feed*, পাস or ফেল করা or হওয়া « pāsā-, phēlā-, kārā, hāwā » *to pass or fail (in examination)*, স্বাদ নেওয়া « swādā-nēwā » *to taste*, জল দেওয়া « jalā-dēwā » *to water*, নাম নেওয়া « nāmā-nēwā » *to repeat the name (of God)*, লাফ দেওয়া « lāphā-dēwā » *to jump* (Sanskritised in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » as লক্ষ প্রদান করা « lāmphā-prādānā kārā »), etc., etc.

(b) Locative: আগ বাড়া or বাড়ান « āgā-bārā, -bārānā » *to advance*, গা করা « gā-kārā » *to receive properly, to attend (receive on body, cf. গায়ে মাখা « gāē mākhā » = to smear on the body in the same sense)*, etc.

(c) With the locative verbal noun (or infinitive) in ইতে « -itē » :

(i) Inceptives (with « √lāg » *to be attached*): করিতে > করিতে লাগা « kāritē > kōrtē lāgā » *to set to do*, খাইতে > খেতে লাগা « khāitē > khētē lāgā » *to set to eat*, etc.

(ii) Desideratives: দিতে চাওয়া « ditē cāwā » *to wish to give* (with « √cā, cāh » *to want*);

(iii) Acquisitives: দেখিতে > দেখতে পাওয়া « dēkhitē > dēkhtē pāwā » *to be able to see* (with « √pā » *to get*),

(iv) Permissives: বসিতে > বসতে দেওয়া « bāsitē > bōstē dēwā » *to allow to sit* (« √dē » *to give*);

(v) Potentials: চলিতে > চলতে পারা « calitē > cōltē pārā » *to be able to walk* (« √pār » *to be able*).

(d) With the verbal noun in « -i » and in « -ā » : Reflexives: মুড়ি দেওয়া « muṛi-dēwā » *to wrap oneself up*, গুড়ি মারা « guṛi-mārā » *to creep, to cower*, হামা দেওয়া « hāmā-dēwā » *to crawl on all fours*, etc., etc.

## II. Verbals.

(a) With the conjunctive (in « -iyā, -ē ») :

(i) Intensives: কাড়িয়া > কেড়ে নেওয়া « kāṛiyā > kēṛē nēwā » *to snatch away*; ভাঙ্গিয়া > ভেঙ্গে দেওয়া « bhāṅgiyā > bhēṅgē dēwā » *to break fully*; আসিয়া > এসে পড়া « āsiyā > ēsē pāṛā » *to come along, to reach*; উঠিয়া > উঠে পড়া « uṭhiyā > uṭhē pāṛā » *to get up*; দিয়া > দিয়ে দেওয়া « diyā > diyē dēwā » *to give away*; ভাগিয়া > ভেগে পড়া « bhāgiyā > bhēgē pāṛā » *to decamp*; সরিয়া > সবে পড়া « sariyā > sōrē pāṛā » *to retire (silently)*;

পড়িয়া > উঠে প'ড়ে লাগা « uṭhiyā-pāriyā » > uṭhē-pōrē lāgā » *to be up and doing, to be at something tenaciously*; etc., etc.

(ii) Intensives and Completives : খাইয়া > খেয়ে ফেলা « khāiyā » > khēyē phēlā » *to eat completely, to finish entirely*; মুছিয়া > মুছে ফেলা « muchiyā » > muchē phēlā » *to rub off*; কাটিয়া > কেটে ফেলা « kāṭiyā » < kēṭē phēlā » *to cut down*; বলিয়া > বলে ফেলা « bāliyā » > bōlē phēlā » *to blurt out*; বসিয়া > বসে পড়া « bāsiyā » > bōsē pāṛā » *to sit down*, etc., etc. Generally with «√phēl» *to throw, to cast* with transitives, and «√paṛ» with intransitives.

(iii) Inceptives, with যা «√jā» *to go*; লাগিয়া > লেগে যাওয়া « lāgiyā » > lēgē jāwā » *to start*; বসিয়া > বসে যাওয়া « bāsiyā » > bōsē jāwā » *to sit down for something*, etc.

(iv) Staticals : বসিয়া > বসে থাকা, রহা (রওয়া) « bāsiyā » > bōsē thākā, rāhā (rāwā) » *to continue to sit, to remain sitting*; লাগিয়া > লেগে থাকা, রহা « lāgiyā » > lēgē thākā, rāhā » *to be fixed or working at something*; জাগিয়া > জেগে থাকা, রহা « jāgiyā » > jāgē thākā, rāhā » *to keep awake*, etc. (The «-iyā» forms here may be the passive participle rather than the conjunctive).

(v) Continuatives : বকিয়া > বকে যাওয়া « bākiyā » > bōkē jāwā » *to go on chattering*; খাইয়া > খেয়ে যাওয়া « khāiyā » > khēyē jāwā » *to go on eating*, etc. (খাইয়া যাওয়া « khāiyā jāwā » is also passive, *to get eaten*, where the «-iyā» form is not the conjunctive : see *supra*, pp. 922 ff.).

(vi) Miscellaneous : e.g., করিয়া > ক'রে দেখা « kāriyā » > kōrē dēkhā » *to experiment (to do and see)*; বুঝিয়া > বুঝিয়ে দেওয়া « bujhāiyā » > bujhiyē dēwā » *to explain*; ছিটকাইয়া > ছিটকিয়ে পড়া « chitkāiyā » > chitkiyē pāṛā » *to be scattered*; etc., etc.

(b) With the Present Participle in ইতে «-itē» :

(i) Continuatives or Frequentatives : দিতে, করিতে > ক'রতে, হাসিতে > হাসতে. থাকা « ditē, kāritē » > kōrtē, hāsītē » > hāstē thākā » *to remain giving, doing, smiling*; etc.

(ii) Staticals : করিতে করিতে যাওয়া « kāritē-kāritē jāwā » *to go while doing*, নচিতে নাচিতে পাওয়া « nācitē-nācitē gāwā » *to sing while dancing*. (Here the form is strictly not of the compound verb, as both roots retain their independent meaning : but the «-itē» forms have an adverbial sense.)

## APPENDIX.

**780.** The following are the main or typical stages in the development of Bengali as a Modern Indo-European language from the Primitive Indo-European speech :

- (1) Indo-European, c. 2500 B.C. ;
- (2) Indo-Iranian or Aryan, c. 1800 B.C. ;
- (3) Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic Dialects), c. 1200 B.C. ;
- (4) Transition to Middle Indo-Aryan in the Prācya or Eastern speech, c. 700 B.C. ;
- (5) Early Middle Indo-Aryan of Magadha (Old Māgadhi), c. 300 B.C. ;
- (6) Transitional Middle Indo-Aryan of Magadha, about the time of Christ ;
- (7) Second Middle Indo-Aryan of Magadha, c. 300 A.C. ;
- (8) Late Middle Indo-Aryan of Magadha and Bengal, or Māgadhi Apabhraṅśa, c. 800 A.C. ;
- (9) Old Bengali, c. 1100 A.C. ;
- (10) Early Middle Bengali, c. 1400 A.C. ;
- (11) Late Middle Bengali, c. 1600 A.C. ;
- (12) New Bengali or Modern Bengali, after 1800 A.C.

In the preceding pages, this development from the third stage as above, from Old Indo-Aryan, has been sought to be indicated in its general lines, both in sounds and in inflexions. The development of Old Indo-Aryan from the parent Indo-European speech properly forms a distinct branch of the subject. To illustrate the transformation of Indo-European to Bengali, however, a few sentences in New Bengali are taken below, and their equivalents through the typical preceding stages are given, and in this way the hypothetical Indo-European source-forms are worked back. This will indicate within a short compass the processes underlying this transformation.

All the words in OIA., Indo-Iranian, and Indo-European sentences below have been accented.

(i) मा षरे आहे « mā gharē āchē » *mother is in the house* < eMB. मां षरे आहे (आह) « māo gharē āchē (āchāē) » < OB. \* « māwa gharē (gharai, gharahi, gharahi) āchāi » < Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa \* « māa (māwa) gharahi (gharahi, ghalahi, ghalahi or ghari) acchāi » < Māgadhī Prakrit \* « māā (< māā, māā) ghalahi (< ghalaḥhi, ghaladhi ; or ghalāśsi, or ghalē) acchāi (< acchaḥi, acchadi) » < Old Māgadhī (Prācya) (= First MIA.) \* « mātā ghaladhi (ghalāśsi, ghalē) acchati » = Late OIA. (not Prācya) \* « mātā gharadhi (< garhadhi) or gharassi (< garhasmin, gharē) acchati » < OIA. « mātā \* gṛhā-dhi (gṛhē) \* ācchati (\* acchāti) » < Indo-Iranian \* « mātā gṛdhā-dhi (gṛdhāi) as-ṛ(h)ā-ti (< as-skā-ti) » < Indo-European \* « mātā(r) gṛdhā-dhi (gṛdhāi) es-skē-ti ».

(ii) माध ह्य मोर मन « sādhḥ [j̄a:dhī] hāy mōrḥ mānē » *a longing is in my mind* (the form मोर « mōrḥ » *my* is archaic for the NB. Standard Colloquial) < eMB. माध हो मोर मण « sādhā hōē mōrā māṇē » < OB. \* « sādhā hōi mōra maṇē (maṇai, maṇahi, maṇahi) » < Māg. Ap. \* « śaddha hōi mōrahi (= mō-alahi, māwa-kalahi) maṇahi » < Māg. Prakrit \* « śaddhā hōi (< hōi, hōi) mama-kalabi maṇahi (< maṇaḥhi, maṇadhi, maṇāśsi) » < Old Māgadhī \* « śaddhā hōti (or bhōti) mama manadhi (manāśsi) » < Transitional OIA. \* « śāddhā bhavati mama manadhi (manasmin) » < OIA. « śāddhā bhāvati māma mānāsi » < Indo-Iranian \* « śāddhā bhāvati māna mānāsi » < Indo-European \* « kréd-dhē bhéweti méne ménesi ». (ह्य « hāy » also represents an OIA. « \* as-a-ti », IE. « es-e-ti » : see *supra*, pp. 1038-1040).

(iii) दाढ़े ना बर « dāḥē nā bāy » *rows a boat with an oar* (= *stick*) (the word ना « nā » is rather archaic for the NB. Standard Colloquial) < eMB. दाढ़े (दाढ़) नां बह « dāḥē (dāḥ) nāo bāhē » < OB. \* « dāḥē nāwa bāhāi » < Māg. Ap. \* « daḥēn (daḥē) nāan (nāwa, nā) bāhēi » < Māg. Prakrit \* « daḥēna(n) nāan vāhēi (< vāhēi, vāhēi) » < Old Māgadhī \* « daḥēna nāan vāhēti (< vāhāiti, vāhay'ti) » < OIA. « daḥēna, daḥē (\* dandrā) nāvam vāhāyati » < Indo-Iranian \* « dandrā nāwa (nāwm) vāhāyati » < Indo-European \* « dendrō (? derdrō) nāwip wēghēyeti ».

(iv) গোৱালা গাই দৌয় « gōwālā gāi dōy » *the cowherd milks the cow* < eMB. গোৱালা গাই দুহে (হুহে) « gōālā gāi duhē (duhāē) » < OB. « gōāl-ā (gōwāl-ā) gāi (gāwī) duhai » < Māg. Ap. \* « gōāla (gōāli) gāim (gāi) duhai » < Māg. Prakrit \* « gōwālē (< gōbālē, gōbālē) gāvīm duhai (< duhaṭi, duhadi) » < Old Māgadhī \* « gōpālē gāvīm duhati » < Transitional OIA. \* « gōpālāḥ gāvīm duhati » < OIA. « gō-pālāḥ (gō-pālḥ) gāvīm (gām) dōgdhi » < Indo-Iranian \* « gau-pās (gau-pālās) gā(w)m dhāugdhi » < Indo-European \* « gwou-pós (gwou-pólós) gwó(w)m dhēugh-ti ».

(v) বর বে (বিবের) ক'রে বউ আনে « bārḥ bē (biyē) kōrē bāu ānē » *the bridegroom brings (leads) the bride after having married* < eMB. বর বিয়া (বিহা) কৰিয়া বহু আগে (আগে) « bārā bi(h)ā kārīā bāhu āṇē (āṇāē) » < OB. \* « bara biāha (= biyāha, biwāba) kariā (karī) bahu āṇāi » < Māg. Ap. \* « bara (bari) biśharī (biwāhā) kariā bahum (bahū) āṇēi » < Māg. Prakrit \* « valē vivāhaṭh kalīa (kadua) (or ūḍḍhā) vahum āṇēi (< āṇēṭi, āṇēdi) » < Transitional OIA. \* « valaḥ (varah) vivāhaṭh karya (kṛ-t-ya, kṛtvā) (or ūḍhvā) vadhūm āṇaiti (āṇay'ti) » < OIA. « vārah (\* vālāḥ) vi-vāhām kṛtvā (or ūḍhvā) vadhūm ā nāyati » < Indo-Iranian \* « wāras (wālas) wī wāzhām kṛtvā (or ūzdhwā, ūzhtwā) wadhūm ā nāyati » < Indo-European \* « wélos wī wēghóm kṛtwó (or ughtwó) wedhūm ó néyeti ».

(vi) মাহুৰের আই শ বছর « mānuṣērḥ āi śā bāchārḥ » *a man's life-time is a hundred years* (the word আই « āi » *life-time, man's age*, is by itself rather archaic for New Bengali, but it occurs in পরমাই « pārāmāi », আইবুড় « āi-buṛḥ », etc.; and বছর « bāchārḥ » seems to be a *sta.*) < eMB. মাহুৰের আউ শ (শখ) বছর « mānuṣērā āu śā (śāś) bāchārā » < OB. \* « mānu-ṣērā āu (āwu) śaa (śawa) bacchara » < Māg. Ap. \* « mānuśā-ēra āu (āwu) śaam baccharā (bacchalā) » < Māg. Prakrit \* « mānuśā-kēlē (= mānuśāśśā) āu śaam (< śaṭam, śadam) vacchalā » < Old Māgadhī \* « mānuśāśśā āyu (āyu) śatam vacchalā (vacchalāśśē) » < OIA. « mānuśasya (= mānuśasya) āyūḥ śatām vatsarāḥ (vatsarāśaḥ; \* vatāḥ) » < Indo-Iranian \* « mānu-śasya āyúś ṣatām watsarās (watsarāśas; watās) » < Indo-European \* « mónusosyo āyús kṛtóm wetós (? wetserós) ».

(vii) সে দৌড়ে এল (গেল) « sē dāurē ēlō (gēlā [gælo] ) » *he came (went) running* (lit. *having run*) < eMB. সে দৌড়িয়া আইল (গেল) « sē dāurīā

śīlā (gēlā) > OB. \* e śē daūdiā (daūdi) śīlā, śyīlāwa (gēlā, gēlāwa) >  
 < Māg. Ap. \* e śē (śāī, śī) dāva-ḍ-ia śyīllā (gaīllā, gaḥīllā) > < Māg.  
 Prakrit \* e śē (śāē < śagē, śagē) dāva-ḍ-ia (dāvia) śāē (śyāē < aḥāē, śyāē)  
 (gaē < gaūē, gadē; gaḍē) > < Old Māgadhī \* e śē (śākē) dāvia (dāva-ḥ-īya)  
 śyātē (gatē; gaḥē) > < Transitional OIA. \* e saḥ (sa-ka-ḥ, sa) drāvya  
 (drū-t-ya, drutvā) śyātāḥ (gataḥ) > < OIA. e sa drutvā (= drāvan) ā yātāḥ  
 (gatāḥ) > < Indo-Iranian \* e sa drutvā (= drāwan[ts]) ā yātās (gatās) >  
 < Indo-European \* e so drutwō (= drōwonts) ō (e)yātōs (gʷm̥tōs) >.

(viii) জায়ে দেখে না, মলে পায় e jīyāntē [j̥j̥āntē] dēkhē [dækhe] nā,  
 mā'lē [mole] pāy > *does not see while living, obtains when dead* < eMB.  
 জিয়ন্তে দেখে (দেখএ) না, মলে পায় e jiyāntē dēkhē (dēkhāē) nā, māilē pāē >  
 < OB. \* e jīantē (= jīyāntē, jīwāntē) nā dēkhaī, māilē pāī (= pāwāī) > <  
 Māg. Ap. \* e jīantahī na dēkkaḥī, maillahī (< maḥāillahī) pāvēī > < Māg.  
 Prakrit \* e jīvantahi (< jīvantadhi; jīvantaśśī) na dekkhaī (< dekkhaḥī,  
 dekkhadi), maahi (< madadhi, madaśśī; maḍadhi, maḍaśśī) pāvēī (< pāḥēī,  
 pāḥēdi) > < Old Māgadhī \* e jīvantaśśī (jīvantē; jīvantadhi) na dēkkhati  
 (dakkhati), maḥaśśī (maḥadhi; maḥē) pāpēti (pappōti) > < Transitional OIA.  
 \* e jīvantē (= jīvantasmin, jīvati; jīvan) nā drekṣati (derkṣati < dṛkṣati,  
 drakṣati, *present form*), mṛtē (mṛtaḥ) prāpaiti (< prāpay'ti, prāpayati =  
 prāpnōti) > > OIA. e jīvan na \* drakṣati (= \* dārṣati), mṛtāḥ prā apnōti >  
 < Indo-Iranian \* e g'īwan(ts) na dārṣati, mṛtās prā apnāuti > < Indo-  
 European \* e gʷīwonts ne (nē) dérketi, mṛtōs prō apnēuti >.

# **ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS**





## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

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### PAGE

- 1, l. 8 : the number of Bengali speakers according to the Census of 1921 is 49,290,499.
- 4, l. 18 : *read* 1915 *for* 1914, *and* F. *for* W.
- 8, ll. 20-23 : these voiced stops accompanied by closure of the glottis are as a matter of fact found in certain East Bengali dialects, as regular substitutes for the voiced aspirates, [g', dz', d', b'] for [gʱ, dʒʱ, dʱ, bʱ], as I have found out subsequently. In East Bengali there is accompanying high tone.
- 12, ll. 12-17 : Amīr Khusrau was born at Patiyāli in 1258, and died at Delhi in 1325 (E. G. Browne, 'Literary History of Persia,' II, p. 540). The first authentic poet of Urdū seems to have been Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Šāh, king of Golconda in the Deccan, who died in 1611 A.C. He used a vernacular Western Hindi speech with Panjābi affinities, not exactly identical with the Hindōstāni of later times. (Cf. Braj-ratn Dās, 'Urdū-kā Pratham Kavi' in the 'Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patṛikā,' Benares, New Series, Vol. 4, No. 2.)
- 27, footnote l. 17 : *after* 1916, p. 364, *add* : R. G. Bhandarkar, in the JBBRAS., Vol. 25, 1917, pp. 76-81.
- 28, footnote l. 10 : *in the list of references on the Harappa seals, add at the beginning* : A. Cunningham, (Archæological) Reports, Vol. 5 (1875), pp. 105 ff. ; J. F. Fleet, JRAS., 1912, pp. 699 ff.
- About the recent discoveries in Sindh and at Harappa, see Sir John Marshall's article in the 'Illustrated London News' for September 20, 1924, and further articles by Prof. A. H. Sayce and Messrs. C. J.



Gadd and Sidney Smith in the same journal for September 27 and October 4, 1924, respectively. Cf. also S. K. Chatterji, 'Dravidian Origins and the Beginnings of Indian Civilisation' in the 'Modern Review' for December 1924; also the 'Modern Review' for February, 1925, and the 'Journal Asiatique' for 1925, p. 371. See also 'Sumerian Connexions with Ancient India,' by Ernest Mackay, JRAS. for 1925, pp. 697-701. Further articles on these 'Indo-Sumerian' antiquities by Sir John Marshall have appeared in the 'Illustrated London News' for February 17 and March 6, 1926 and in the 'Times of India Illustrated Weekly' for March 7, 1926.

31, l. 7 : *read* dialects for languages.

44, l. 16 : *read* Kauṣṭiki.

46, l. 8 : the Vṛātyas. Mm. Haraprasād Śāstri derives « vrātya » from « vrāta » *horde*, in a suggestive paper containing some interesting information about the Vṛātyas or 'the Original Inhabitants of Magadha,' one of six lectures on 'Magadhan Literature,' delivered in the University of Patna, 1923.

47, l. 12-21 ; « hēlayah (hēlavah) ». This form has been sought to be explained as a Semitic word, the same as the Hebrew « ʾēlōh » = Arabic « ʾilāh » (K. P. Jayaswal, in the ZDMG., Vol. 68, p. 719 : cf. R. G. Bhandarkar in the JBBRAS., Vol. 25, pp. 76 ff.). But this is extremely unlikely. Hebrew (as well as Arabic) was rather removed from the tracts where the Aryans moved much or were settled in, in North Mesopotamia and North-Western Iran, at this early period (B.C. 2000-B.C. 1300); and Hebrew conquest of Palestine took place during the closing centuries of the 2nd millennium B.C. The Semitic word for *god* which the Aryans would be likely to pick up, if they did pick it up at all, would be the Babylonian and Assyrian « ilu », which makes the connexion with the Indian form remote. Jayaswal also derives the Indian « mlēccha (Pkt. milakkhu) » *foreigner* from a Semitic word « mlk », in Hebrew « mēlēx ». But there is no reason not to regard this word as Indo-European (see Uhlenbeck, 'Altindisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch').

- 54, l. 33 : *after* «-āni», *add* : the dative plural affix was «-shi» (= -ṣbhyāḥ, \*ṣbhīḥ) rather than the genitive-dative affix «-ānaḥ» (= -ānām) which characterised the Midland, North-Western and Southern speeches as in the Aśoka Inscriptions and in Pali (cf. Surendranāth Majumdar Śāstri, 'The Dative in Pali,' in 'Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, III,' Calcutta University, 1925).
- 56, l. 3 : *read presents for present* ; *and in l. 19, read dramas for drama.*
- 59, l. 17 : *read nama for nāma.*
- 59, *footnote* : Cf. K. P. Jayaswal in the JBORS. for 1924, pp. 189 ff., for further Brāhmi seals from Magadha with «-śa (= -śśa)» for the genitive affix «-sya» (e.g., Mamaśa, Citaśa, Bhadaṁta Lōpagōraśa, Abhaya-vamaśa).
- 65, l. 19 : *read Mōlālandī for Mōḍālandī.*
- 66, l. 6 *from bottom* : *read*  *for* .
- 67, l. 27 : *read Bāgādīs for Bāgūdīs.* (The « Vāthuris » are different from the « Bāuris ».)
- 68, l. 24 : *read Mangalore for Bangalore.*
- 71, l. 4 : *read Gaina for Gaina.*
- 72, *footnote, l. 2* : *read Lāja- for Laja-.* *Also in l. 11, correct Dīpa to Dīpa.*
- 75-76. King Candra-varman of Puṣkaraṇā. Mr. K. N. Dikshit, of the Archaeological Survey of India, definitely suggested the identification of Puṣkaraṇā of the Susunia Rock Inscription with a place in Bengal—in the district of Bankura, and not with Pokharaṇ in Rajputana. Also Mr. Nikhil-Nāth Rāy B.L., in the 'Bhārata-varṣa' for Jyaiṣṭha, 1930, p. 892. There is actually in that district a village 'Pokharna' (*vulgo* 'Pākhānnā, Pōkhānnā') on the Dāmōdar river, some 25 miles east of Susunia Hill (23 N 87 E, Bengal Survey, scale one inch = one mile, Sheet No. 238, Survey Season 1854-64). This is conclusive, and it would show that Rāḍha at least was entirely Aryanised, and had a Hindu Vaiṣṇava king in the 4th century A.C. ; and it may be concluded that Aryanisation was already some centuries old.
- 90, l. 19 : *add at the end, after Jan. 1923, the following* : C. D. Dalal and P. D. Gune, 'Bhavisayattakaha by Dhanapala,' Baroda, 1923, Introduction.

- 94, ll. 18-20 : the future in « -t- », from the old Present Participle, occurs in East Vanga Dialects : see under *Morphology*, pp. 961-963.
- 100, l. 6 : for rahalaṭi, read rahalaṭi.
- 104, l. 2 : after in Brajabuli., add : The Braja-buli dialect also spread into Assam, or rather, an Assamese Braja-buli was developed, as early as the 15th century, Śaṅkara-dēva and others having composed poems and dramas in it. From the biographies of Caitanya, we learn that it had also spread into Orissa during that century, Braja-buli songs being sung by Vaiṣṇavas in Orissa as much as in Bengal.
- 104, footnote : the 'Kirtti-latā' has been published in the Bengali character, with Introductions and Translation in Bengali, by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstri, in 1924 (Hṛṣīkēśa Series).
- 106, ll. 21-24 : the earliest specimen of connected Oṛiyā seems to be in the newly discovered bilingual inscription (Oṛiyā and Tamil) of Nṛsiṅha-dēva II (18th Century) from Blubaneswar, very carelessly edited in the JASB. for 1924, pp. 41 ff. Among some of the noteworthy things in this inscription, we may mention the following : (i) the vowel [ɾ] was pronounced as [ri] and not as [ru] as in Modern Oṛiyā : cf. the spelling « Kriṣṇa » in l. 3 ; and (ii) the word « ścārya < ścārya », which occurs here, also occurred in Old Bengali (see pp. 121-122, *Introduction*). The writing differentiates between the dental and cerebral « l » sounds, and the former, marked with a diacritical sign below as in Modern Oṛiyā (see under *Phonology*, p. 538), has been wrongly transcribed as double « ll », in the verb past tense.
- 109, ll. 13-21 : the 'Ṭikā-sarvasva' was written Śaka 1082 : Paṇḍit T. Gaṇapati Śāstri published the first part in 1911, and completed the entire work in 1917.
- 110, footnote, l. 2 : read Caryā for Carjā.
- 123, footnote : the OB. line quoted was evidently a proverb, and it occurs in another MB. work, the 'Caṇḍi-kāvya' of Kavi-kaṅkaṇa Mukunda-rāma Cakravartī, in the form হরিণ জগতবৈরী আগনার মলে « hāriṇḍ jāgātā-bairī āpanārḍ mālē » (as pointed out to me by my friend Mr. Charu Chandra Banerji of Dacca University).

127, after line 2, add :

65a. The Sanskrit encyclopædia 'Mānasōllāsa' or 'Abhilāṣārthacintāmaṇi' (of which the first volume has been published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 1925), composed in Śaka 1051 or 1129 A. C. under the auspices of king Sōmēśvara III Bhūlōka-malla of the later Cālukya dynasty of Mahārāṣṭra, who ruled from 1127 to 1138 A.C., seems to contain a few Old Bengali lines. (Sakhārām Gaṇēś Dēuskar in the Bengali journal 'Āryāvartta' for Māgha 1317, pp. 678-679; B. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, 'Early History of the Deccan', Bombay, 1895, pp. 89-90; Dēuskar mentions a Marāṭhi article by V. K. Rājawādē on this work read before the 1st Mahārāṣṭra Sāhitya Sammēlan which I have not seen. I am indebted to my friend and colleague Mr. Kshītiśh Chandra Chatterji, M.A., for bringing Dēuskar's article to my notice.)

In the section on Poetry and Music ('Gīta-Vinōda') in this work, short poems and verses in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṅśa, Lāṭī, and in the Dravidian Kaṇṇaḍa speech have been given; and besides a few verses occur, which are undoubtedly in the various NIA. speeches—Old Marāṭhi, Old Braj-bhākhā, and Old Bengali, to judge from at least some of the forms. The work is preserved in various MSS. at Poona, Tanjore, Bikaner, and elsewhere. I could consult one of the Poona MSS. (copied Saṁvat 1930=1874) which happened to be in the Indian Museum at Calcutta in 1923, and through the kind offices of my friend Mr. Sris Chandra Chatterji, Engineer and Architect, lately in the service of the Bikaner State, I also obtained (December 1923) transcripts of the relevant parts from an old MS. of the work (dated Śaka 1593=1671 A.C.) in the Fort Library of Bikaner. Both the MSS. are very corrupt, and although there is a close agreement between them (both seemingly being based on the same original), the bad readings make it almost impossible to restore the text of the non-Sanskrit portions from these only. Instead of attempting to give a critical edition of these portions in question, I give below tentative readings of some of the vernacular passages based on a comparison

of the two MSS., wherever they can be made out with any degree of certainty. We have thus—

« ..... chāṣṭḍu chāṣṭḍu mai jāivō (= jāivō ? jāiba ?) Gōvinda-saha khēlaṇa ..... Nārāyaṇu jagaha-kēru (-kārā) gōṣāṁvi » (Bikaner, fol. 141a ; Poona, fol. 168b) = *Leave (me), leave (me), I shall go to sport with Gōvinda.....Nārāyaṇa the lord of the world.*

Bikaner folia 141b and 142a and Poona fol. 169(a, b) give a song praising the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu, which seems to represent more than one form of NIA. The first verse is in Old Marāṭhī, and runs thus : « jēṇē rasātala-uṇu matsya-rūpēṁ vēda śṇiyālē(ṁ).....tō samaśāra-sāyara-tāraṇu, maha-tē(ṁ) rākhō Nārāyaṇu » *by Whom the Vedas were brought from Rasātala in the form of a fish.....the Saviour in the ocean of transmigration...He, Nārāyaṇa, (may) keep me.* The next verse (on the Tortoise Incarnation) is very corrupt. The third verse is as follows : « jō suvara-rūvēṁ pāyālu paīsi dāṇṇāū Hariṇa-kacchapu mācaviṁ (?), dāṇḥa Gōvinda dharāṇi uddhariaṁ sō dēu..... » *Who in the form of a boar entered Pātāla and killed the demon Hiraṇya-kāṣipu, Gōvinda who rescued Earth with his tusk, that God.....* This verse has Saurasēṇī affinities, as also the next two verses on Nṛsiṅha and Vāmana Avatāras, but both are hopelessly corrupt.

The sixth shows some distinctive Bengali features : « jē brāhmaṇēra kulē(ṁ) upajiyā(ṁ), Kāṭavi(r)yā jēṇē bāhu-pharasē khāṇḍiyā : Paraśarāmu dē(v)u sē māhara (mōhara ?) maṅgala karaū » *Who was born in the family of a Brāhman, by Whom with the touch of his arm Kārttavīrya was cut down, He, the God Paraśurāma, may work my welfare.* The above reading is substantially that of the Bikaner MSS., and the Bengali character of this passage is shown by the pronoun « jē », and « -ē(ṁ), -ēra » affixes for the locative and genitive ; and « -iyā » would be the non-l passive participle adjective (> verb past) which featured in Old Bengali (see pp. 946 ff.)

The verse describing Rāma is missing in both the MSS. That on Kṛṣṇa is apparently in Old Braj-bhāṣhā : « Nanda-gōula jāyau Kanhu jō gōvi-janē(ṁ) vaḥihē..... » : but it is corrupt. The

verse on Buddha runs thus : « Buddha-rūpeṁ jō dāṇava-surā  
vañcaṇi veda-dūsaṇa bōllaṇi māyā mōhiyā, tō dēu mājhi paśū karu »  
*Who in the form of Buddha, after having Cheated Gods and Demons and  
having said words of scorn for the Vedas, led (them) astray by his Māyā  
—that God may grant grace to me : it is distinctly Old Marāṭhī. The  
last verse on Kalki is in Sanskrit.*

131, ll. 27 ff. Ḍāk the Gōwālā (cowherd) is also well-known in Bihār as a  
sage and author of proverbial sayings, as Sir George Grierson tells me.  
See also Mm. Haraprasād Śāstri on Ḍāk and Khānā in the Bengali  
journal 'Prāci' (Dacca) for Śrāvāṇa, 1330.

137, l. 13 : read form for from.

148, l. 30 : read « bhāṣā » for « bhasā » :

156, l. 13 : read vēlā for vēla ; l. 15, correct to between.

157, l. 13 : read « nīb » for « nib » ; l. 14, read tāmra for tamra.

159, ll. 14, 15 : Pischel gives ('Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' § 304)  
« uṭṭa, iṭṭa » as MIA. forms . The deaspiration in these words thus  
goes back to MIA. times, and the W. Hindī « ũṭ, iṭ » are obviously  
based on MIA. « \* uṭṭa, \* iṭṭa » showing Spontaneous Nasalisation  
(discussed at pp. 365 ff.).

166, l. 6 : after mī read :, myā.

171, l. 5 from bottom of page : after Dravidian sounds, and add : these (barring  
the last, which is found in Dravidian—in Tamil only, to be precise).

176, l. 7 : read « ghōṛā-ṭōṛā » for « ghōrā-ṭōṛā » .

176, l. 11 : read « kudure-gidure » for « kudire-gidire » .

177, ll. 21 ff : This idiomatic use of a verbal conjunctive meaning *having  
said* is a common idiom in Tibeto-Burman as well—in Kuki-Chin, for  
instance—and it is also found in Burmese (see LSI., III, Part III, p.  
5) ; and it is common in Boḍo also, which was the original language  
of a large section of present-day Bengali-speakers in North and East  
Bengal (J. D. Anderson in the JRAS., 1913, pp. 867 ff).

180, after l. 14, add :

In connexion with the above is to be taken (iv) the Ghugrahati  
Copper-plate of Samācāra-dēva (cf. Ep. Ind., 1925, Vol. XVIII, pp.



74 ff., ed. by Nalini-Kānta Bhaṭṭasāli, M.A.), which mentions « Navyāvakāśikā », as well as « Vāraka-maṇḍala », and « Vyāghra-cōraka » and « Gōpēndra-cōraka » village, and « Vidyādhara-jōṭikā »; and among personal names it gives « Pavitruka, Dāmuka, Vatsa-kunḍa, Śuci-pālita. Vihita-ghōṣa, Śūra-datta, Priya-datta, Janārddana-kunḍa ».

*Para 87*: This Copper-plate Inscription has been edited and published by Dr. L. D. Barnett in the Ep. Ind. ('Vappaghoshavāṭa Grant of Jayanāga,' Vol. XVIII, pp. 60 ff.).

182, l. 24 : « koppam ». Compare also Tamil « kuppam » *village*.

187, l. 10 : The Gōvindapur Grant has since been edited by Prof. A. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa in the 'Bhārata-varṣa' for Phālguna, 1332.

188, *after line 5, add* :

[27a] A new Copper-plate Grant of Viśva-rūpa-sēna has been recently discovered in Maimansing, and has been edited by Mm. Haraprasād Śāstri in the 'Indian Historical Quarterly,' Calcutta, Vol. II, No. 1, March 1926, pp. 77-86. This gives quite a number of place-names in Vaṅga, besides some personal names.

195, *after l. 6, add* : (সওয়ার) « (ś)śāwārḥ » *horseman, trooper*, সওয়ারী « śāwārī » *rider (on horse, in carriage)* : occurs in the Bharhut and Sanchi inscriptions as « asavāri » : from Old Persian « asa-bāri- » *horseman* (=New Persian « suwār »).

195, *after l. 18, add* : কোণ « kōṅḥ » *corner*, from MIA., and Skt., = Greek « gōnos ».

196, *last line but one : read* « suruṭṭu » for « śuluṭṭu ».

197, l. 1 : *after* Tibetan « blama », *add* : টাঙ্গন « ṭāṅgaṅḥ » *a hill pony, Bholia pony* = Tibetan « rta-ṅāṅ ».

198, 199 : The word « dhītā » (as the source of « jhī ») has also been derived from the Indo-European « √ \* dhē » *suck* (=OIA. « dhā »), which we find in the Latin « fi-lius ».

203, l. 22 : *read* « faṭḥ for faḥḥ ».

213, *last line in footnote 1, read* 'khājāñci' for 'khajāñci'

215, ll. 9 ff. : the word মেঠো « mēṭhā », a slang term to denote dark-skinned

Eurasians, is at least influenced by the French « métis », if not actually derived from it. The word may be from « māṣiā » *earthen*, by Umlaut.

215, l. 22 : read *ইস্কাপ* for *ইস্কাপ*.

232, l. 7 : read *rasūla* and *mōhāmōti* ; l. 20, read *pūsō* for *pusō*.

233 : immediately before § 126, add : Bengali MSS. in the Persian character are but rarely found in other parts of the country. One such MS., however, has come to light recently—a Bengali version of the 'Qissah-i-Amir Hamzah'—from Jessore district. It was exhibited by Maulavi 'Abdu-l-Wali in the ASB. (November 1925). In its transcription, unlike the Chittagong MSS., it employs regularly *ꣳ* and *ꣴ* for *ṣ* and *ṣ̣*.

235, heading, read : SILĒT ; footnote, l. 4, read in for is.

245, l. 22 : read *tzāndanon* for *tsāndanon*.

254, 255 : loss of « -tr- » > « -tt- » : W. Geiger cites also (Festschrift E. Kuhn, p. 186) Sinhalese « hū » (*sūtra*), « mū » (*mūtra*) « rā » (*rātri*).

256, l. 21 : « ratta (< ratna ») actually occurs in MIA. (in the Pali 'Sutta-nipāta,'—'Sabhiya-sutta': « ratta-ñña » = « ratna-jña », explained in the Commentary of Buddha-ghōṣa as « ratana-ññū »).

260, l. 25 : read « -vā » for « -ā ».

263, l. 18 : read 'jī(ṣ)a:la for jī(ṣ)a:la.

264, l. 14 : read *kphi* for *kphi* ; l. 17 : read *ꣳpuri* for *ꣳpuri*.

265, l. 5 from bottom : read *mōnd* for *mōnd*.

239, l. 3 from bottom, add : The glottal stop occurs with the voiced stops and palatal or dental affricates [g', ꣳ' (dz'), d', b'] in some East Bengali dialects as the regular substitutes for the corresponding aspirates [gfi, ꣳfi, ḍfi, ḍfi, bh] of Standard Bengali.

272, l. 17 : correct the figure for : [h] from 2·02 to 0·02.

282, l. 12 : read *pāniya-* for *pāniya*.

287, ll. 11, 12. It should be noted that the « Payār » has also 16 *morae*, including the pauses, although the number of syllables is 14.

293, l. 6 : read *bāc̣ia* for *bāc̣ia*.

294, l. 12 : read 'ꣳa(ṣ)e for 'ca(ṣ)e.

- 298, l. 6 : read 'jaṅgo for jaṅgo.
- 301, last line : read pātḥ for pātā.
- 302, l. 20 : read kārā for kārā.
- 305, l. 20 : after (grivā), add : MB. षड् « ghārā » array (ghatā);
- 307, last line but one : read « āc » for « āc ».
- 309, l. 8 : read MB. for MA.
- 313, l. 11 : after (alābu), add : हेट « hētḥ » below > in a crouching position (\* ahētḥ, \* ahētḥa < \* adhiṣṭāt, Buddhist Sanskrit hēṣṭā, = OIA. adhastāt); MB. পাসরে « pāsāre » forgets (apasmarati);
- 315, l. 19 : read māśānḥ for māśānḥ.
- 315, l. 12 : read « ātḥ » for « ātḥ »; after (antra), add : আশথ beside অশথ « āśāthḥ, āśāthḥ » (aśvattha); and in l. 15, delete : খাজা « khājā » a sweetmeat (khāḍya), and take this deleted portion to p. 321, l. 23, before the word জাফ, adding khājja before khāḍya.
- 319, l. 20 : the word « sabhā » forming the plural. Mr. Sukumār Sen has drawn my attention to the word « yuvati-sabhā » young women in Song 18 of the 'Gīta-gōvinda' (Canto IX). Cf. also pp. 732-733.
- 324, l. 6 : read « niṣuti » for « niṣuṭi »; l. 10, read \* piuṣī for pluṣī; l. 25, read চীঠ for চীঠ.
- 325, l. 20 : read \* ūru- for \* uru; l. 21, read -aṣṭhi- for -asthi-.
- 329, l. 8 from bottom : correct bōḍra to bōḍra.
- 331, l. 20 : read 'বদ্দিন' for বদ্দিন; l. 25, read caritavya for cartavya.
- 333, l. 8 : after [jīcne], add : ঘটটা « ghāṭi-ṭā » that water-vessel, বাটটা « baṭi-ṭā » that cup > Standard Coll. ঘটটে, বাটটে [gḥoṭṭe, baṭṭe].
- 334, l. 7 from bottom, add : করমোচা < করমোচা « kārāmcā < kārā-mōcā » a fruit, Cassia carondas (Skt. kara-marda, Hind. karaundā : cf. 'Devatā,' Pāṇini Office, Allahabad, 1917, p. 155).
- 335, l. 7 from bottom : correct persons to person.
- 337, l. 10 : correct -ū- to -ü-.
- 341, l. 6 from bottom : read jaḥr for jaḥr.
- 342, l. 10 : read chāyāḥ for chāyāḥ; l. 19, delete MB.
- 349, l. 1 : after NIA., add : (where no special force of the « -ā » is present or evident).

- 350, l. 4: *before etc.*, add: बाहै, ताहै « jāi, tāi » (yadā-hi, tadā-hi).
- 351, l. 13: *add at the end*: But পৌনে [poune] *less by a quarter* has « -āu- » for MIA. « -āō- » (pāōṇa, pādōṇa).
- 352, l. 15: *read* \*duūlia for duulia; l. 8 *from bottom, after* (dēva, dēha), *add*: † রে [rē:, ræ:] *line for plough to follow* (\* rēṣ, rēhā, rēhā, rēkhā);
- 353, l. 7 *from bottom*: *read* \* ghrata.
- 355, l. 8, *after* (nacca, nṛtya), *add*: † বাসোয়া « bāsawā » or, Maithili « basahā » (vasaha-, vṛṣabha-); *in* l. 21, *read* \* tāḍṣana.
- 356, l. 2: *before etc.*, *add*: बुक « bukaṣ » *chest* (cf. Skt. vṛkka, Avestan verōka *kidney*, MIA. bukka);
- 357, l. 5 *from bottom*: *correct* egreja to igreja.
- 358, l. 3, l. 6: *read respectively* [abrito] and [abbrito]; *last line, correct to* ghanakam.
- 359, l. 12: *for* « 𑂔 » *read* « 𑂕 ».
- 364, l. 7, *add*: But we have the *sts.* বেরন « bēnnāṅṅ » [bænnon] *curry* from « vyañjana ».
- 365, l. 12: *read* ṣaṅḍa for saṅḍa.
- 366, l. 7 *from bottom*: *read* simuṣ for simula.
- 367, l. 12, *add*: an! ŚKK. चाञ्जली « cāmbhālī » *a flower* for « cāmēli ».
- 369, l. 7 *from bottom*: *read* \* iṅṭa for \* iṅṭa.
- 370, l. 6: *read* sēcayati for sēcayati; l. 19, bāṭulā for bāṭulā.
- 373, ll. 11-12: *read* 𑂔 for 𑂕.
- 378, l. 13: *after e.g.*, *add*: Pali « issēra, acchēra < \* ṣsaira, \* acchaira < \* essairīa, \* acchairīa < āisvarya, āścarya ».
- 386, l. 18: *after* « gāṭṭṣ » *add*: beside বেটে « gēṭṭṣ ».
- 392, l. 19: *read* [jōṷtto] for [jōṷtto].
- 396, l. 3 *from the end*: *read* [borp(h)i] for [borp(h)I].
- 398, l. 10 *from bottom*: *read* \* কুড়ালি for the first কুড়ালি, and kurāli for kurāli.
- 402, l. 14, *before origin*, *add to their*: l. 5 *from bottom*, *read* [jōre ɔ:].
- 424, l. 6 *from bottom*: *add*: MB. « -āhā-, -āya- » also occur as [oṣ]: গয়না < গহনা [gōṇa] < « gāhānā » *ornaments, jewels* (grahaṇa-); ময়না [mōṇa] < « māyānā » *a talking bird, 'mynah'* (madana-). *In* l. 16, *read* bh3ṣja for bh3ṣja.

- 430, *ll. 4 and 2 from the end*: [ʃts] (as in [koʃtsit] and [dzoʃk:hoʃtsək:re:]) is pronounced also as [rʃ] and [cʃ].
- 438, *l. 9*: read §84 for §86.
- 440, *l. 21*, read gār for gār; *last line*, correct † to ‡.
- 441, *l. 3*: *The Aspirates*. It should be noted that the aspirate nasals and liquids (◀ nh, mb, rh, lh ▶ : cf. 'Prākṛta-Pāṅgala,' Bib. Ind. ed., p. 6) occurred in OB. and Early MB., and these became deaspirated in the Late MB. stage.
- 443, *l. 5 from bottom*: read ◀ ādāḷā ▶ for ◀ ādla ▶.
- 449, *l. 5*, add recent before foreign, and put a comma after words. After *l. 8*, add: Other instances of assimilation: ◀ n > m ▶ : মোহনভোগ ◀ mōhānḥ-bhōgḥ ▶ *pudding made of flour, sugar and ghee* > [mo(fi)on-bfiog > mombfiog > mumbfiog] in the Calcutta Colloquial; ◀ ṇḍ > n > ṇ ▶ : ডাঙাগুলি ◀ ḍāṅḍā-guli ▶ *tip-cat (game)* > ডাঙুলি, ডাঙুলি [ḍāṅguli, ḍāṅguli].
- 451, *l. 22*: correct pañca to pañca; *l. 24, at the beginning*, add: [r] is similarly assimilated to a following [ʃ], as in মাকড়সা ◀ mākarḍṣā ▶ *spider* > Calcutta Coll. মাকসা ◀ mākaśā ▶ [makorʃa > makorʃa], হাঁড়িশাল ◀ hāḍṣāśal ▶ *room for pots, kitchen* > [hāḍṣaʃal] by Epenthesis > হেঁশেল [hēʃel].
- 452, *l. 5, and l. 4 from bottom*: correct < to >.
- 453, *l. 17*: correct gh to gḥ.
- 456, *l. 14*: correct kākḥ to hākḥ.
- 460, after *l. 8*, add, in a new paragraph: OIA. ◀ -kṣy- ▶ : ভেখ, ভেক ◀ bhēk(h)ḥ ▶ *mendicancy, the life of a monk, monk's garb* (bhāikṣya).
- 468, *l. 13*: add so before long.
- 470, *l. 2 from bottom*: correct the semicolon before পঁচ to >.
- 471, *l. 8 supply, after jēācḥ*: woman with first child living. *L. 9, before etc.*, add: MB. আচাভূষা ◀ ācābhūṣā ▶ (accābhua-, atyādbhuta-). After *l. 11*, add as a new paragraph: OIA. ◀ -re- ▶ > MIA. ◀ -cc- > -ñc- ▶ : আঁচ ◀ ācḥ ▶ *heat of flame* (arciḥ); কুঁচি ◀ kūci ▶ *brush* (kūreikā).
- 472, *l. 2 from bottom*: read \*es-ské-ti for \*es-sko-ti.

- 473, l. 2: read \*pró+ bhu-ské-ti; l. 3, read \*prk-ské-ti; l. 17, add at the end: MB. নেউছা, নিছা « nēuchā, nichā » adorn (« nēvaccha-, nēpathya- »: there is another form in MB., নিছা « nichā », for which see *infra*, p. 551).
- 475, l. 13: read 'fry' for 'try'; l. 3 from bottom, correct † to ‡.
- 480, l. 15: delete \* before dhitā, and add after duhitā): (the MIA. « dhitā » is derived by some scholars from the IE. « \*√ dhē » suck = OIA., « √ dhā », which is found in the Latin « filius, filia ».)
- L. 7 from bottom, read ঝুঁঝা for ঝুঁঝা; l. 5 from bottom, read ঝুঁঝা for ঝুঁঝা.
- 484, l. 18: read « mardā-mi » for « mardāmi »; l. 5 from bottom, delete one and.
- 488, l. 26: read ḍāṣḍ for ḍāṣḍ.
- 490, l. 16: read টাট্ট for টাট্ট.
- 495, l. 5: read ḍimba for dimba.
- 498, l. 15: read ডেগ for দেগ.
- 502, l. 9 from bottom: correct > to <.
- 509, l. 21, read পুঁটা মাছ for পুঁটা মাছ.
- 510, l. 10 from end: add, after « rūpā »: silver; and after rūpya-: stamped coin.
- 513, l. 2 from bottom: correct to বেঙরা.
- 514, add after l. 17, as a separate para.: OIA. « -vy- »: the future base ইব « -ibā- » (OIA. « -itavya- », MIA. « -iavva-, -iabba- »).
- 515, l. 5, read bhukhḥ for bhukha; after l. 23, add as a separate para.: OIA. « -dbh- »: MB. আচাভুআ « ācābhūā » (atyadbhuta-); and then after that add the portion from উভিরা বাওরা to (ud+√bhḥ, bhar) in ll. 31-33 (by mistake entered under OIA. « -rbh- »).
- 520, l. 9: before MB. গৌণ্ডা, add: গুঁই « gūi » a surname (« -gōmin »: cf. Candra-gōmin, the Bengal grammarian of c. 600 A.C.);
- 521, l. 11: before হাতিম, add: Standard Coll. গৌমনে [gomne] late, a sts., for গৌণে « gāuṇē [goune, gōwne] » (< gāuṇa);
- 523, l. 10: read ḥ for ē.
- 525, l. 9 from bottom: read most for all; l. 3 from bottom, correct to intervocal.

- 527, l. 9 : *correct to* বিষ্ট পুরের.
- 534, l. 11 *from bottom* : *correct to* পক.
- 535, l. 2 : *read* [ð] *for* [ḍ].
- 536, l. 13 *from bottom* : *read as follows* : at a later time, Early Braj-bhākhā in the West as well), to change....
- 548, l. 11 *from bottom* : *read* apasmarati *for* prasmarati.
- 549, l. 1 : *read* śimśapā *for* śimsapā.
- 550, l. 9 : *read* si *for* sī ; l. 2 *from bottom*, *read* śatāyuh.
- 556, l. 9 *from bottom* : *read* bālei *for* bālei.
- 557, l. 10 : *read* sāhā *for* sāha ; 11, *read* nēhā *for* nēha.
- 560, l. 9 : *read* regarded *for* regard ; l. 12, *read* Saifi *for* Saifi.
- 563, l. 3 *from bottom* : *correct to* syllable.
- 570 : l. 8, *read* 'Moghals' *for* Moghals ; *and in the Table of Consonants*, take h *from the Semi-vowel to the Fricative line*.
- 576, l. 7 : *read* [tābu] *for* [tābu] ; l. 11, *correct* Hindōstani *to* Hindōstāni ; l. 23, *read* fiab(e)li *for* fiab(e)i ; l. 25, *read* হালুয়া *for* হালুয়া ; *and* l. 26, fiabfi *for* fiabfi.
- 577, l. 4 *from end* : *read* বিশবৎ *for* বিশবৎ.
- 580, l. 9 : *read* হিন্দু *for* হিন্দু ; *and* l. 5 *from bottom*, *before* and, *add* : and আমারী « āmāri » *canopied seat on elephant* (\*imāri).
- 581, l. 14 : *read* corpses *for* corpses.
- 593, *last line* : *add* In *as the last word*.
- 608, l. 12 *from bottom* : *correct* piṣṣād *to* phṣṣād.
- 613, l. 5 *from bottom* : *before* হাজির, *add* : নজর [naḍḍor] *present* (naḍr) ;
- 621, l. 10 : *correct* Collected *to* Collected.
- 623, l. 11 : *read* ভোলো *for* ভোলা.
- 625, l. 5 : *read* 'coffee' *for* 'caffee.'
- 643, l. 6 : *before* 'theatre,' *add* : (also ঠিয়েটার [thiēṭar] commonly in Calcutta cockney, through assimilation with the following cerebral).
- 656, l. 13 : *read* ghūrṇ- *for* ghūrṇ-.
- 658, l. 4 : *read* রাধনী *for* বাধনী.
- 670 ; *read* rūpālī *for* rupālī *in* l. 7, *and* rūpuli *for* rupuli *in* l. 8.
- 672, l. 17 : *read* রাঁধনী *for* the first রাঁধনি.

673, l. 2 : read বহু মী for বহু মী.

677, last line : read pleonastically for pleonastically.

682, l. 13 : read dholla for dholla ; l. 20, before পুটকে, add : মেচকো in মেচকো ফের < mēcākō > in < mēcākō phēr > a strong knot, a complication < a knot in a jute rope ( < মেচা < mēcā > jute in the Standard Dialect in tracts to the south of Calcutta) ;

688, l. 5 : read s̄ap̄ariyā for s̄ap̄ariyā ; l. 6, read লুটিয়াড়া.

697, l. 6 from bottom : add : < ugra-rūpa > exceedingly fierce, Pali < kalya-rūpa > exceedingly pleased, etc., etc.

699, l. 5 from bottom : read ঝুপসা for the second ঝাপসা.

702, l. 4 from bottom : read thānI for thanI.

703, l. 1 : correct to Perso-Arabic.

706, under (9) ময়, add : It is likely that in the locative sense, as in দেশময়, the affix is partly based on the NIA. locative suffix from < madhya > noted *infra*, p. 751.

706, before last line add : /

(12) স্থ < -sthā >.

467a. Following Skt. forms like দেশস্থ < dēśā-sthā > remaining in the land, সভাস্থ < s̄abhā-sthā > present in the assembly, মধ্যস্থ < mādhya-sthā > remaining in the middle, arbitrator, etc., etc., the compounded < -sthā > has come to be used as an affix with *tbh.* and foreign words, in the sense of occurring at, present in, etc. : e.g., কলিকাতাস্থ < Kālikāta-sthā > of Calcutta, from Calcutta, staying at Calcutta ; লড়াইস্থ সংবাদদাতা < lārāi-sthā sambādā-dātā > war correspondent ; কর্ণওয়ালিস-স্ট্রিটস্থ দোকান < Kārṇawālis-Ṣṭrītā-sthā dōkāna > shop in Cornwallis Street ; etc.

712 : Add at the beginning :

(5a) পাতি, পাত < pāti-, pāt- >.

473a. This word, in the sense of small, occurs with a number of terms, like পাতি-কুয়া or পাতুকো < pāti-kūā, pāt-kō > a small well (as opposed to an ইদারা < idārā > a large masonry well < < indrāgāra >), পাতি-শিয়াল < pāti-śiyāl > small jackal, পাতি-লেবু < pāti-lēbu > a kind of tiny lemon (as opposed to other kinds), পাতি-হাঁস < pāti-hāsa > duck



(as opposed to রাজ-ঠাঁস < rājā-ṭhāṣ > *goose*), পাতি-ভাঁড় < pāti-bhāṛ > *small earthen cup*, পাতি- or পাত-মৌড় < pāti-, pāt-māuṛ > *an ornament for the head* (< mukuṭa), পাতি-কাক < pāti-kāk > *crow* (as opposed to দাঁড়-কাক < dāṛ-kāk > *jack-daw*), পাতি-নেড়ে < pāti-nēṛ > *shaveling, small shaven-headed one = Mohammedan of the lower castes* (a term of abuse), etc. The form occurs in East Bengal as পেতি < pēti >, as in পেতি-কোরা < pēti-kōra > *crow*, পেতি-মেকুর < pēti-mēkur > *kitten*. The source seems to be OIA. < patra > *leaf* > < patrika >, MIA. < pattia > > NIA. < pāti > *thin as a leaf* > *small, insignificant*: cf. পাটলা < pātālā > *thin, not deep* (patra-la). The French < petit > [peti, pti] *small* has been suggested by some as the source of this form, but it is exceedingly unlikely, despite the fact of the presence of the French in Bengal (at Chandernagore), and of the East Bengali form < pēti > presenting an unexpected vowel in the < -ē- > (the East Bengali form, however, seems to be a borrowing from Standard Bengali with irregular alteration of the vowel).

712, l. 13: correct < nābālak > to < nābālak >.

720, ll. 8, 9: delete < বাৎসহারা গাভী > < bātsā-hārā gābhī > *a cow which has lost her calf*. In l. 11, read form for from.

731, ll. 11, 13: read 'professors' for 'scholars'; and in last line but two, put an \* before মাহ্নবাদ.

733, l. 5: read < rājā-nāitīk >.

740, l. 7 from bottom: read: a form of Māgadhī.

741, l. 9: read \* < ṭhāṣi > for < thāṣi >; l. 12, add after NB.: so Assamese < gādhāi > (< \* gaddahi, gaddahē, gardabhaḥ), < lātāi > (ts. latā + -i). In l. 24, read p. 1 for p. 2.

744, l. 6: read < gōru-ē > for < gōru-ē >

745, l. 2: read < -ānām > for < -anām >.

751: add as a new paragraph, after l. 16:

In dialectal Bengali, as in Sylhet, there is a locative affix in < -ō, -ā >; e.g., ঘরো, ঘরা < ghārō, ghārā > *in the house* (LSI, V, I, p. 225). This would seem to be based on a MIA. < \*gharaha >.

where « -ha » is the OIA. affix « \* -dha », of a locative character, which is found in Sanskrit in « i-ha (cf. Prakrit i-dha), ku-ha, sa-ha (cf. Vedic sadha) », and which seems to have been extended to the noun also. (This « -dha » seems to be connected with the other locative affix « -dhi » discussed before at p. 745, and has cognate forms in the Latin « in-de », Slav « kŭ-de » : cf. Thumb, 'Handbuch des Sanskrit,' Heidelberg, 1905, § 407).

751, l. 8 from bottom : read an unsolved problem.

756, l. 8 : « udyāna-kṛtam āsanam » (cf. Grierson, 'On Certain Suffixes in the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars,' Kuhn's Zeitschrift, Vol. 38, pp. 473 ff. : also « karaṇḍē mālā-kṛtē », in the 'Mahā-vastu,' etc.). Last line but two : read puruṣāṇām.

759, l. 12 : the affix in Assamese seems to be ণ « sā » : cf. also the genitive form « tōmāsā-rā » and the locative « tōmāsā-tā » in Early Assamese.

762, ll. 2, 3 from end : a solitary example of an ablative form in OB.

There is another instance of an ablative in « -hu » in the Caryās, viz., « raṇṇahu ṣahajā kahēi » (Caryā 27), which the Sanskrit Commentary translates and explains as « sadguru-vacana-tattva-ratna-prabhāvāt sa mayi sahajānandaṁ kathayati ».

772, under Post-position No. (26), বহে « bāi ». My friend Mr. Sailēndranāth Mitra, M.A., of the Department of Pali in Calcutta University draws my attention to the use of « bahiddhā » in Pali, with the ablative, to mean apart from, outside of : e.g., « itō bahiddhā samaṇō'pi n'atthi » outside of this, there is no monk (Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta, V, 27). The use of « bahiḥ, bahirdhā (= bahiḥ + dhā) », with the ablative as well as genitive, to denote outside, occurred in OIA. (cf. Speijer, 'Vedische und Sanskrit-syntax,' §§ 88, 89, 90). The source of the Bengali post-position বহে, বহি, বহী « bāi, bāhi, bāhi » would thus be the OIA. « bahiḥ », and not « vyatīta » as suggested in the text.

790, l. 14 : correct to Wackernagel.

800, l. 15 : read śō for sō.

- 801, l. 21 : A MIA. form for « sahasra » seems to have been « saharssa » (beside « sahasa »), and this nasalised form occurs as « sahāssa » in Early Western Hindi. An old spelling of the place name 'Sasseram' or 'Sahasram' in Bihar is 'Sahansram.'
- 802, l. 11, *add at the end*: There is also the word সিকি « siki », সিকা « sika » a quarter, a silver coin equal to the fourth of a rupee. The word occurs dialectally as « suki, sukā », and is apparently the same word as the Hind. « sūkā ». Platts derives « sūkā » from « sapādaka » with a quarter ('Hindustani Dictionary'). It may be that here we have the influence of the MIA. « sikta » (see *supra*, pp. 194-195) or the Perso-Arabic « sikkah » coin, in connexion with the « -k- » consonant as well (as the « -i- » vowel in the Bengali form).
- 811, l. 17 : *read* বৃহি, *for* বৃহ,
821. *In the Table, under Old Plural, Oblique, read* ড়া *for* ড়া; *under New Plural, Nominative, read* ড়া(হা)রা, *and oblique, ড়া(হা)দের*; *and in connexion with what has been said in l. 8 in § 555, note: the form « sa-kaḥ » actually occurs in OIA. (Rig-Veda, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, etc.): see below, note on p. 993.*
- 823, l. 13 *from bottom : read* ড়া *for* ড়া.
- 825, l. 17 : *read* possesses *for* possess.
- 828, l. 10 : *read* তাম্‌-রা-র়্‌ *for* তাম্‌-রা-র়্‌.
- 829, l. 2 in § 566 : *delete comma after « ē-ta- » ; l. 5, read : base « \*to- ».*
- 832, l. 3 *from bottom : read in the Shahbazgarhi Aśōkan.*
- 835, l. 7, *read* উহা *for* উহা; *in the Table, under Oblique of Old Plural, read* উহা *for* উহা.
- 839, *read* [F] *for* [D] *before the heading 'THE RELATIVE PRONOUN ; and in the Table, under Oblique of Double Plural, read* বা(হা)দের *for* বা(হা)দের.
- 840, l. 6 : « ya-kaḥ » as the source of « jē » occurs in OIA., like « sa-kaḥ » the source of « sē » : see *supra*, note on p. 821, and *infra*, on p. 993.
- 861, l. 14 : *read* \*-n- *for* -n-.
- 862, l. 4, *read* div-ya-ti *for* div-ya-ti.

867, l. 3 from bottom : read *cār-i-tav-āī* for *car-i-tav-āī*.

869, l. 12 from bottom : read **NOUN** for **VOUN**.

871, l. 15 : read *seem* for *seen*.

878, l. 12, read *es-ské-ti* for *es-sko-ti*; l. 15, read *খুঁজ* for *খুঁজ*; l. 24, read *খন* for *খন*.

874, l. 5 : read *lāj* for *āj*; last line, read **Bengali**.

875, l. 12 : read *es-ské-ti*; l. 14, read *pró + bhu-ské-ti*.

882, l. 22 : read *vyākhyāna* for *vyyākhyāna*.

884, l. 16 : read *দ্বিতীয়* for the second *দ্বিতীয়*.

885, heading line : read **COMPOUNDED AND SUFFIXED ROOTS**.

898, ll. 18-19 : The dative-accusative with the post-position occurs in **OB.** : e.g., *Caryā 12, « matiṣṣ ṭhākura-ka parinivittā » = « matyā prajñāpāramitānubuddhyā ṭhākuram iti saṅklēśārōpita-cittam parinirvvaṅārōpitaṁ kṛtam »*, according to the Commentary.

*L. 3 from bottom : read like for ike.*

900, l. 12 : read *labh-ē-ta* for *labh-I-ta*.

901, l. 3 : read **NB.** for **MB.**

904, l. 5 : read « -aü » : « kar-aü ».

907, l. 16, add : The affix in the form of « -üt » , however, is actually found in S.-W. Bengali : *চলুত* « *calüt* », etc.

908, l. 15 : read *later* for *latter*:

909, l. 15 : add : The form « *gā* » (earlier form « *gai, gaē* ») is also optionally added in Maithili to emphasise the future (cf. Grierson, *Maithili Grammar*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 136-137).

*L. 4 from bottom (=heading line) : read as (1) PASSIVE INDICATIVE.*

924, l. 18 : read *lālāṭa-* for *lālāta-*.

932, l. 7: read *খোরো* for *খোরো*; l. 11, read *পারো* for *পারো*.

941, l. 11: correct to **Grammatik**.

956, l. 4 : read « *cali, jāī* ».

961, headline : correct to **FUTURE**.

968, l. 13 : read *is* for *in*.

975, l. 9, from end : read « *pāṛilāhō* » for « *pāṛilāhō* ».

984, l. 19 : correct the first वृत्ति to वृत्त.

993, last line, after 'e.g.' add : MIA. « aha-ka-*ā*, tva-ka-*m* », OIA. (Rig-Veda) « asa-ka-, sa-ka- », (Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa) « yāma-k-i », (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, etc.) « sa-kā, sa-ka-, ya-ka-, ya-kā, asa-ka- », etc ; and note also..... ( I am indebted to Mr. Sukumār Sen for drawing my attention to the OIA. forms occurring in the Vedic texts).

1019, l. 9 from the end : read « śch » for the present and the past.

1029, v. 13 : read « -(i)t- + -it- » + root « śch ».

1032, l. 10 : read pālānā for pālānā.

1035, l. 3 : read adjective passive participle for verbal noun ; and in l. 6, take the semicolon before so.

1040, last line but one : read altindisehen.

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